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History.

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, *&c.*

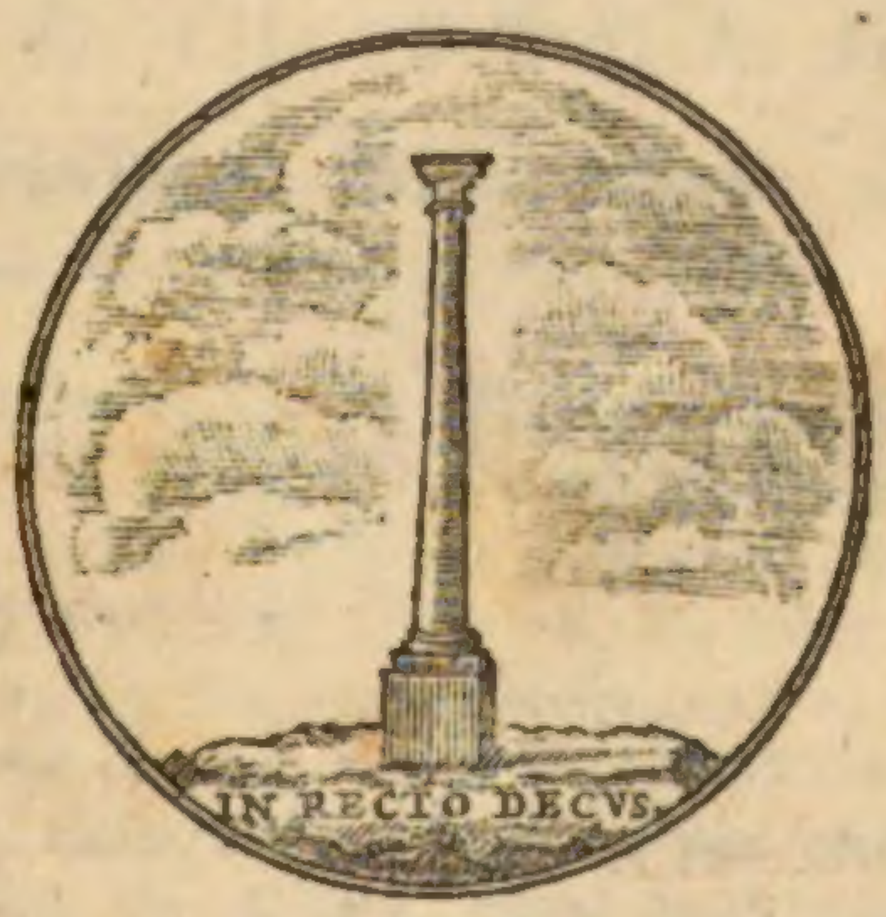
WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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VOL. III.



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THE

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

VOL. III.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. VII. SECT. II.

The religion, government, laws, customs, learning, art, and commerce, of the Jews.

The Jewish government was a theocracy.

THE inſtitution of the *Jewiſh* religion and commonwealth is, by *Moſes*, attributed wholly to GOD; for which reaſon, *Joſephus* makes no ſcruple to diſtinguiſh the latter from all the other governments in the world, by the name of *theocracy*[a], or a government under the immediate command and direction of GOD: and indeed, though this theocracy has often varied under *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the judges, kings, and high-prieſts, and the divine authority differently interpoſed during thoſe revolutions, yet GOD was ſtill looked upon as the ſupreme monarch of the *Iſraelites*. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel of

[a] Cont. Apion. lib. ii.

their history, that he was the sole director of every momentous transaction under *Moses*, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. *Joshua*, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet consulted him by the *urim*, upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from those thraldoms which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when *Gideon* had delivered them from the *Midianites*, and the people offered the government to him, and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he, nor his sons [b], but the Lord God, should rule over them. When, in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that all *Samuel*'s expostulations could not divert them from it, though he told them, that, by so doing, they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleased to nominate *Saul*, and, after him, *David*, to the regal dignity, and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of altering the succession from the eldest to a younger branch, whenever he thought fit; as he actually did in his immediate successor *Solomon*. Nay, we may say, that God himself, foreseeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reserve to himself the choice, and prescribed some wholsome laws for the conduct of those who should enjoy the regal power [c]; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refused to be directed by him, or disobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of some severe punishment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of *Israel*, indeed, after their revolt from those of *Judah*, did reign more arbitrarily; but their endeavours to shake off the yoke of God proved a source of endless evils to the rebellious tribes; till, at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatenings, nor his severe judgments, could bring them to obedience, he intirely cast them off, and condemned them to an endless captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of *Judah*, but even that of *Israel*, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued still under a theocracy, until its dissolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the sequel of this history.

Their laws. As for their laws, the greatest part of them were given to *Moses* on mount *Sinai*, and the rest at different times,

[b] Judg. viii. 22, 23. [c] Vide Deut. xvii. 14, & seq.

and

and as occaſion required; as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the firſt body of laws that ever was compiled, whilſt other nations had not ſo much as a name for a law, as *Joſephus* [d] has endeavoured to prove againſt his learned antagoniſt, from the writings of *Homer*, the moſt antient writer, in which the word *nemes* [law] is not ſo much as once mentioned; or whether we ſuppoſe, with others [e], that the *Egyptians*, and other nations, had already laws of their own, and that *Moſes* was permitted by GOD to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or diſliked, of which more in its proper place; it is plain, that the greateſt part of them were dictated by GOD himſelf; and that the reſt received, if not the laſt perfection, at leaſt their ſanction and approbation from him. And indeed, if we conſider, that they extended to all duties, caſes, and exigencies, whether moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to laſt as long as the *Jewiſh* polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and conſequently to endure, at leaſt, till the coming of the MESSIAH; if we conſider further, that the prieſts and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death, and of the divine curſe, to add, diminiſh, or alter, the leaſt part of them; it will be ſcarce credible, that *Moſes* would have given them ſuch a firm and durable ſanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but GOD been the author or confirmer of them.

Receive their ſanction from GOD.

HOWEVER, our deſign is not to dwell here upon the diſplay of their excellency above thoſe of all other nations, much leſs to confute all the empty cavils that have been raiſed againſt them. That has been already done by *Joſephus*, *Philo*, *Maimonides*, *Moſes Gerundenſis*, and many others among the *Jews*, but by a greater number of learned divines, both of our own and other churches; to whoſe province it belongs more particularly [f]. We might indeed, conveniently enough, have followed their diſtinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and ſo have given the following body of them under thoſe three heads; eſpecially as ſuch a diſtinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which *Moſes* makes uſe of, *laws* or *precepts*, *judgments*, and *ſtatutes* [g]: but, if

[d] Cont. Apion. ibid. [e] SPENCER de leg. ritual. Jud. paſſ. LE CLERC, & al. [f] Vide inter al. GROT. SELDEN, PUFF. CUMBERLAND, GASTREL, L'ABBADIE, CUNÆUM, BASNAG. [g] BASNAG. republ. Heb. l. i. c. 18.

we conſider, that *Moſes* makes uſe of ſome other terms likewiſe to expreſs them by, ſuch as ordinances, teſtimonies, and ſome others, in a very undeterminate ſenſe; that he calls the ſame laws ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another of theſe names; and, laſtly, that this diſtinction will not hold with reſpect to very many of thoſe laws, which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and ſo *vice verſâ*; we ſhall have little ground to think, that the *Jewiſh* lawgiver deſigned to intimate any ſuch diſtinction by thoſe terms. Thus the law concerning the ſeventh day, or day of reſt, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was deſigned as well for the eaſe and reſt of the labourers, ſervants, and ſlaves, as for that of their maſters [i]. To this we may add here, that theſe laws did likewiſe differ with reſpect to their obſervance and obligation. Some of them, ſuch as the making the tabernacle, altar, ſetting up the bleſſings and curſes on mount *Ebal* and *Gerizzim*, were to be obſerved but once for all; others were to laſt no longer than the time of the MESSIAH, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to obſerve all the laws and ordinances of *Moſes*, ſome of which were of no force out of the land of *Paleſtine*, the *Jews*, in thoſe caſes, underſtand the precept not of an actual obſervance, but of a conſtant remembrance, and readineſs to obey them, whenever they ſhall become in force again [k].

INDEED, as we are writing the hiſtory of the *Jews*, it might perhaps be thought more proper, that we ſhould give the body of their laws in the ſame order and method in which they themſelves have collected and digeſted them out of the five books of *Moſes*, which they call, by way of excellency, *Ha-therah*, the law (A); but the truth is, they

[i] Confer Exod. xx. 9, 10. cum Deut. v. 14. [k] Vide MUNST. præf. in Geneſ.

(A) This תורה, *Thorah*, or law, they divide, as we do, into five books, which they call by the firſt words of each: thus, they call *Geneſis* בראשית *Bereſhith*, that is, *in the beginning*; *Exodus* they call אלה שמות *Elleſhemoth*, *Theſe are the names*; *Leviticus* ויקרא *Vajikra*, *And he called*; *Numbers* וידבר, *Vajdabber*, *And he ſpake*; and *Deuteronomy* אלה הדברים, *Elleadevarim*, *Theſe are the words*. Theſe five books, or *pentateuch*, are again ſubdivided into 54 פרשות *paraſhoth*, or ſections, of unequal lengths, according to the ſubject; ſo that, by joining two of the ſhorteſt together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality

they have jumbled them ſo together, without order or method, and blended them ſo with thoſe which they pretend were delivered by GOD to *Moſes*, and conveyed by oral tradition (B), that our readers would be rather confounded than inſtructed by them. Thoſe who are willing to be further

lity of the *Jews* attribute theſe diviſions, and the conſtitution of reading them on the ſabbath, to *Moſes*; but the Chriſtians, with more probability, to *Eſdras* (1); from whom it was continued even to the times of the apoſtles, if not longer (2). The firſt *paraſha* reaches from *Gen.* i. 1. to *Gen.* vi. 9. and is called *Bereſhith*: the ſecond reaches to *Gen.* xii. 1. and is called נוח *Noach*, from *Noah* being the chief perſon mentioned in it: the third, which reaches to *Gen.* xviii. is called לך לך *Lek Leka*, *go thy ways*, from the command of GOD to *Abraham* to go out of his native land; and ſo of the reſt.

(B) To the written law the *Jews* do add the oral one, which, they pretend, was alſo given by GOD to *Moſes*, during his abode on mount *Sinai*. For firſt, they think it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that he ſpent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written law, for which leſs than one quarter of that time was more than ſufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the reſt of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to *Aaron*, to *Eleazar*, and to his ſervant *Joſhua*, and theſe to the ſeventy elders; from whom it paſſed to all the prophets; the three laſt of whom, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, delivered it to the grand ſanhedrin; from whom the wiſe men of *Jeruſalem* and *Babylon* received it. Thus they affirm, that this oral law, given to *Moſes*, was tranſmitted from one generation to another, intire and uncorrupted, under the name of קבלה *cabbalah*, or tradition, which was afterwards committed to writing by ſeveral hands, in that volume which they call the *Talmud*, conſiſting of two parts, the *Miſhnah* and *Gemarrah*; to which they give, by far, the preference with reſpect to the written books; whence that ſaying of theirs, the *Mikdaſh*, or Old Teſtament, is like water, the *Miſhnah* like wine, and the *Gemarrah*, more plain and perfect, like *hippocras*, or the richeſt of wines. For they add, ſecondly, that the obſcurity of the written law, its ſeeming inconſiſtency in ſeveral reſpects, and the ill uſe which GOD foreſaw would be made of it by the wicked, rendered the oral one very neceſſary, ſince, without it, the other would have proved in many reſpects uſeleſs, if

(1) *Vide Pocklurſt maxorab, ſect. de Paraſhah.* (2) *Vide Acts* x. 1:, & 27. xv. 21.

ther satisfied with respect to this subject, may see the abridgment which *Munster* has given us of them, and of the *Jewish* comments upon them, with his version of each, as he has collected them from their Talmud, and other rabbinic works. We shall therefore only add, that they acknowlege no other division of these laws, but into negative and affirmative (C), in imitation of the decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of 365, and the affirmative to 248; in all, 613: and as they have a wonderful skill in fetching some

not dangerous. These learned gentlemen, who love to call themselves *Merabtze-bathora*, fixers or givers of rest to the law, have taken a deal of pains to find out sundry instances of pretended inconsistency and obscurity, which we shall not trouble our readers with, since they are but mere trifles, in comparison of those which we meet with in the Talmud, and its learned expositors; through which there reigns such a continued chain of obscurity, contradiction, and inconsistency, to say nothing of their fabulous dreams, as almost quite darken the plain text of that divine lawgiver (3): for this reason we shall not spend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the absurd and fabulous comments with which it is stuffed, but shall content ourselves with giving now-and-then a short sketch of them, in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are superstitious or wrong, and deserving of the censure which our SAVIOUR past upon them, *that they had made the word of* GOD *of none effect by their tradition* (4).

(C) These they divide, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, into commandments, *thou shalt*, or *shalt not do*, or, as we rightly render it, negative and affirmative; concerning which they make this difference, that if a man sin against the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting, or doing some penance for it; whereas he that sins against a negative precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a sin worthy of death cannot be sufficiently cleared on the expiation-day, or by any thing but by GOD's severe chastisements; but as to those that profane or blaspheme the name of GOD, nothing can expiate their sin but their being put to death for it.

(3) *Vide Maimon. præfat. in Mishn. Munst. præfat. in Mitzvoth-bathora, Can. Busrag, & al.* (4) *Matt.* xxiii. 24. & *Mark* vii. 13, & *alib.*

significant

ſignificant myſteries out of every text and ſubject, they have not failed to apply the firſt number to the days of the year, and the ſecond to the number of parts in an human body; and to affirm, that GOD deſigned thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to paſs without meditating upon this law of GOD, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not conſecrated and employed in his ſervice; according to that ſaying of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Fear* GOD, *and keep his commandments*; *for that is the whole* [duty] *of man.* Theſe, and all ſuch-like moralizing reveries, they have drawn from their Cabbala, or oral tradition, of which we have given an account in a late note: however, it muſt be owned, that their *Caraites*, a wiſe and antient ſect among them, did always reject it, and applied themſelves wholly to the plain meaning of the text; but theſe are few in compariſon of the reſt, and mortally hated by them; the reader may be convinced of it by one inſtance among a thouſand. The *Caraites* are all very rich, and as they are often at a loſs for a wife among themſelves, they would gladly purchaſe one, at any rate, from their brethren the Talmudiſts; but, as well as theſe love money, they never could yet be perſuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, though ever ſo rich, and themſelves ever ſo indigent (C).

BUT

(C) But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that, though this *Jewiſh* Cabbala, or oral tradition, is juſtly rejected by all the Chriſtians, as being filled with the moſt carnal and ridiculous notions, yet there is another Cabbala, which has been received by ſome of the antient fathers, and is to this day ſtrenuouſly defended by many learned moderns. This they call, by way of diſtinction, Kabbla, or *reception*; and it contains that myſtical ſenſe of the Old Teſtament, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the New underſtood and explained it; which ſenſe, they affirm, has been conveyed to them from *Moſes* by the prophets, not by an human tradition, but by divine inſpiration, as being very different, if not directly contrary to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation which ſome of the evangeliſts, particularly St. *Matthew*, as well as St. *Paul*, give of ſeveral prophecies quoted by them, particularly thoſe which the reader is referred to in the margin (1), in a ſenſe ſo foreign from the literal, that it cannot, in their opinion, be juſtified,

(1) *Mat.* ii. 15, 17, 23. *Rom.* x. 6, *& ſeq. comp. with Deut.* xxx. 12. *and Eph.* v. 31. *with Gen.* ii. 24. *Heb.* i. 5. *with Pſ.* viii. 4. *& al.*

BUT to return to the written laws: we ſhall endeavour to range the main body of them under ſuch diſtinct heads and claſſes as ſhall give our readers a clear idea of them; and, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall take the liberty to abridge ſome, and to omit thoſe that are either of ſmall conſequence, or whoſe deſign is not ſufficiently underſtood. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall, in as few words as may be, ſubjoin to every law the ceremonies, cuſtoms, and uſages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as becauſe the latter are often explanatory of the former; that ſo the reader may, at one view, have a complete ſyſtem of the *Jewiſh* laws, religion, government, manners, and cuſtoms, as they all flowed from the ſame divine original. As for the laws, they generally run in the ſtyle of the five or ſix following ones; which we give only as a ſpecimen.

Laws againſt idolatry, and for the pure worſhip of the only true GOD.

Laws againſt idolatry.

THOU ſhalt have no other gods before or beſides me [l].

Ye ſhall not profane, or take in vain (D), but hallow, GOD's holy name [m].

[l] Exod. xx. 3. [m] Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xvii. 32, & al.

without having recourſe to this Chriſtian Kabbla, as they term it. It is foreign to our purpoſe to enter into the merits of this queſtion, which has been ſo lately and ſo learnedly debated by the writers for and againſt the accompliſhment of *literal prophecy*. All that we ſhall venture to ſay farther is, that, if ſuch a myſtical and primary ſenſe be admitted, it muſt be confined to the writers of the New Teſtament; who, beſides their being inſpired, could prove their interpretations by miracles: for it is plain, that ſome of the primitive fathers have gone ſuch great lengths in that way, that *Origen*, learned as he was, has made himſelf ridiculous by them; and St. *Jerom* and *Auſtin*, though more moderate than he, have, in many caſes, overſhot the mark (1).

(D) That is, as the *Jews* underſtand it rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as *Aaron* did, when he called the molten calf the gods that brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This is one of thoſe ſins which they think cannot be expiated but by the death of the ſinner; and for which *Aaron* muſt have undergone that fate, had not *Moſes* interceded for him.

(1) *Vide, inter al. Hieron. in Matt.* xxvii. 51. *Vide Baſnag. ex Cunæo, Rhenferd, op. philolog. & al. Vide Munſt.* מצוות והתורת מש ה.

YE ſhall utterly deſtroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of *Canaaniti∫h* idolatry [n].

YE ſhall not tempt the LORD your GOD (A), as ye did in the wilderneſs [o].

YE ſhall make no image or repreſentation of GOD, from the likeneſs of the celeſtial, or of the terreſtrial, or aquatic bodies [p].

YE ſhall not bow down nor worſhip any kind of idol [q].

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry, ſhall be ſtoned as ſoon as convicted of it [r].

The ſpoil of a city doomed to anathema ſhall not be ſaved upon any account, but be publicly burned. The inhabitants of it ſhall be put to the ſword, and the place ſhall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever [s] (B).

THE ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols, ſhall not be turned to advantage, but be deſtroyed with the utmoſt abhorrence [t].

WHOSOEVER ſacrificeth his ſeed to *Moloch*, whether he be an *Iſraelite*, or a ſojourner in the land, ſhall be ſtoned to death [u] (C).

Poſitive

[n] Deut. xii. 2, & ſeq. [o] Deut. vi. 16. [p] Exod. xx. 4. Deut. iv. paſſ. & v. 8. [q] Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9, & alib.
[r] Deut. xiii. 1, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [s] Ibid. ver. 15, & ſeq.
[t] Ibid. vii. 25, 26. [u] Levit. xx. 2.

(A) This precept they underſtand of thoſe who ſerve GOD only in hopes of ſome temporal advantage; which they look upon as a leſſer kind of idolatry.

(B) What is here commanded concerning the deſtroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the *Jews* underſtood only of thoſe places which became theirs by conqueſt, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they affirm that they were firſt of all to forewarn them; and, if they forſook their idolatry, they were to be ſpared; but, if they perſiſted, they were then to be deſtroyed. They likewiſe underſtood the prohibition of turning any of the ſpoil to their advantage in ſo ſtrict a ſenſe, that they thought it even unlawful to ſit under the ſhade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great averſion to idolatry, and idolatrous things, did not ſhew itſelf, till they had ſeverely ſmarted for their too great propenſity to it under the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

(C) There are ſeveral more to the ſame purpoſe interſperſed, and often repeated, in the four laſt books of *Moſes*; which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the ſame nature are alſo thoſe which forbid all commerce, intercourſe, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations,

Positive laws concerning the worship of the only true God.

Laws concerning the true worship of God.

THAT the Lord, who delivered his law from mount *Sinai*, is the only God in heaven and earth [b] (H).

THAT he alone is to be loved with all one's heart, mind, and ſtrength [c]; that he only is to be feared above all things [d], and his name to be ſanctified. THAT

[b] Exod. xx. 1. Deut. vi. 4. [c] Ib. ver. 5. [d] Ib. ver. 13.

tions, and all kind of imitation of their ways, leſt they ſhould inſenſibly draw them into their idolatries: of the ſame kind were thoſe which condemned the uſe of familiar ſpirits, inchantments, obſerving of times and omens (1), divinations, reſorting to wizards and necromancers, and ſuch-like, under pain of death (2); as alſo the rounding of the corners, or temples, of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their fleſh, or making any marks upon it (3), for the ſake of the dead; and laſtly, the promiſcuous uſe of apparel in either ſex, in imitation of the *Canaanites* (4).

(H) This precept in one place (5) begins thus: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד *Hear, O Iſrael; the* Lord *our* God, *the* Lord [*is*] *one*;— where it is obſerved, that the ע *ain* in the firſt, and the ד *daleth* in the laſt word, are majuſcula, or letters of a larger ſize than the reſt. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing ſome important myſtery, as the *Jews* pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident, or with deſign, is not eaſy to determine: ſure it is, they not only urge it as an unanſwerable argument againſt the Chriſtian doctrine of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verſes following, they wore theſe words written on parchment about them, as bracelets and frontlets; and placed them at their beds, doors, &c. juſt as it is there preſcribed. Some antient fathers (6) were of opinion, that this had been conſtantly practiſed from *Moſes* till after our Saviour's time, and that he wore them himſelf; though upon what foundation is hard to gueſs. *Lightfoot* and others believe, that they were uſed in our Saviour's time (7); and St. *Jerom* aſſures us, that they were ſo in his; and that thoſe who did not wear them upon their foreheads were eſteemed irreligious (8). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but that their ſuper-

(1) *Levit.* xix. 26, 31, *& alib.* (2) *Deut.* xviii. 9, *& ſeq.* (3) *Levit.* xix. 27, *& ſeq.* (4) *Deut.* xxii. 5, &c. (5) *Deut.* vi. 4. (6) *Orig. Chryſoſt. Hieron. Euthym. in Matt.* xxiii. (7) *Lightfoot, Scaliger, Malton, & al.* (8) *Hieron. in Matt.* xxiii. *vide & Theophylact. in loc.*

ſtition in this reſpect has ſtill gained ground; this is plain, from the many ſcrupulous niceties which they are bound to obſerve in the making, writing, and caſting of theſe phylacteries (1).

This verſe, which they call the *ſhemah*, from the firſt word of it, they are likewiſe obliged, by an expreſs command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at ſunriſing, and in the evening juſt as it is ſet. There is likewiſe a great deal of ſuperſtitious trath preſcribed in the Talmud, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers, muſt be ſtill, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; ſome letters are to be pronounced ſwiftly, and others ſlowly; no ordure, or dead carcaſe, ought to be nearer the place where the perſon repeats it than four cubits at leaſt, and then he is to turn his back to it; but, if the place will not permit ſuch a diſtance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from it, and a great deal more to the ſame purport (2), which it were needleſs to dwell longer upon. However, ſince they urge this text ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt the Chriſtians, we ſhall beg leave, before we diſmiſs this note, to examine whether the antient *Jews* underſtood it in the ſame ſenſe as the moderns do: ſome learned converts from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity ſeem to have proved the contrary from their moſt antient writings (3); but, as proſelytes are always ſuſpected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting ſome eminent Chriſtians, who, after a mature examination of their evidence, have confirmed it, as we think, beyond all poſſibility of replying. We ſhall ſingle only one from among thoſe many, not only as he was very well verſed in this kind of learning, but becauſe, as he was not a prieſt, but a ſtateſman, he may be leſs ſuſpected of partiality; we mean the great *Philippes de Mornay* (4), who, among other antient authors, quotes rabbi *Simeon ben Johai*, who, in his Zohar, a book, by the *Jews*, acknowleged to have been written before the Talmud, if not before CHRIST (5), quotes the expoſition of rabbi *Ibba*, of this text, to this purport; that the firſt יהוה *Jehovah*, which is the incommunicable name of GOD, is the Father; by אלהים *Elohim* is meant the Son, who is the fountain of all knowlege; and by the ſecond יהוה is meant the Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from them, and he is called אחד *Achad*, one, becauſe GOD is one. *Ibba* adds, that this myſtery was not to be revealed till the coming of the MESSIAH. The author of the Zohar goes on, and applieth the word *holy*, which is thrice repeated in the viſion of *Iſaiah* (6) to the three Perſons in the

(1) *Vide Leon. de Moden. cæremon. Jud. part.* i. c. 12. (2) *Vide Wotton's verſ. of the Miſhnah, ſub voc. Shemah.* (3) *Vide, inter al. Raymond, Martin. pugio fidei, paſſ.* (3) *Avertiſſement aux Juifs*, c. 3. *Vide, ſi lubet, Meyer theolog. de myſter. Trinit. Huseman, Jooden Vegh Wyzer, & al.* (5) *Vide Buxt. ſen. Tiberiad. in voc.* זהר *Zohar. Bartolec. & Wolf. bibliotb. rabbin.* (6) Ch. vi. 3.

Deity,

Deity, whom he elsewhere calls three suns, or lights, three sovereigns—without beginning, and without end.

It must be owned, that the genuineness of this passage is disputed by the *Jews*, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itself by some Christians (1); but, as to the first, it is known, that they make no scruple of denying all that makes against them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the case of the sacred writings, they will manifestly pervert the sense, and appeal to the oral law; and as for the Christians, it is to be feared they are all too apt to be partial to their favourite systems, and to overshoot the mark on both sides. However, though it is out of our province to enter any further into the controversy, how far the doctrine of the Trinity was, or or might be, known to the antient *Jews*, from several places of the Old Testament, urged against them; yet we beg leave to make an observation or two out of their Talmud, which seem to make very much against them, because they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one section in it (2), written dialogue-wise, in which are several questions; as first, why the names of God, *Elohim*, *Zabaoth*, &c. are in the plural number? and secondly, why they are joined to verbs in the singular? [thus, for instance, the first verse of *Genesis* says, *Elohim bara*, where God is in the plural, and *created* in the singular, which our divines have applied to the Trinity in Unity]: and thirdly, why God speaks in some places in the plural number; as, *Let us make man*, &c. *in our image*, &c. (3)? Now it is plain, that to all these questions, or rather objections, the Talmud gives us no answers but what are plainly illusory (4), and such as the compilers would most probably have suppressed, as well as the questions, had they not designed thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowlegement, that these irregular expressions contained some mystery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reason why a learned rabbi (5), who was severely charged with having betrayed the mysteries of his religion, because the streightness of his circumstances had forced him to accept of the generous offer from a *Roman* cardinal, of a large salary for teaching the *Hebrew* tongue, protests, among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never so much as explained the first verse of *Genesis*.

But what will convince our readers, that this was the case of the writers of the Talmud, is the answer that is given in the chapter above quoted, to the question, why the throne

(1) *Vide Wolf. Bibliot. rabbin.* N° 2175. *p.* 1134, *& seq.* (2) *Tract. Sanhedrin.* (3) *Gen.* i. 26. iii. 22. *& alib.* (4) *Vide sup. p.* 10, *in the notes.* (5) *Elias Levit. vide præf. ejusd. in grammat. Hebraic.*

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[e] THAT they ſhall engrave his laws in their hearts; diligently teach them to their children and grandchildren; and wear them for a ſign upon their head. as frontlets between their eyes; and write them upon the gates, poſts, and other parts of their houſes [f].

THAT they ſhall circumciſe their hearts as well as their fleſh [g]; and be no more rebellious to him, but ſerve him ſincerely, cleave unto him, and ſwear by his name alone [h].

THAT the whole law ſhall be read by the prieſts to all the people, men, women, and children, every ſeventh year, at the feaſt of the tabernacles [i], and the ſubſtance of it ſhall be learned by heart by every *Iſraelite*; and that every king of *Iſrael* ſhall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by *Moſes* committed to the cuſtody of the *Levites*, in order to be conſtantly read and obſerved by him [k].

THAT all bleſſings ſhall be thankfully acknowleged to come from GOD, and puniſhments inflicted by him ſubmiſſively received, as fatherly chaſtiſements, or trials of their obedience [l].

[e] Deut. vi. 6, 7. [f] Ibid. 6—9. & Exod. ix. 16. [g] Deut. x. 16, & alib. paſſ. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. xxxi. 9, & ſeq. ad 19. [k] Ibid. xvii. 18, & ſeq. [l] Ibid. viii. paſſ.

of GOD is in the plural number in *Daniel*'s viſion (1). The words in the *Chaldee* are ברסון רמיו, *Carſevan remiú*; which our verſion renders, *the thrones were caſt down*, contrary to the expreſs meaning of the verb רמם, which ſignifies to raiſe, to exalt, and ſet up; in which ſenſe all the *Jews* do rightly underſtand it. The queſtion therefore that is asked is, why the throne, on which the antient of days was to ſit, is put in the plural? After ſeveral trifling anſwers, which are there given as the ſolutions of ſeveral learned rabbies, one of whom pretends, that the plural implies the thrones of GOD and *David*; the laſt and concluding one is to the following purpoſe; that it is blaſphemy to ſet the creature on the throne of the Creator, bleſſed for ever; and cloſes the whole with theſe notable words; *If any one can ſolve this difficulty, let him do it; if not, let him go his way, and not attempt it.* The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining, we ſhall wholly ſubmit to the reader, and only add, that ſomething very like this ſeems to be intimated in that diſtinction in their creed, about the Unity of GOD; namely, that he is one by an oneneſs or unity peculiar to himſelf (2).

(1) *Dan.* vii. 9. (2) *Art.* 1.

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THE law ſhall be engraven upon ſtones, and ſet upon an altar; and the bleſſings of obedience, and curſes for diſobedience, ſhall be publickly ſet upon the mounts *Gebal* and *Gerizzim*, for a perpetual remembrance [m].

No forgiveneſs, or deliverance from any puniſhment for diſobedience, ſhall be expected, without a deep ſenſe and acknowlegement of the fault [n].

BURNT-OFFERINGS, ſacrifices, tythes, vows, firſtlings of the flock, and freewill-offerings, ſhall be brought and ſacrificed at no other place but that which the LORD ſhall appoint [o].

Laws, poſitive and negative, concerning the Sabbath, paſſover, and other feſtivals, holidays, and faſts.

Laws concerning the Sabbath.

THE Sabbath, or ſeventh day, ſhall be kept holy [p] (M). No ſervile work ſhall be done in it, by maſter, ſervant, ſlave, ſtranger, or cattle [q]. There ſhall no fire be kindled

[m] Deut. xxvii. 1, ad fin. xxviii. paſſ. [n] Ibid. xxx. paſſ. [o] Ibid. xii. 5, & ſeq. [p] Exod. xxiii. 12. xxiv. 21. Deut. v. 12, 14. & alib. [q] Exod. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. v. 12, & ſeq.

(M) The *Jewiſh* doctors have ſtretched this abſtinence from work to the moſt ſuperſtitious degree. They extend it not only to every buſineſs that tends to the getting of food and raiment, ſuch as plowing, ſowing, reaping, threſhing, and the like, which they make to amount to 39 negative precepts, but to many other things: and hence other negative precepts which are as appendixes to the former; *viz.* graſs muſt not be walked upon, leſt it be bruiſed; an horſe muſt not be rid, leſt he be galled; and the like. It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart, though an heathen drive it. No ſinging, dancing, playing upon inſtruments, or any kind of noiſe, is allowed, though it were to quiet a croſs child. No cauſe is to be tried, no accompts made or caſt up, or marriages ſolemnized. No diſcourſe about buying and ſelling, or any other worldly matter, much leſs looſe and profane talk, is to be ſuffered.

The poſitive precepts concerning the Sabbath run much in the ſame ſtrain; we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged, according to their circumſtances, to put on clean linen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, to drink wine, and to eat at leaſt once in ſix hours. Care alſo is to be taken that a clean table-cloth be laid, and the victuals ſet upon it, the beds made, and the lamps lighted, before the entrance of the Sabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about ſunſet,

ſunſet, according to the ſaying in *Geneſis*, *the evening and the morning were the firſt day* (1).

A learned *Jewiſh* author tells us (2), that they were obliged, in all diſtricts and towns throughout *Iſrael*, to blow the trumpet on the evening of the ſixth day, ſix different times, from ſome eminence, whence it might be eaſily heard at a due diſtance; ſo that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the Sabbath began. Accordingly, at the ſound of the firſt trumpet, they left off work, and began to march homeward; at the ſecond ſounding, all ſhops, ſtalls, and places of trade, were ſhut up; at the third, the pots and kettles were taken off the fire, the tables covered, and the meat dreſſed for the Sabbath was ſet upon them, *&c.*—The laſt trumpet was generally about ſunſet; and, on the next night, as ſoon as they could perceive two or three ſtars in the ſky, the trumpets blew from the ſame places to proclaim the end of the Sabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a ſhort prayer, wiſhed himſelf and the reſt a good week, as he did a good Sabbath at the entrance of it.

Many of the wiſer *Jews*, however, do make the ſanctification of the Sabbath to conſiſt in duties of a more noble nature than theſe talmudical trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of GOD, in the ſtudy of his law, and inſtructing thoſe that are under them in it (3). Some of them even maintain, that they uſed to aſſemble every Sabbath, from the time of *Moſes*, to hear the law read and expounded (4). And this is likewiſe believed by ſeveral learned men among the Chriſtians (5); who infer it from the words of St. *James*, that *Moſes has in every city them that preach him, being read in the ſynagogues every Sabbath-day* (6). But the much greater number are of opinion, that this cuſtom was not ſet on foot till *Eſdras*'s time. All that the prieſts were commanded to do on the Sabbath, was only to ſet the new ſhew-bread on the tables, to take away the old one (7), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt-offerings, peculiar to that day (8), however their antient doctors have ſince clogged it with a great number of precepts and ſubtilties.

Whether the obſervation of the Sabbath, or ſeventh day, be as old as the creation, as ſome authors, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, will have it, from thoſe words of *Moſes*, *And the* LORD *bleſſed the ſeventh day, and ſanctified it* (9); or whe-

(1) *Gen.* i. 5. *Vide Munſt. in loc. & præcept. negat. & affirm. de ſabbat.* (2) *Maimon. tract.* שבת, *cap.* v. *ſect.* 27. *Vide Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. l.* iii. *c.* 3. §. 10. (3) *Vide Munſt. in Exod.* xx. *Meyer. de temp. ſacr. c.* 19. §. 66. (4) *Phil. in vit. Moſ. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* ii. *Talmud Hieroſ. tract. Megill. Maimon. Tephilab, & Bircath-hacohanim, & ac. mult.* (5) *Vide Coccii ſum. theol. t.* 21. §. 14, *& ſeq. Grot. & Meyer, ubi ſup.* (6) *Acts* xv. 21. *comp. with ver.* 36. (7) *Levit.* xxiv. 6, 8. (8) *Numb.* xxviii. 9, *& ſeq.* (9) *Gen.* ii. 3.

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ther that text means no more than that GOD set apart that day to be afterwards observed by the *Israelites*, as the far greater part of the fathers and Christian commentators understand it; is a question, which, though more curious than important, has been very strenuously debated on all hands. The *Jews* are as divided about it as we; for, whilst some affect to call the Sabbath their spouse, as being granted to the *Jews* alone, exclusive of all other nations (1), others affirm, that all the patriarchs, and all good men, observed it, up to *Adam*, whom they pretend to have been the author of the xciid Psalm, intitled, *a psalm, or song, for the Sabbath-day* (2). They likewise interpret the words in *Genesis*, *Because* Abraham — *has kept my charge*, of his keeping the Sabbath (3). The same they affirm of *Jacob*, and add, that the reason of his taking up his lodging in the open field in his way to *Mesopotamia*, was, that it happened to be the eve of the Sabbath; so that he was obliged to stop there as soon as he perceived that the sun was about setting (4). *Job*'s offering sacrifices for his seven sons every seventh day is likewise understood of his keeping the Sabbath; though another reason seems to be given in the text (5).

Josephus and *Philo* go still further, and affirm, that the observation of it had been preserved among the Gentiles. The former says, that there was scarce any nation, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that did not in some measure conform to the observance of the Sabbath (6); and *Philo* assures us (7), that it was not a festival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds, in another place, that the *Jews*, whilst in *Egypt*, having quite forgot the seventh day, GOD was pleased to indicate it to them by sending them manna six days, and with-holding it on the seventh (8). We find likewise several antient writers among the heathen, such as *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and others quoted by the fathers, who speak of the seventh day as sacred to religion (9). Something like this may also be gathered from that absurd account which some others, particularly *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, give of the *Jews* observing it in imitation of the heathens, who consecrated that day to *Saturn*, according to the former (10), or to *Bacchus*, according to the latter; who adds, that he was also named *Sabbos*, because they used frequently to shout out the word *Sabboi* at his festival (11). However, as these testimonies would at best

(1) *Vide Selden & rabbin. ab eo citatos.* (2) *Vide Chald. paraphr. Targum in total. Ps.* xciii. *Midrash. Tehill. Talm. Babyl. tract. Sanhedr. & al.* (3) *R. Salom. in Gen.* xxvi. 5. (4) *Bereshith. rabb. Parash.* 79. *Talm. tract.* שבת *R. Bechai, & al.* (5) *Vide Abenez. in Job.* i. 5. (6) *Cont. Apion. l.* ii. *ad fin.* (7) *De opific. mund.* (8) *In vit. Mos. l.* i. (9) *Vide Euseb. præp. l.* xiii. *c.* 12. *Clem. Alex. stromat. l.* v. *& al.* (10) *Hist. l.* v. (11) *Symposiac. l.* iv.

amount

kindled on that day [r], nor any thing bought or ſold. No perſon ſhall be put to death, for any crime whatſoever; no travelling ſhall be allowed on the Sabbath [s] (A).

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[r] Exod. xxxv. 3. [s] Ibid. xvi. 29, & alib.

amount to a bare probability, and ſeem contradicted by ſome expreſs texts both in the writings of *Moſes*, and ſome of the prophets (1), which intimate that the Sabbath was given to the *Iſraelites* for a memorial of their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, and to diſtinguiſh them from all other nations; the far greater part of Chriſtians, both antient and modern, have declared for the other ſide (2); and it muſt be owned, that if that feſtival had been inſtituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot ſee why *Moſes* ſhould be ſo exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the inſtitution and obſervance of it, eſpecially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unleſs we ſuppoſe with *Philo*, that the *Iſraelites* had quite loſt the memory of it.

We muſt beg leave to cloſe this note with taking notice of that expreſſion in one of the goſpels (3), ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, in the ſecond prime Sabbath, or, as our verſion more clearly renders it, on the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt; which has puzzled a world of commentators, till *Joſ. Scaliger* did hit upon an explanation (4), which has been univerſally approved and followed ever ſince (5). We need not trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the reſt. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the *Jewiſh* manner of computing the Sabbaths from the feaſt of the paſſover to that of the weeks, or from *Eaſter* to *Whitſunday*. The firſt of theſe, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feaſts, or the firſt and laſt day of the paſſover, was by them called שבת שני ראשון, *Sabbath ſheni-reſhon*, the 2d prime Sabbath; the next was called the ſecond ſecond, or the ſecond after the ſecond prime; the third ſecond third, and ſo on unto the ſeventh; which laſt did immediately precede the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt (6). The fact for which this Sabbath is recorded by the evangeliſt, namely, CHRIST's diſciples plucking and rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this expoſition, their harveſt happening always between *Eaſter* and *Whitſunday*.

(A) Though the text does expreſly ſay, that they ſhall not

(1) *Vide Exod.* xxxi. 13. *Deut.* v. 15, *& alib. paſſ. Vide & Jerem.* xvii. 22. *Ezek.* xx. 12, 20. (2) *Juſt. dial. cont. Tryph. Tertul. cont. Jud. l.* iv. *Iren. cont. hæreſ. l.* iv. *& al. Vide Seld. de jur. natural. gent. juxt. diſcipl. Hebr. l.* iii. *c.* 13, *& ſeq. Spenc. de leg. rit. Hebr. Jun. Le Clerc, Calm. comm. in Gen.* ii. *& al. mult.* (3) *Luke* vi. 1. (4) *De emend. temp. l.* vi. (5) *Vide Lightfoote, Caſaub. Baron. Jun. Grot. in loc. Godwin's Moſ. & Aar. Sir Iſaac Newt. & al.* (6) *Vide, ſi lib. Miſhnam tract.* יומא, *c.* 5.

THE Sabbath-breaker ſhall be ſtoned [t]; with ſeveral others, either to the ſame purpoſe, or of leſs moment.

Laws relating to the three grand feſtivals, the paſſover, the feaſt of the weeks, and the feaſt of the tabernacle.

The three grand feſtivals.

THREE times a year ſhall all the male children appear before the LORD their GOD, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, or paſſover, at the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt, and at the feaſt of tabernacles. They ſhall not come empty-handed before him; but every man ſhall offer unto the LORD according to the ability wherewith he hath bleſſed him [b] (A).

Of

[t] Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15. [b] Deut. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxxiv. 23, & alib.

ſtir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna; for it is plain they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of *Jeruſalem* (1); however, the *Jews* underſtand it of going out about worldly buſineſs, or for pleaſure, and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a Sabbath-day's journey: this diſtance is not indeed fixed by *Moſes*, or any other prophet; but is determined at 2000 cubits. And though they differ among themſelves about the length of that meaſure, ſome making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the ſafeſt way is, not to exceed 2000 moderate paces (2); and this ſeems to be pretty near the diſtance between *Jeruſalem* and the mount of *Olives*, which St. *Luke* calls a Sabbath-day's journey (3), of which we have already ſpoken: however, he that exceeded that diſtance was not judged a violator of the Sabbath, but came off with a beating; whereas the breaker of it was to be ſtoned to death (4).

(A) The Talmud however exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unleſs their huſbands permitted them to go with them, as in the caſe of *Hannah*, and the virgin *Mary*. 2. Boys who were under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בני התורה *benebathorah*, that is, the ſons or

(1) *Vide Levit.* xxiii. 3. (2) *Vide Maim. tract.* שבת, c. 5. §. 27. *Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. l.* iii. c. 3. §. 10. (3) *Acts* i. 12. (4) *Vide Maim. ubi ſup.*

diſciples

diſciples of the law, till they were entered into the 13th; and this ſeems to be the reaſon why CHRIST did not make his firſt appearance among the doctors at the feaſt till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above ſixty. 4. All the ſick and impotent, lunatics, *&c.* And laſtly, all that either lived at ſuch diſtance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwiſe ſo weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be better calculated to preſerve the union of the *Jewiſh* nation, already ſo ſtrongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, meaſures, cuſtoms, *&c.* which were ſo common to them all, than this frequent and univerſal concourſe to the chief place of worſhip. But here ariſe two very great difficulties: firſt, how *Jeruſalem* could contain ſuch prodigious multitudes as did flock to thoſe ſolemnities from all parts of *Judea*; and ſecondly, how the *Iſraelites* could leave their towns and villages deſtitute of males, without the greateſt danger from thoſe nations which were ſtill left amongſt them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that thoſe who lived upon the borders of the land, ran ſtill a greater riſk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the firſt difficulty, beſides what has been hinted in the geography of the land, concerning the capaciouſneſs of *Jeruſalem*, its ſuburbs, inns, and other accommodations for all ſuch ſtrangers; it may be anſwered, firſt, that they did not all appear together on the ſame day, but that they took it by turns, and ſtayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed, and made way for others. This is plain from the inſtance of *Elkanah*; and ſecondly, that there were tents, and other conveniencies, for their reception, not only in the empty ſpaces within, but likewiſe in all convenient places without the walls of the city. And if this be thought ſtill inſufficient for ſo vaſt a concourſe. what is anſwered to the ſecond difficulty of their leaving the country too much expoſed to their enemies, will eaſily remove all that is left of the firſt.

And here we need not have recourſe to improbable conjectures, as *Cunæus*, *Baſnage*, and others, have done, who think that this obligation laſted no longer than during their abode in the wilderneſs, when their nearneſs to the tabernacle eaſily admitted of it. For, beſides that, if this had been the caſe, there would have been no need for *Jeroboam* to ſet up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to *Jeruſalem*, their hiſtory furniſhes us from time to time with ſufficient teſtimonies, that theſe feſtivals were kept conſtantly till after our SAVIOUR's time, as it plainly appears from the vaſt

Of the paſſover.

Eaſter, *or paſſover.*

THIS grand feſtival was inſtituted in memory of their ſignal and miraculous deliverance out of their *Egyptian* bondage; of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel: the laws relating to it are to the following purpoſe.

It ſhall be of perpetual obligation, both to the *Iſraelites*, and to all circumciſed proſelytes [a].

No circumciſed perſon, whether of the ſeed of *Abraham*, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumciſion, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, journeying, or ſome legal impurity, ſhall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people [b] (B).

No

[a] Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib. [b] Numb. xix. 13, 14.

multitudes that were at *Jeruſalem*, from all parts of the world, at the feaſt of pentecoſt, when the Holy Ghoſt fell upon the apoſtles. Neither need we, ſecondly, ſuppoſe with others, that they only ſent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten, or twelve, to *Jeruſalem*, to be, as it were, the repreſentatives, and to offer the gifts of the reſt, whilſt theſe kept the ſolemnity in their own towns. For if any ſuch thing had been either allowed or practiſed, we ſhould certainly have met with ſomething of it in holy writ; whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the inſtances above-mentioned. But ſince there was a permiſſion from God, that they that were unable to celebrate the paſſover on the firſt month, ſhould do it in the ſecond, as we ſhall ſee in the next note; will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they might extend this indulgence alſo to the other feſtivals; ſo as that one half of the males ſhould ſtay at home to guard their houſes, whilſt the others went up; and, at their return, to go and partake of the ſolemnity of the ſecond month? It is indeed urged, that there was a promiſe from God, that none ſhould deſire their lands whilſt they went up to appear before him: but, beſides that their natural backwardneſs in believing him gives us little reaſon to think, that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, to his ſole care, whilſt they went ſo far from them to worſhip him; it is plain, that thoſe promiſes were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued ſtedfaſt in their obedience; which was ſo ſeldom their caſe, that had their faith in his promiſes been ſtronger than it was, yet their diſobedience *would* have given them but ſmall encouragement to lay hold on them.

(B) It being the principal end of this inſtitution not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which God did in *Egypt* and at the *Red Sea*, but alſo to make it a ſtanding and irrefragable

No ſervant or ſtranger ſhall eat of it, unleſs he become circumciſed [c].

THE feaſt (C) ſhall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month *Abiſ*, or, as the original expreſſes it, between

[c] Exod. xii. 43, & ſeq.

irrefragable monument to all poſterity of the truth and certainty of thoſe amazing works; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the obſervation of it under ſome ſevere penalties. However, it is evident by the ſequel, that they did not underſtand it of a capital puniſhment, ſuch as was to be inflicted on blaſphemers, idolaters, Sabbath-breakers, and the like, ſeeing they not only omitted to celebrate it during their abode in the wilderneſs, without any viſible excuſe, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, but were afterwards guilty of a moſt ſhameful neglect of it, during ſeveral wicked reigns, till *Hezekiah*, and after him *Joſiah*, revived it (3), as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

As for thoſe who, by reaſon of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and thoſe who were hindered by any lawful impediment from celebrating this feſtival with the reſt of the people on the month *Niſan*, they were ordered to keep it with the uſual ceremony on the following month, called *Jair*. This indulgence was granted by GOD himſelf, in favour of ſome men who had defiled themſelves by aſſiſting at the burial of ſome relation (4); and was afterwards made uſe of by the prieſts and *Levites*, who, being under ſome legal impurities when the king commanded them to revive this feſtival at its uſual time, were forced to poſtpone it to the next month (5).

(C) This feſtival is called in the original פסח *peſach*, from the verb *paſſach*, which ſignifies to paſs by, or leap over, and not from the *Greek* τάσχω, *to ſuffer*, as if it had been prophetical of CHRIST's ſuffering at that feaſt, as ſome antient fathers have imagined for want of underſtanding *Hebrew* (6). GOD himſelf explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the ſacrifice of the LORD's paſſover, אשר פסח, *aſher-paſſach*, who paſſed by, or leaped over the houſes of the *Iſraelites* (7). It was to begin בין הערבים *ben-haharvaim*, between the two evenings (8) of the 14th of the month called by *Moſes Abiſ*, which properly ſignifies the ſtalk that bears the ear of corn, becauſe wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called *Niſan*, and anſwers to our

(3) 2 *Chron.* xxx. & xxxv. *paſſ.* (4) *Vide Num.* ix. 6, & *ſeqq.*
(5) 2 *Chron.* xxx. 3. (6) *Tertul. cont. Jud. c.* 10. *Ambroſ. lib. de myſter. paſch. & al.* (7) *Exod.* xii. 27. (8) *Ibid. ver.* 6.

tween the two evenings [d]; at which time the paſchal lamb ſhall be killed (D), and the feſtival continued, till the one-and-twentieth day of the ſame month at evening.

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[d] Ibid. ver. 6. See the margin of our Bible.

March and *April*. The expreſſion *between the two evenings* is variouſly taken. Some reckon the firſt evening to be between noon and ſunſet (1), others between two and ſix (2); but the moſt rational opinion, and the moſt received, is, that the firſt evening is that which immediately follows ſunſet, and that the ſecond begins when that planet is ſo far ſunk below the horizon, that the ſtars viſibly appear above it (3).

The computation of this new year began at the firſt new-moon that happened neareſt, or upon, the vernal equinox, with this rule, that the preceding full-moon, how near ſoever to it, belonged to the laſt month of the former year. Now as they had no aſtronomical tables to regulate thoſe conjunctions, but were forced to guide themſelves by the firſt appearance of the new moon, all their diligence in ſending out people to obſerve it from high places at ſunſet, could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years; becauſe ſometimes it is not to be ſeen till the ſecond or third night, nor even then, if clouds interpoſe. Add to this, that they were in all other reſpects ſo negligent of their chronology, that it is no wonder if ſo many learned men have laboured ſo much to correct and adjuſt it (4), and with ſo little ſucceſs. However, as to the new-moons, and thoſe feſtivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the prieſts and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong (5).

(D) This ordinance of the paſchal lamb our learned *Spencer* thinks to have been one of thoſe which GOD expreſly appointed, in oppoſition to the *Zabian* and *Egyptian* worſhip, in order to cure, as he expreſſes it, the *Iſraelites* of their itch of idolatry, becauſe the ram among them was ſacred to *Jupiter*. He adds alſo, that the ceremony of killing, dreſſing, and eating of it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roaſted, with the head, and all the other appurtenances, that a bone of it ſhould not be broken, *&c.* were in like manner oppoſite to thoſe that were uſed in ſacrifices by thoſe idolaters (6).

As to the *Egyptians*, we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſhew, that this pretended contrariety is at beſt but very

(1) *D. Kimchi, ap. Munſt. in loc.* (2) *Calm. dict. ſub voc. Paque.* (3) *M ſ. Gerund. Aberezr. Salom. & al. in loc.* (4) *Vide Scaliger. ubi ſup. Vignier. Genebr. Uſſer. Sir Iſ. Newt. Bedford, & al.* (5) *Vide prec. affirm.* 46. (6) *De leg. rit. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 24.

lame

THE firſt and laſt day ſhall be kept holy, and free from all ſervile work, even as the Sabbath, except only, that on the former victuals may be dreſſed, but not on the latter [a];

[a] Compare Exod. xii. 16. with xxxv. 3.

lame and imperfect. 1. Becauſe, as they, inſtead of ſheep, ſacrificed goats to him, ſo here *Moſes* ordains the killing either a lamb, or a kid; and, 2. becauſe even they once a year killed a ram in honour of their god, and cloathed his golden ſtatue with the skin of it (1); ſo that there was nothing in this paſchal lamb ſo very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worſhip of *Jupiter*.

As for the ſect of the צבאים *Tzebaim*, or סבאים *Seboim*, we will venture to ſay, that it is at leaſt a very bold aſſumption in our author to make it more antient than *Moſes*, when he tells us himſelf in another place (2), that nothing is more obſcure and uncertain than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions, about it. He quotes everywhere the teſtimony of *Ben Maimon*, who tells us, among other things (3), that he came to underſtand the deſign and meaning of a great number of *Moſes*'s laws, by being converſant with the religion, worſhip, and ceremonies, of the *Zabeans*; from which he adds, that *Abraham*, who was brought up in them, had been converted. But of what weight the opinion of a *Jew*, and him far from a ſtrict one, can be, to account for the deſign of the *Moſaic* laws, or of what authority his teſtimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the *Zabeans* to have been ſo conſiderable a ſect in *Abraham*'s, or even in *Moſes*'s time, that God ſhould take ſuch care to preſerve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were oppoſite to theirs, we ſubmit to the reader. Dean *Prideaux* ſeems indeed very fond of *Maimon*'s notion, and wonders that any one ſhould miſlike it (4); but brings neither proof nor teſtimony ſufficient to back it. However, as to the paſchal lamb, we may more juſtly wonder, that any Chriſtian ſhould fetch its origin from ſo dark and muddy a ſource, when the writers of the New Teſtament have pointed to us one that is ſo much clearer, and more divine, its being a type of CHRIST. We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak of the nation, or rather ſect, of the *Zabeans*, and to ſhew how little their boaſted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(1) *See vol.* i. *p.* 474. (2) *Ubi ſup. c.* 1. §. 1, 2, *& ſeq.* (3) *More Nevoch. part* iii. *c.* 29, *&* 40. *Havedah Zarh. c.* 11, 12, *& alib. paſſ.* (4) *Connect. part* i. *l.* iii.

those two days shall likewise be solemnized by an holy convocation [b] (E).

No leaven of any kind shall be used, or even kept in the house, during those seven days; whosoever useth any leaven on those days shall be cut off from *Israel* [c]: all leaven therefore shall be removed out of the house before the paschal lamb is killed [d].

On the first day of the passover shall be offered a burnt-sacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with some inferior offerings [e]; and on the second day of the feast shall be offered, besides the usual sacrifices, a sheaf of the first-fruit of that year's harvest; no new corn shall be eaten in any way, before the first sheaf has been presented unto the Lord [f] (F). Some other ordinances

[b] Exod. xii. ver. 16. [c] Ibid. ver. 15, 19. [d] Ibid. ver, 15, & alib. Vide præc. aff. 347, [e] Numb. xxviii. 19, & seq. [f] Levit. xxiii. 10, & seq.

(E) The 5 intermediate days are to be spent in mirth, and lawful recreations: they injoin all, especially the women, to wear the gayest apparel, to eat flesh, fish, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this and the other two grand festivals, lest the joy that attends the former should make them forget the occasion of the latter. However, they all agree, that women may shave and wash themselves, or even their cloaths, upon some occasions (1). There is one strange injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, though they be so poor as to live by alms, to drink at least four bumpers of wine on the first night of the passover, whilst they are rehearsing the wonders wrought by God in *Egypt*, and at the *Red Sea* (2); with some more of the like nature, not worth repeating (3).

(F) We shall have occasion to speak of all the different kinds of first-fruits which were to be offered to God as a token of their submission, gratitude, and dependence, and the manner of offering them, when we come to speak of offerings in general. As for this sheaf we are now speaking of, it was to be of barley, because that is the first corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of *Nisan*, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The *Jews* add, that as soon as the evening of the first day of the passover was come, at which time the second began, and in which some kind of works might be done,

(1) *Vide præc. neg.* 75. (2) *Pr. aff.* 40. (3) *Pr. neg.* 77, & *seq.*

the

dinances of leſs moment about this and other feſtivals are interſperſed in the pentateuch; which we therefore omit.

The feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt.

THIS feaſt was inſtituted in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai*, fifty days after the exod (G), and to oblige the people to appear before the LORD, to offer the firſt-fruits of their harveſt, *viz.* two leaves of the new wheat, which was then ripe, as an acknowlegement of his abſolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependence upon him. *The feaſt of weeks.*

SEVEN weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the ſixteenth day of the month *Niſan*, which was the ſecond of the paſſover, and the fiftieth day was to be the firſt day of this feſtival (H).

the בית דין *beth-din*, or *great council*, aſſembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the ſheaf with a kind of ſolemnity, at which great crouds from the neighbouring cities flocked to *Jeruſalem*, within whoſe territories it was to be gathered. Theſe deputies aſked three times whether the ſun was ſet, and were as often anſwered by the by-ſtanders in the affirmative. They then aſked three times leave to reap the ſheaf; and it was no ſooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, each with a ſickle in his hand, and gathered each a diſtinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threſhed, winnowed, and parched; and an homer, which contains about 3 pints, was filled with them, and preſented to the prieſt, who poured a quancity of oil, and threw ſome incenſe, upon it; and, having heaved it to the LORD towards the four points of the compaſs, threw ſome part of it on the fire of the altar, and the reſt he kept for himſelf. After this ceremony, it was lawful for every man to begin his harveſt (1).

(G) The reader may remember that the *Iſraelites* came out of *Egypt* on the 15th of the firſt month *Abiſ*, or *Niſan* (2), and came to *Sinai* on the third day of the third month; two days after which the law, or decalogue, was given in the preſence of all the people (3).

(H) It is therefore called, in the original, חג שבועות *chag ſhebugnoth*, or the feaſt of weeks, from the ſeven weeks which were reckoned from that paſſover; as from the 50 days the *Greeks* gave it the name of pentecoſt. As for their other ceremonies on thoſe days, the reader may ſee them in *Leo de Modena* (4).

(1) *Vide* ס. מנחות *Maimon.* ס. תמידים ומוספים *Abenezr. in Deut.* xxvi. *& al.* (2) *Exod.* xii. 3, 6, 41, 51. (3) *Ibid.* xix. 1, 13, *& ſqq.* (4) *Cærem. Jud. part* iii. *c.* 4.

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THE ſacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, beſides the two loaves, ſeven lambs of the firſt year, one young bullock, and two rams, for a burnt-offering; together with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, and likewiſe a kid for a ſin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering (I). No ſervile work was to be done on that day, ſave that victuals might be dreſſed; and an holy convocation was to be called, as on other ſolemn feſtivals g.

The feaſt of the tabernacles.

The feaſt of tabernacles.

THIS feſtival was ordained in memory of the 40 years abode of the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs; for which reaſon it is called the feaſt of the tabernacles, or tents (K); not only becauſe they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but becauſe it was to be celebrated in ſuch

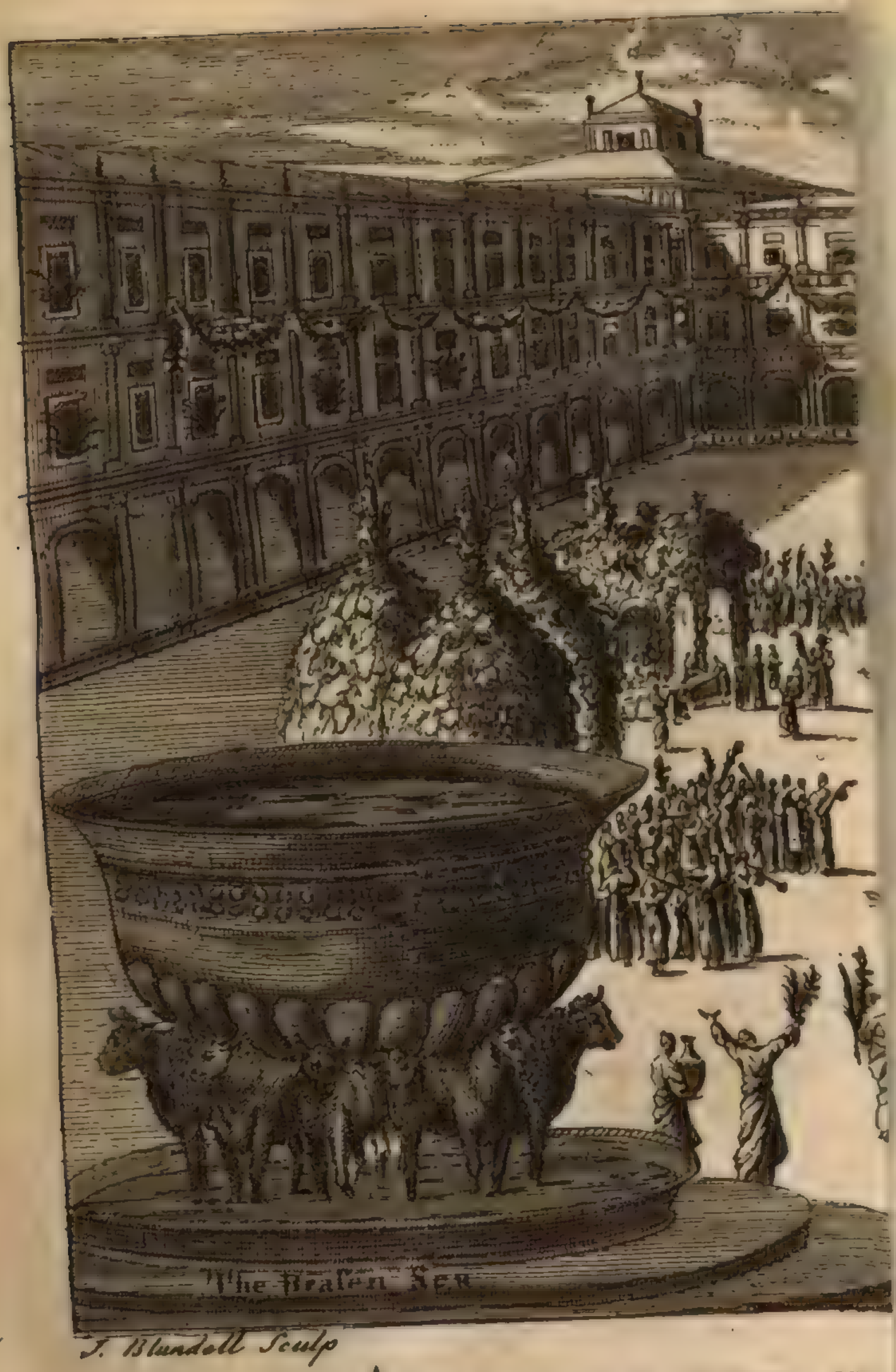
g Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 27, & alib.

(I) There is ſome difference between the ſacrifices that are ordered on this feſtival, in *Leviticus* and in *Numbers* (1). *Joſephus* joins them all together (2); but whoever compares them, will rather think, that there is ſome error of the tranſcriber, either in one or the other of theſe places. *Buxtorf* tells us, that the *Jews* were ſo afraid leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in their calculation of this feſtival, and that of the paſſover, that they kept it two days inſtead of one. He inſtances in one place in *Judith* (3), in which the *Greek* ſeems to confirm his aſſertion; and by that means removes the difficulty which has been ſtarted of our SAVIOUR's eating the paſſover one day before the reſt of the *Jews* (4).

(K) The original calls it חג הסוכות *chag haſſukoth*, the feaſt of the tents, or booths; from which the *Greeks* gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγια *ſkenopegia* (5). Though the text ſays it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderneſs, yet the *Chaldee* paraphraſt ſeems to have underſtood it not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות *ſuccoth*, *tents*, by חשלא ענניס *the ſhade of the clouds*. It is likewiſe thought to have been inſtituted as a feaſt of thankſgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage, which generally ended there about this time, which anſwers to the beginning of our *October*.

(1) Comp. *Levit.* xxiii. 18, 19. & *Numb.* xxviii. 27. (2) *Ant. l.* iii. *c.* 10. (3) *Judith* viii. 6. (4) *Synag. Jud. Vide & Cyril. Alex. in Joh.* xii. *Chryſoſt. homil.* 82. *Epiphan. Euthym. Paul. Burg. P. de Middelb. Scalig. Janſen. Maldon. & al. mult.* (5) LXX. & 1 *Maccab.* x. 21. 2 *Maccab.* i, 9, & alib.

kinds



J. Blundell Sculp

A VIEW OF THE IN

kinds of booths, made of the branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as willows, palms, olives, and the like (A), and erected in the moſt decent and convenient manner[h].

THIS feaſt was the third grand one, and equal in ſolemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the paſſover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month called *Tiſri*, which was the firſt of the civil year, and anſwered to part of our *September*; by which time all the harveſt being finiſhed and brought in, they returned their ſolemn thanks to GOD for it[i]. It was to laſt ſeven days, the firſt and laſt of which were kept with the greateſt ſtrictneſs (B), by repairing

[h] Levit. xxiii. 40, & ſeqq. & alib. [i] Exod. xxiii. 16.

(A) *Moſes* gives us a fuller deſcription of this feaſt (6) than of any other, probably becauſe it was not to be celebrated till after they were ſettled in the *Promiſed Land*; but, as to the particular trees, of which the booths were made, and the manner of their ſtructure, they are not ſo eaſily underſtood, nor agreed on, among the *Jewiſh* doctors: tho' all that is ſuppoſed to be meant by that lawgiver was, that they ſhould chooſe ſuch trees as yielded the moſt laſting and agreeable verdure and fragrancy. This, at leaſt, was the ſentiment of the wiſer *Caraites*, who, deſpiſing the niceties of the *Cabbaliſts*, thought they ſufficiently anſwered the deſign of the feaſt, if they lived in ſuch tents or booths as their forefathers had done in the wilderneſs; whilſt the *Talmudiſts* and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberleſs additions to it (7).

(B) The firſt day of this feſtival was uſhered in by a general proceſſion, in which the men carried branches of thoſe trees mentioned by *Moſes* in the place above quoted, ſome in one hand, and ſome in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and ſinging ſome pſalms or hymns proper for the ſolemnity, and crying *hoſannah!* which word doth properly ſignify, *ſave, we beſeech thee*; from this word the laſt day of the feaſt (on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed ſeven times, and with greater ſolemnity, in memory, as is pretended (8), of the taking of *Jericho*) (9), was ſtiled *Hoſannah Rabbah*, or the day of the great *Hoſannah*.

The hundred and eighteenth pſalm is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been ſung on, if not compoſed for, that feſtival; becauſe there are not only ſeveral expreſſions in it, that

(6) *Levit.* xxiii. 40. (7) *Vide Minſh. tract.* סוכה, *arbab. thurim. Maimon. tract.* שופר, & *alib.* (8) *Baſnag. ibid.* (9) *Hoſpin. orig. feſt. c.* 7. *Munſt. in calend.* & *al.*

have

pairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and singing the praises of GOD; by sacrifices peculiar to the solemnity, over and above the usual ones; and by a cessation from all servile works, except cookery [k].

THEY were likewise obliged to dwell in those booths all the seven days, and to eat and drink, and lie in them (C), unless lawfully hindered [l].

THE

[k] Numb. xxix. 12, & alib. [l] Levit. xxiii. 42.

have an affinity to it, such as these: אנא יהוה הושיעה נא אנא יהוה הצליחה נא *ana adonai hoshibah-na, ana adonai, hatzlichah na* (10); but also from the very analogy of the whole composure, with the ceremonies of that feast; such as the praying more particularly for the coming of the Messiah, for the prosperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of *Siloah*, and the like. This last ceremony, however, is thought to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time; though some of the *Jews* attribute the institution of it to the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* (1). Our Saviour is thought to have alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the last day of this feast, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me*, &c (2).

(C) The *Jews* except out of this number the sick, and their nurses, and those who could not bear either the dampness of the earth, or the fragrancy of the boughs (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from these ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. *Plutarch* might take the notion, that the *Jews* celebrated this feast to *Bacchus*; and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thyrse in their hands, though he knew not what was done in the inside of them (4). It is true, that *Josephus*, speaking of this feast, and of the nosegay, or bunch of greens, which the *Jews* wore in it (5), calls it εἰρεσιώνη, which, among the *Greeks*, signified a bunch of olive, tied up with wool, on which hung great variety of fruit. This nosegay used to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of *Apollo* (6). But our author here tells us, that the *Jewish* one was made up of myrtle, willow, and palm, on which hung little sprouts of peach, or, as others render it, young citrons. However that be, *Spencer* has from thence fancied, that it was instituted by *Moses* in imitation of the

(10) *Psal.* cxviii. 25. (1) *Vid. Cun. ub. sup. Calm. sub. voc. Pentecost. Meyer. fest. Heb. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. & al. Vide & Mišn. sub tit.* סוכה, *& Wett. & al. comment. in cod.* (2) *John* vii. 37, 38. (3) *Vid. Munst. in Levit.* xxiii. *præc. aff. & neg. & auct. sup. citat.* (4) *Symposiac. probl.* v. (5) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. (6) *Vid. gloss. in voc.*

heathen,

THE ſacrifices peculiar to this feaſt were, on the firſt day, thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs of a year old; all without blemiſh, which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, conſiſting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and ſome wine. To theſe was added likewiſe a kid, for a ſin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of *Iſrael*; beſides the uſual morning and evening ſacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and thoſe which any one might offer out of devotion. On the 2d day they offered 12 bullocks, two rams, and 14 lambs, with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the firſt day [m]; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, they offered the ſame ſacrifices, only leſſening every day one bullock; ſo that on this laſt day they ſacrificed but ſeven (D); as for the other

[m] Num. xxix. 17.

heathen, who about that time uſed to celebrate ſome feaſts to their gods, with the ſame mirth and ſolemnity (7); but *Moſes* gives us a quite different reaſon, namely, that their poſterity might know, that GOD had made the *Iſraelites* to dwell in booths at their coming out of *Egypt* (8); and elſewhere, that they departed from *Rameſes*, and encamped at *Succoth* (9), ſo called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

Walton adds another reaſon to this of *Moſes*, namely, that it was on the 10th day of the month *Tiſri* that *Moſes* came down the ſecond time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news, that GOD was appeaſed for the ſin of the golden calf; and that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up (which that idolatrous defection had obſtructed for a time), in token that he did now no longer diſdain to be among them, ſeeing he vouchſafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10): and, as he obſerves there, that this happened ſix months after the exod, it accounts for that feaſt being inſtituted in that month, rather than in the firſt, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. *Leo de Modena* (14) tells us, that the pſalms which begin with הללויה, *Halleluja*, that is, the cxi. cxii cxiii. *&c.* to the cxviii. were the proper ones to be ſung on that day. Thoſe who are curious to know how the *Jews* obſerve this feaſt ſince their diſperſion, may find a full account of it in the ſame author and place.

(D) The reaſon which the *Jews* give for leſſening one

(7) *De leg. rit. Jud. l.* i. *c.* 6. *& l.* iii. *c.* 8. (8) *Levit.* xxiii. 42.
(9) *Exod.* xii. 37. (10) *Harmon. evang. ad Luc.* iii. 21. *ap. Meyer de temp. ſacr. cap.* 16. §. 3. (14) *Cærem. Jud. part* ii. *c.* 7.

bullock

other offerings, they continued the same throughout. On the eighth or last day, which was the most solemn of all, and on which they were to hold a solemn assembly, and to abstain from all servile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs, besides the goat for a sin-offering, and the usual and voluntary sacrifices[l]; which last rose and fell, according as their harvest had been more or less plentiful. Lastly, on this day, the first-fruits of those things, which were of later growth, were brought up, and offered to GOD; and these came sometimes in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer[m].

The feast of the trumpets, and new-moons.

The feast of the trumpets.

WE have lately taken notice, that the month *Tisri* was the first of the civil, as that of *Abib*, or *Nisan*, was of the sacred year: this feast was appointed to be kept

[l] Ibid. ver. 14, ad fin. [m] Vide SIGONIUM, BERTRAND. CUNÆUM, MEYER, GOODW. & al.

bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in those seven days amounted to 70, which, they say, is the number of the nations for whom these sacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the sceptre of the Messiah, who is emphatically called the desire of all nations (15). Those who have called this eighth day the *Hosannah-rabba* (16), are certainly contradicted by all the *Jews*, who affirm, that it was the seventh day (17): as for this eighth day, on which there was to be what most interpreters render, as we do, a solemn assembly; the *Hebrew* word עצרת, *Jhetzereth*, signifies a retention; or, as our margin hath it (18), restraint; for which reason they affirm, that after the seventh day was over, and so consequently the festival, the people used to stay, or be detained, one day longer (19). On this day it is that the *Jews* end the last parasha or section of the pentateuch; and, immediately after, begin the first, that they may not seem to be better pleased with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20); and, for this reason, it is called חג שמחת תורה, the feast of joy of the law (21).

(15) *Haggai* ii. 7. *Vid. Hospin. orig. fest. in loc. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. lib.* iii. c. 6. §. 8. (16) *Goodwin, ubi sup. Calm. in voc. Tabernacle.*
(17) *Vide Mishn. ubi sup. Shulchan Haruch, Arbah Turim, & al.*
(18) *Levit.* xxiii. 36. (19) *Vide Munst. ibid. Meyer de fest.* c. xvi. §. 15.
(20) *Buxtorf in abbreviat. & synag. Jud.* c. 28. *Vide & Abarb. in Deut.* xxxi.
(21) *Rab. Eliezer in Exod.* xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22.

on the firſt and ſecond day of that month. It was to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all ſervile work, and to be diſtinguiſhed from other new-moons by particular ſacrifices [n].

As the Scripture no-where gives the reaſon of this feſtival, authors are much divided about it; the *Jews*, in general, believe it was inſtituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F); though ſome rabbies think, that it was alſo in memory of *Iſaac*'s deliverance, and of the ram that was caught by the horns, and ſubſtituted for him [o]. Some of the fathers are of opinion, it was in memory of the law being given upon mount *Sinai* [p], at which time the trumpet and thunder was heard: others laſtly, from ſome of the ceremonies obſerved by the *Jews*, by way of preparation for, and from ſome of their notions about this feſtival (G), have fanſied,

[n] Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 12, & ſeqq. [o] Vide R. Sal. Fag. Munst. & al. in Levit. xxiii. [p] Basil. in Pſ. lxxxi. Theodoret. qu. 32. in Levit.

(F) The *Gemarrah* doth poſitively affirm, that בתשרי ברא העולם, *the world was created in the month of Tiſri*; for which reaſon, it is thought that this feaſt was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the ſacred; and obſerves, that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, at the revolution or return, or, as our verſion renders it, though not ſo properly, at the end of the year(†.) And the miſhnah adds, that the firſt day of this month is the head of the year, from which the ſeventh year, the jubilee, *&c.* are to be computed (22).

(G) The antient *Jews* had a notion, that God paſſed a kind of judgment upon men at this time, for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year; according to which he ordered his bleſſings and puniſhments for the next (23). The miſhnah expreſly ſays —— that at the beginning of the year they paſs before him like ſheep, according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt (24), *From the place of his habitation he looketh upon the inhabitants of the earth: he formed their hearts alike, and conſiders* [or takes notice of] *all their works.* For this reaſon they thought, that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their ſleep of ſin than the ſound of the trumpets, according to that of the prophet *Joel* (25), *Blow the trumpet in* Sion, *ſanctify a faſt*, &c. Accordingly *Maimon* obſerves

(†) *Vide Moim. Kiduſh hakodeſh, c.* 9. (22) *Tract.* ראש השנה, *cap.* 1. *Vide & Levit.* xxv. 3, 5, 6. (23) *Ubi ſup.* (24) *Pſ.* xxxiii. 14, 15. *Vide Hotting. & Wotton, in miſhn.* (25) *Cb.* ii. *paſſ.*

from

fanſied, that it was to put mankind in mind of the general reſurrection, which is to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpet[q]; but the moſt probable reaſon for this feaſt, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the ſound of the trumpets, ſeems to be in order to render it more obſervable, ſeeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and ſuch-like, as well as their ſabbatic years from the *Megillah-tabanith*, that the trumpets, which were more ſolemnly blown on faſt-days, were proper to excite men to prepare themſelves during the ten days, that were between this feaſt, and the next faſting-day, or day of expiation, for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the ſpeech which a learned *Jewiſh* rabbi has tranſmitted to us (27), which then uſed to accompany the ſound of the trumpets: *Awake, awake from your ſleep; awake, ye that deal in vanity; for deadly is the ſleep that holdeth you. Conſider ſeriouſly in your hearts who it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account*, &c. The apoſtle ſeems to allude to this in his epiſtle to the *Epheſians* (28).

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or abſurd; but that is more than we can ſay of the additions which have been made by the *Talmudiſts*; we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them: they believe, that God keeps three books, one of the good, a ſecond of the bad, and a third of thoſe that are neither one nor the other. The firſt is the book of life, the ſecond that of death; and thoſe that are in the third, are to be transferred either to the firſt or ſecond, on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worſe. Thoſe two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next; and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the reſt of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear at the ſynagogue in white, others in their ſhrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themſelves gradually into the water, confeſſing their ſins, and ſmiting their breaſts, as they ſink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and laſtly, others will give themſelves 49 laſhes on their bare backs, or procure ſomebody to do it for them; and, after theſe mortifications, and ſuitable prayers, *&c.* they wiſh one another the happineſs of being written down for a good year (29).

[q] Vide Goodw. ubi ſup. §. 6.

(26) *More Nevoch. part* iii. *ch.* 4. (27) *Rab. Shem Tob. comm. in Main. in loc.* (28) Ch. v. 14. *Vide Goodw. ubi ſup.* §. 6. (29) *Vide Buxtorf. Syrag. Jud. Hoſpin. Goodwin, Leon. de Moden. & al.*

and jubilees, were to be regulated by it[r]; for which reaſon the trumpets ceaſed not to ſound every-where from ſunriſing to ſunſetting *.

THE proper ſacrifices for this ſolemnity were one young bullock, one ram, and ſeven lambs, offered up in a ſolemn burnt-offering, with the uſual addition of flour and wine in the name of the whole nation, beſides the kid for a ſin-offering, and the daily and monthly ſacrifices[s].

The new-moons.

THE *Iſraelites* were commanded to obſerve the firſt day of every month, or moon, and to offer, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, with the uſual quantity of flour, wine, and oil[t]. The moſt ſolemn of all the twelve was that of the month *Tiſri*, which we ſpoke of laſt, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The reſt had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from common days, except the ſacrifices above-mentioned, which were accompanied with the ſound of the trumpets (H); making better chear, and, perhaps, uſing ſome kind of devotion or aſſemblies peculiar to thoſe days. We find nothing like it, indeed, injoined by *Moſes*; but one may gather the former from *David*'s excuſe for abſenting himſelf from *Saul*'s table on the firſt day of the month [u], and the latter from what the *Shunammite*'s husband ſaid to diſſuade her from going to the prophet *Eliſha*, that it was *neither new-moon nor ſabbath* [w].

new-moons.

[r] Idem ibid. §. 5.
[s] Num. xxix. 2, & ſeqq.
[t] 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 27.
* Vide SCHINDLER, ſub voc. שפר.
[u] Ibid. xxviii. 11, 12, &c.
[w] 2 Kings iv. 23.

(H) The fixing the time of the new-moon, for want of aſtronomical tables, was done in this manner. The firſt men that obſerved, or thought they obſerved the new-moon, were to repair with all ſpeed to the grand council, and to give notice of it. An inquiry was then made, whether the perſons were credible witneſſes; and ſecondly, whether their report agreed with ſuch computations as they were then able to make; in which caſe the preſident proclaimed the new-moon by ſaying מקדש, *Mekudaſh, It is conſecrated*; which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every-where by the ſound of the trumpet, or by other ways, according to the times and places (30).

(30) *Vide Hottinger. in Goodw. ubi ſup. §. 7. ſub not. 5.*

HOWEVER, though, in all other reſpects, this day was like a common day, they were very ſcrupulous in obſerving it; and as the ſpace of the moon's entering and coming out of the partile conjunction of the ſun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new month, and they had no ſure way of computing it with any exactneſs or certainty, they obſerved two days, namely, the laſt day of the old, and the firſt day of the new, for greater ſecurity. That this cuſtom began very early, ſeems plainly intimated in the inſtance we have given of *Saul*; wherein it is ſaid, that he excuſed *David* for his abſence on the firſt day, but reſented it on the ſecond.

THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewiſe to make ſome tranſpoſitions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of *Tiſri*; and of the reſt of the months according to that (I). But how early theſe tranſpoſitions began, is what cannot eaſily be conjectured. All that we know is, that *Scaliger* has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out, and rectify them; and that they have ſince been of great uſe in many caſes, as may be ſeen by the book itſelf, and by the authors quoted in the margin[x].

THESE are all the feaſt-days that were appointed by the *Moſaic* law; the *Jews* added, in proceſs of time, ſeveral others in memory of ſome great mercies; ſuch as that of *Purim* or *Lots*, in memory of their deliverance from *Haman*'s cruelty[y], the dedication of the temple, and

[x] De emendat. temp. HOSPIN. orig. feſt. BUXT. GOODW. MEY. USSER. & MUNSTER, & al. mult. [y] Eſther, c. ult. ver. 20, & ſeq.

(I) The reaſon of this tranſpoſition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt (34): the monthly was, leſt they ſhould celebrate the new-moon before the old one was expired. The political was, leſt two Sabbaths or days of reſt ſhould follow one another, becauſe, as it was forbid to dreſs victuals, bury their dead, *&c.* on ſuch days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies ſo long above-ground. The mixed tranſpoſition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menſtrual, and partly political. Theſe diſtinctions are, in many reſpects, very judicious and neceſſary; but they have branched them out at ſuch a rate, and with ſub-diſtinctions, *&c.* that we chuſe to refer the readers that are curious about ſuch things, to thoſe authors mentioned above.

(34) *Scalig. ubi ſup. lib.* ii.

many

many more, which we ſhall not mention here, becauſe they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconſumed of the ſacrifices offered on thoſe ſolemnities, after the firſt and ſecond day, or even before, if the fleſh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill ſmell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to aſhes [z].

Laws concerning the ſabbatic and jubilee years.

THE ſabbatic or ſeventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in ſeven times ſeven years, are alſo to be looked upon as ſolemn times. They were appointed by GOD, and deſigned for reſt and rejoicing; and as they bore a kind of analogy, or rather were a kind of conſequence of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, they may upon that account be alſo reckoned among their ſolemn feſtivals. *Sabbatic year, &c.*

THE *Moſaical* law diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, conſiſting of twelve ſolar, and afterwards of lunar months (K), beginning at the month *Tiſri*, or *September*, as we ſaid above. 2. The ſacred, which began at the month

z Levit. vii. 15, & ſeq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

(K) It is plain, by the calculation which *Moſes* gives us of the days of the flood (35), and elſewhere, that the year conſiſted of 365 days, and conſequently of 12 ſolar months, the laſt of which conſiſted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in *Egypt*, he had learned that way of reckoning from them, becauſe they are generally allowed to be the firſt inventors of it, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory (36); beſides that it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy method to the *Iſraelites*, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long abode there. *Scaliger* (37), and others after him, have, indeed, ſuppoſed that they had an intercalar month once in ſixſcore years; but it is plain, that the Scripture hints nothing like ſuch an intercalation, or year of 13 months: tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs what they did with the ſix additional hours of the *Egyptians* to the 365 days, without ſome ſuch ſuppoſition. However, *Moſes*, by the expreſs command of GOD (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons; for that is the meaning of the word חודש, *chodeſh*, from ח־ד־ש, to renew; though our *Engliſh*

(35) *Gen.* vii. & viii. *paſſ.* (36) *Vide vol.* i. *p.* 496. (37) *De emend. temp. l.* iii. (38) *Exod.* xii. 2.

verſion

month *Niſan*, or *March*, which was the ſeventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; ſo that the paſſover, which happened in the middle of this month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other feſtivals. 3. The ſabbatic or ſeventh year; and, 4. The jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of ſeven weeks of years. We have already ſaid as much as is neceſſary concerning the two firſt.

Laws concerning the ſeventh years.

THE ſabbatic year was to be kept every ſeventh year: the obſervation of it conſiſted chiefly in the five following articles.

1. In a total ceſſation from all manner of agriculture [a].
2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the ſtranger [b].

[a] Levit. xxv. 4. [b] Ibid. ver. 6.

verſion renders it month; and theſe anſwered partly to one of our months, and partly to another.

The ſame authors have imagined, that the *Iſraelites* had no names for their months before the captivity (39), becauſe they are often diſtinguiſhed only by their numbers, as firſt, ſecond, &c. yet it is certain we find ſome of them called by particular names long before: thus we have ſeen, that the firſt month of the ſacred year was originally called אביב, *abib*. We find likewiſe that of זו, *zif* (40), איתנים, *ethanim* (41), and בול, *bul* (42); from which it is not improbable that the others might likewiſe have their names, though they are not recorded, and are oftener mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of thoſe names, as well as of thoſe which they uſed after the captivity, about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing deſerves, we think it too uncertain to trouble our readers with it; and ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining a liſt of the names themſelves; which is as follows:

		Days	Anſwers to our
1	*Tiſri*	30	*September.*
2	*Marcheſhvan*	29	*October.*
3	*Chaſleu*	30	*November.*
4	*Thebet*	29	*December.*
5	*Sebat*	30	*January.*
6	*Adar*	29	*February.*
7	*Niſan*	30	*March.*
8	*Yiar*	29	*April.*
9	*Sivan*	30	*May.*
10	*Thammuz*	29	*June.*
11	*Abb*	30	*July.*
12	*Elul*	29	*Auguſt.*

To this laſt they added, in proceſs of time, the intercalar month, which they called ואדר, *veadar*, that is, *and*, or *the ſecond*, *adar*, as that was the laſt of the ſacred year.

(39) *Vide Hotting. in Goodw. l.* iii. *c.* 1. §. 13. *note* 3. (40) 1 *Kings* vi. 1. (41) *Ibid. c.* viii. 2. (42) *Ibid.* vi. 38.

3. In

3. In the releaſe of all *Hebrew* ſlaves, unleſs they voluntarily renounced their proffered liberty, and choſe to abide by their old maſters; in which caſe they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their preſence, in token that they freely embraced a perpetual ſervitude, or, at leaſt, till the year of jubilee [c].
4. In the remiſſion of all debts from one *Iſraelite* to another: but this did not extend to ſtrangers, who were excluded that benefit [d].
5. It was to begin and end on the month *Tiſri*, or *September*, that there might be ſufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for ſowing it againſt the next year, that ſo the land might not lie fallow two years together [e] (L). Some other laws

[c] Exod. xxi. 2, & ſeq. & alib.
[d] Deut. xv. 1, & ſeq.
[e] Levit. xxv. 9.

(L) This year is by *Moſes* called by ſeveral names, as שנה השבעית *ſhanah haſhbigbith*, the ſeventh year שבת ארץ, *Sabbath haaretz*, the Sabbath, or reſt of the earth; שמטה ליהוה, *ſhemitah ladonai*, the releaſe of the LORD, and the like. The time of year in which it was to begin, is no-where fixed by *Moſes*; but is eaſily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reaſon given under that article, as well as from the generality of *Jewiſh* authors. How ſoon this ſabbatic year was obſerved after their entrance into *Canaan*, is variouſly reckoned both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. The reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin (44). But, if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, who fixes it on the ſeventh year after the manna ceaſed, at which time they began to ſow and till the ground (45). *Cunæus* ſpeaks ſtill more particularly to the ſame effect; his words run thus (46): There is no neceſſity for beginning the epoch of the ſeven years at the diviſion of the land of *Canaan*, but rather at the death of *Moſes*, which was the forty-firſt after the exod; and then the firſt ſabbatic year will be on the 7th after the paſſage of *Jordan*; ſo that, after having

(43) *Levit.* xv. 9. (44) *Gemar. Kidduſh. Gemar. Hieroſ. in loc. Sedar Holam. Maimon. de Shemitah & Yobel, paſſ. Abarban. in Joſh.* xiv. 12, *& alib. R. Dav. Gantz. in Zemach, & al. Scaliger, annot. in chronic. Euſeb. & alib. Goodw. Moſ. & Aar. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *Munſt. calend. Meyer de temp. ſacr. c.* 17. *Cun. Calm. & al.* (45) *Sub A. M.* 2554. (45) *Vide Baſnag. rep. Heb. tom.* ii. *c.* 8.

laws we find relating to this year, such as that those servants who were released in it, should not go away empty; but that a compensation should be made to them for their service[f]; that they should not withdraw any needful assistance from their poor brethren, by reason of the nearness of the seventh year[g]; with some others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards, to all comers, and the like (M). Among these was that remarkable one of reading the law before all the people, on the day of *Pentecost*. For as they were to abstain from all works of husbandry, there is no doubt but there was a greater concourse to hear it than could have been at any other intermediate year.

THE reasons and excellence of these laws, as well as those that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithless and stubborn nation, in a constant dependence upon, and subjection to the divine providence; and to inspire them with sentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, servants, slaves, and strangers, by reminding them of their *Egyptian* slavery; which is assigned as one of the reasons of

[f] Deut. xv. 13, & seq. [g] Ibid. ver. 7, & seq.

been taken up six years in the conquest and dividing of the land, the seventh proved, in all respects, a year of rest, seeing they rested from their conquests, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land.

(M) It may be, perhaps, asked, what they lived upon during that year, if they must relinquish the product of all their lands to the poor? But it must be remembred, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was sufficient for themselves and their families (47). However, as some of them made a scruple to touch even any of these, we may reasonably suppose, that they made what provision they could against that time, of such things as could be easily preserved, such as corn, wine, oil, olives, raisins, figs, dates, pulse, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of פרות, or things of spontaneous growth, they might gather them in their own or any other ground: tho' even this, some of their rigid scribes pronounce unlawful, not so much because the law expresly forbids it, as for fear of transgressing by too great a liberty (48).

(47) *Levit.* xxv. 6. (48) *Vide Ben Maim. ubi supra, tract.* שבועות, *cap.* vi.

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this inſtitution[h]; to which we may add another, namely, the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every ſeventh year. However, the generality of the *Jews*, and a great number of *Chriſtians* both antient and modern, have looked upon the main deſign of theſe inſtitutions to be typical of the *millennium*, or thouſand years reſt; for, as the *Pentateuch* conſecrates the ſeventh day, the ſeventh year, and the ſeven times ſeventh year, to reſt, they conclude, that the world will laſt ſix thouſand years in the ſtate we ſee it in; or, as *R. Elias*, in the *Talmud*, expreſſes it, two thouſand years without the law, two thouſand under the law, and two thouſand under the MESSIAH[i]; after which comes the grand ſabbath of one thouſand years: but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to obſerve, from a modeſt hint of the learned Mr. *Mede*[k], that as long as we perſiſt in denying the ſecond appearance of CHRIST upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his firſt was obſcure, we ſhall hardly be able to convince the *Jews*, that he is the true promiſed MESSIAH; becauſe we can give no tolerable reaſon why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and ſufferings ſhould be underſtood in a literal, and thoſe of his exaltation and glorious reign in a ſpiritual ſenſe. Whereas were the doctrine of the *millennium*, which is far from being anti-evangelical in any but a *Jewiſh* and carnal ſenſe, generally received, it would effectually anſwer one of their ſtrongeſt objections, without caſting the leaſt reflection on the *Chriſtian* religion, whilſt the *Jews* were left at their liberty to take it in as groſs, and we in as ſpiritual and refined a ſenſe as we ſaw fit.

Laws relating to the jubilee.

THIS ſolemnity is the laſt, and moſt conſiderable, that GOD injoined to the *Iſraelites*. It was to be celebrated every fiftieth year[l], and had this advantage over that of the ſeventh, that it releaſed all ſlaves that had refuſed their liberty; annihilated all debts; and reſtored to every man all his lands, houſes, wife, children, and poſſeſſions, however alienated; and every *Hebrew* ſervant or ſlave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how, and upon what account ſoever he had been deprived of them[m], *Jubilee year.*

[h] Ibid. ver. 15. [i] Tract. Sanhedr. §. Helec. Vide HOSPIN GOODW. MET. MUNST. & al. [k] Clav. Apocalypt. ad fin. [l] Levit. xxv. 8, & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 28, 41, & alib.

during those 50 years: for this reason it is that we think, after many commentators, that it was called *Jubilee*, or *Yobel*, because it restored every thing to its pristine state (O). However, it must be observed, that this privilege extended no further than to the original *Israelites*, or to those who had been incorporated into their religion and commonwealth by circumcision; these, indeed, might claim the benefit of it, though they had been sold for slaves for any crimes, even by the sentence of the grand sanhedrin [n]; but, as for the *Gentiles*, they were wholly excluded from it [o].

SOME think that the *Israelites* were wont to reckon by *jubilees*, as the *Greeks* did by *olympiads*, the *Romans* by *lustra*, and the *Christians* by *indictions* [p]; and probably they did so, because they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houses, and the like, which generally sold for more or less, according to their nearness to, or distance from it [q]. As for the possessions of the priests and *Levites*, they had certain privileges and immunities, which shall be spoken of in a more proper place [r].

DURING the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expresly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harvest and vintage, and of all the product of that year; and all other things of that nature went on after the same manner, as they did in the sabbatic year. The beginning of it was, by GOD's own appointment, fixed to the seventh month *Tisri* [s], which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year, after they entered into

[n] Levit. ver. 40. [o] Ibid. ver. 46. Vide MAIMON. tract. עברים, c. 9. [p] HOSPIN. orig. fest. c. 9. GOODW. HOTTING. [q] Levit. xxv. 27, & seq. [r] Ibid. ver. 32, & seq. [s] Ibid. ver. 8, 9.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, concerning which the reader may consult the authors quoted in the margin (55); but we prefer that which derives it from the obsolete root יבל, *yabal*, in hiphil, הוביל, *hobil*, which signifies, to recal, restore, bring back, &c. which is what the *jubilee* did. The reader may see that word occur in many places of Scripture, and particularly in the *Psalms*, where, among others, he will find this expression: יובילו שי למורה, *Yobilu sai lammorah, Bring presents to him that is to be feared* (56).

(55) *Rabbin. ser. omn. Vide Kimch. in rad. sub voc.* יובל, *Goodw. Mey. Munst. &c. Buxtorf. bicroz. Beckius annot. in Maimon. shemitah veyobel, note* 5. *Goodwin, Hotting. &c.* (56) *Psalm* lxxvi. *ver. penult. vide & Job* x. 19. xxi. 30, 32. *Jerem.* xxxi. 9, *& alib.*

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the land of *Canaan*, they celebrated the firſt *jubilee*, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth, or fiftieth year, is not eaſy to determine. As to the former, the *Jews* begin to reckon the firſt of the fifty years from the fourteenth after *Joſhua*'s paſſing the *Jordan*. How their computation ran, according to the learned *Maimon*, *Philo*, and *Joſephus*, the reader may ſee in the margin[u] (Q).

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[u] Ubi ſup. c. 10. ex verſ. BECKM.

(Q) "From their entrance into *Canaan* to their being carried out of it, are ſeventeen jubilees; and the year in which they went into captivity, and the temple was deſtroyed, was the ſeventh, or ſabbatic year, and the thirty-ſixth of the 18th *jubilee*, which they prove thus: the firſt temple ſtood 110 years, after which there was an end of that epocha; the land then did lay waſte ſeventy years, and then the ſecond temple was built, which ſtood likewiſe 120 years. In the ſeventh year after its reſtoration, *Ezra* went up to *Jeruſalem*; and from this time began a ſecond epocha. On the thirteenth after the rebuilding of the temple, they celebrated the ſecond ſabbatic year; and ſeven weeks of years, or forty-nine years, being elapſed, they conſecrated the fiftieth; for tho' they did not celebrate the *jubilee* after their return from the captivity, nevertheleſs they continued to compute the years of it, in order to celebrate the ſabbatic ones." Thus far *Maimon*; but here it muſt be obſerved, that he has followed the reckoning of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and of all the *Jews*, who not only place the firſt ſabbatic year, and conſequently the *jubilee*, ſeven years later than *Uſher* and *Cunæus*, namely, from the fourteenth year after their entrance into *Canaan*, but allow fifty complete years to every *jubilee*; whereas that primate, and with him a great number of learned *Chriſtians* (1), think that it was celebrated every forty-ninth year, as we ſhall ſee preſently. However, as he has here rectified the *Jewiſh* chronology in ſome other reſpects, ſo he reckons but the ſame number of *jubilees* that *Maimon* doth before the deſtruction of the temple; as the reader may ſee in the table at the end of his annals under the word *Jubilee*.

The firſt of them he fixes on the 3318th year of the *Julian* period, which is the 2609th of the world, or 1396 years before Chriſt, and the ſeventeenth or laſt before the captivity in 4102 of the *Julian* period, 3393 of the world,

(1) *Hugo Cardinal. Gerard, Mercat. in chronol. Joſ. Scaliger, Petav. Oſiris, Lansberg, Capel, Cunæus, Spanheim, Jun. Le Clerc, & al. mult.*

and

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated in the forty-ninth, or fiftieth year. We have already given a list of the principal authors who are for the former; those who declare for the latter (without reckoning *Philo*, *Josephus*, the *Targums*, and all the *Jews* in general, *Karaites* as well as *Talmudists*), are still more considerable. —— Among these we may reckon some of the fathers [y], and a great number of moderns [z] (R).

THIS

[y] EUSEB. S. JEROM, AUGUST. GREG. Mag. ISIDOR. & al.
[z] TOSTAT. BONFRER. FAGIUS, JUNIUS, DRUSIUS, VILLET. HOTTINGER, SCHINDLER, PFEIF, HEIDEKKER, LEWSDEN, CALMET, & al.

and 612 before CHRIST. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added in order to make a complete calculation of them to the thirtieth year of CHRIST, or to the beginning of the gospel. For it is plain, as *Maimon* observes in the place above quoted, that the *Jews* observed no *jubilee* after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, either with respect to the cessation of agriculture, the restitution of lands, manumission of slaves, or any of those ends for which it had been instituted. Neither, indeed, was it practicable; for the seventy years captivity having quite obliterated the memory and pretension to their forefathers land, every one, at their return, settled himself as well as he could, in the confusion that then reigned, after which their affairs took a quite new face in *Judea*; whilst a very considerable number of their brethren chose to continue in the place of their captivity.

(R) The truth is, that either hypothesis may be defended from the different expressions which *Moses* makes use of in the institution of it; and, on the other hand, there are certain difficulties in each of them, which cannot be easily solved. We shall content ourselves with a bare hinting at them. In one place he expresly commands them to number seven sabbaths of years, or forty-and-nine years; and on this last to proclaim the *jubilee* by the sound of the trumpet (2); and in the very two following verses he says, that the fiftieth year shall be that of the *jubilee*. The grand objection against the first of these is, that if *Moses* had meant, that the forty-ninth should be the *jubilee* year, there would have been no necessity for his forbidding all kind of agriculture, and the like, on that year, since that was forbid of course by its being likewise the sabbatic year; for seven times seven make forty-nine.

On the other hand, it is objected, that if the fiftieth year

(2) *Levit.* xxv. 8, 9.

3 was

THIS year was to be celebrated with the greateſt tokens of joy, becauſe it was deſigned to put them in mind of their *Egyptian* ſervitude, and to prevent their impoſing the like on their brethren. But, whatever joy the maſters and land-holders might outwardly expreſs, we need not doubt but that of the ſlaves and poor was ſincere, at the thoughts of their approaching deliverance. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwiſe called the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a ſolemn faſt; but, during the nine preceding days, the ſlaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their maſters, and ſpent that time in eating, drinking, and other diverſions, and wore garlands about their heads, as the *Romans* did during their *ſaturnalia*; and, as ſoon as the tenth day was come, the ſanhedrin cauſed the trumpet to ſound all over the land; upon which they were reſtored to their liberty at that very inſtant, and the reſt to their poſſeſſions [c].

[c] Vide MAIM. halak ſhemitá veyobel.

was to be the *jubilee*, it will follow, that the land muſt have had two ſabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſince, without a miracle, it muſt, in all likelihood, have cauſed a dearth in the land. This *Cunæus* inſiſts very much upon, in favour of the forty-ninth year, though he paſſes by the great difficulty above-mentioned, as of no weight; but we think this objection of the two concurring ſabbaths may be more eaſily anſwered. For, in the firſt place, thoſe who are for the fiftieth year, do rightly enough obſerve, that there is no neceſſity for ſuppoſing, that the land reſted two years, ſeeing the law-giver's intention ſeems fully anſwered by the repoſe of one, and that upon the account of its being ſabbatical; and that therefore when *Moſes* ſays, that the fiftieth ſhall be a year of reſt, he uſes only that round number to expreſs the uneven one of forty-nine. There is indeed hardly any other way of reconciling the difference of *Moſes*'s expreſſions; and one may add, that as the ſolemnity began on the firſt month of the civil, which was the ſeventh of the ſacred year, it might be called indifferently the forty-ninth, or fiftieth year, without any contradiction or difficulty. What convinces us further, that this is more than a bare conjecture, is, that *Moſes* makes uſe of the ſame calculation for the feaſt of pentecoſt. The analogy which ſeven weeks of days bear to ſeven weeks of years, is obvious to every underſtanding: now, as it is plain, that the pentecoſt did not begin on the forty-ninth, but on the fiftieth day, ſo we ſee no reaſon why the ſame may not be allowed with reſpect to the *jubilee*.

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It is plain, the design of this ordinance was to prevent the too great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual slavery. By this means also their lawgiver restrained the rich from accumulating lands upon lands, and preserved, as much as possible, the freedom and order of *Israelitish* families, and a kind of equality with respect to their possessions, than which nothing could more effectually inspire them with a particular fondness for their country and patrimony, whilst they knew, that this last could never be alienated from their posterity above the space of half a century at the most.

Expiation-day, or day of atonement.

Expiation-day. THIS is the last solemn day, that was of divine institution. It differed from all the rest, in that they were days of joy and thanksgiving; but this, a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession of sins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment [d], if we except that occasional one, which God injoined the *Israelites*, after their setting up the golden calf [e] (S), but which we do

[d] Levit. xxiii. 26, & seqq.

[e] Exod. xxxiii. 4, & seqq.

(S) And yet we do not find one word of fasting on that solemn occasion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unless we suppose it to be implied in the words, *afflicting your souls*. However, it would be absurd to deny, that fasting had been in use long before *Moses*'s time, because he has not taken notice of its being practised by any of the old patriarchs; or, that it was not intended as part of solemn humiliation, because it is not expressed in so many words. The contrary seems rather to follow from his silence, not only because the early custom of fasting among the *heathens* upon all particular occasions, as in the case of the *Ninevites* (59), and many others, shews it to have been discovered by the light of reason; but because the very course of nature seems to give it a sanction; for when men are visited with any sensible affliction, or threatened with any immediate danger, it never fails of palling the appetite, and inclining them to fast. And what evinces that this practice was well known among the *Israelites*, is, the many instances which we meet with from *Moses*'s time. Thus, after their unexpected defeat before *Hai*, *Joshua* and all the elders of *Israel* continued prostrate before the ark from morning till night without eating or drinking (60); the same was practised by the eleven

(59) *Jonah* iii. 5, 6.

(60) *Josh.* vii. 6.

tribes

do not find to have been made annual by *Moſes*, or obſerved by the people till after the captivity, when they became ſo religious, that they appointed as many faſts for the miſcarriages and misfortunes that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar[f]; but this is not the proper place to ſpeak of them. Thoſe who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, limit the deſign of it too much, ſeeing it appears rather inſtituted to expiate the ſins of the whole nation, both public and private, but more particularly thoſe of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly inferred from the name which *Moſes* gives it (T), as well as from the confeſſion of ſins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he injoined to be uſed on that day, of which we are now going to ſpeak.

[f] Vide Miſhn. megillath tahanith, per tot. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

tribes upon another occaſion (61); by all the people at *Mizpeh*, in token of their repentance for having ſerved *Baalim*, and other ſtrange gods (62); and more particularly by *David*, in hopes of ſaving the life of the child he had got by *Bathſheba* (63). And by theſe, and many more inſtances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abſtained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refreſh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the *Miſhna* forbids theſe ſix things on theſe ſix days, eating, drinking, bathing or waſhing, anointing, putting on of ſhoes or ſandals, and matrimonial intercourſe (64); for every one of which they quote one or more precedents out of the ſacred books.

(T) The original calls it יום הכפורים, *Yom hakipburim*, the day of expiations or atonements; becauſe on that day there was atonement made for the ſins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reaſon the *Talmud* calls it, by way of excellence יומא, *yoma*, the day; and perhaps, likewiſe, from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that *Adam* began to repent of his tranſgreſſion, and GOD was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and conſequently our firſt parents, according to them, were created on the firſt day of this month, as we have ſeen before; their tranſgreſſion and puniſhment followed immediately after, and ſo, conſequently, their repentance; for which reaſon ſome of them think, that this day was appointed in memory of the fall (66).

(61) *Judges* xx. 26. (62) 1 *Sam.* vii. 6. (63) 2 *Sam.* xii. 16.
(94) *Tr. yoma.* (65) *Rab. Eleazar, in Talmude, Vide Abarb. comm. in Levit.* xxiii. (66) *Vide vol.* i. *p.* 121.

We

We ſhall ſay nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the goſpel; that being out of our province.

It was to begin on the evening of the ninth day of the ſeventh month, and to laſt till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abſtain from all labour and pleaſure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewiſe to hold a ſolemn convocation, to confeſs their ſins, and to offer a peculiar ſacrifice for them by fire [g].

The high-prieſt's office on this day was ſtill more ſolemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which he was permitted to enter into the moſt holy place, under pain of ſudden death from the Lord [h]; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himſelf for this grand ceremony in that extraordinary manner which was preſcribed by God himſelf, as follows: he was firſt of all to waſh himſelf, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The *Talmud* adds, that he was to abſtain, during ſeven whole days, from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cauſe an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty [i]; ſecondly, his mitre, breaſt-plate, and other prieſtly ornaments, were to be ſet aſide on that day, and he only to appear cloathed in linen; this garb conſiſted only in a linen mitre or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place to offer, as ſoon as he came to the holy place, a young bullock for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for himſelf and his whole houſe, confeſſing his and their ſins over them. After this, he received from ſome of the heads of the aſſembly a couple of kids for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats ſet before the tabernacle, and the high-prieſt caſt lots for them, which of the two ſhould be ſacrificed on that day, and which ſhould be ſent away: and this latter was called *Hazazel* (U), or ſcape-goat. He

[g] Levit. xxiii. 27, & ſeqq. [h] Ibid. xvi. 2. [i] Vide præc. affirm. 209.

(U) We have here followed our verſion, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word עזאזל, *Ghazazel*, from עז, a goat, and אזל to go, or to eſcape; in which they have followed the *Septuagint*, who have rendered it ἀπο-

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THE HIGH PRIEST ON THE DAY OF EXPIATION.

He then entered into the holy of holies, with his cenſer in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incenſe beaten ſmall

ἀποπομπαῖος, and the *Latin* after them *emiſſarius* (67): and, it is certain, that the verb אזל, *azal*, is often uſed in that ſenſe in the Old Teſtament (68). However, from *Moſes*'s words (69), it ſhould rather ſeem, that *Azazel* is the name of the place, whither the goat was led; for he ſays, that the man who lets the goat go לעזאזל, *lehazazel*——, which laſt cannot properly be rendered any other way than, to *Hazazel*; and in this ſenſe moſt of the *Jews*, and ſome *Chriſtians*, have taken it (70); and ſome of the former tell us, that it is a mountain diſtant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thouſand paces, from *Jeruſalem* (71).

And here we cannot but take notice of a ſtrange notion which *Spencer* has taken into his head, that this *Hazazel* was neither the name of a place, nor of the ſcape-goat, but of a devil, unto whom the goat was ſent by the meſſenger (72). He mentions one *Mark*, an arch-heretic, who pretended to have a demon of that name, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed wonders (73); and from this, and ſome expreſſions which he found in ſome cabbaliſtical writings, and in thoſe of *Julian* the apoſtate, he pretends, that this ſcape-goat was ſent, with its load of ſins, to the devil; in which notion he is followed by ſome others (74), who believe, that both the ſacrificed goat, and the ſcape one, were typical of CHRIST; and think the firſt to be ſignicative of his death, and the other of his being expoſed to, and overcoming the power of *Satan*. But as for us, we ſhould rather prefer Mr. *Le Clerc*'s opinion, that *Hazazel* was a ſteep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown: and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we obſerved above, and to the *Jewiſh* notion of its being a rocky mountain; but the ſame author has further proved it from the words of *Moſes*, that it ſhould bear all their iniquities אל ארץ גזרה, *el eretz Gezarah* (75), which doth properly ſignify, not only an uninhabited land, or a land of ſeparation, as our verſion renders it, but a land that is cut off, or broken off from another, ſuch as precipices are. It might alſo be probably enough called *Hazazel*, from its being inhabited only by goats, as *Hottinger* obſerved in his notes upon *Goodwin*. *Le Clerc* doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word *Azazel*,

(67) LXX. *Aquil. Symmach. Theodoret. Bochart. de animal. ſacr. Marſh. ſecul.* ix. *Pagn. Jun. & al.* (68) *Vide Kimch. in rad. Buxtorf. theſ. in voc.* (69) *Levit.* xvi. 26. (70) *Marſh. Ar. Mont. & al.* (71) *Targ. Jonath. RR. Saad. Gaon. Kimch. Salom. Abenez. & al.* (72) *Diſſert. in hirc. emiſſar.* (73) *Vide Epiphan. hæreſ.* 34. (74) *Turretin. Cocceii. Alting. Meyer, & al.* (75) *Levit.* xvi. 22. *Vide Le Clerc in loc.*

which

ſmall in the other, that the ſmoke of it might fill the place, ſo as to cover the mercy-ſeat from ſight: and as ſoon as he had ſet the cenſer upon the altar, he came out, and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himſelf, and went and ſprinkled it towards the mercy-ſeat eaſtward ſeven times. This done, he killed the goat for the people's ſin-offering, and went and ſprinkled the mercy-ſeat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock; and by theſe aſperſions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution it had contracted, by ſtanding in the midſt of that ſinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till the ſolemn atonement had been made for the ſins of the prieſts and people, neither prieſts, nor any perſon, were permitted to come, either within the tabernacle, or even into the courts of it.

As ſoon as theſe ablutions were ended, and the prieſts and people purified, the goat, whoſe lot it had been to eſcape (V), was brought to the high-prieſt, who laid his hands

which we ſhall not dwell upon, Neither is it eaſy to gueſs, either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The *Talmudiſts*, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-prieſthood of *Simon*, ſurnamed *the Juſt*, which was ſignalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat uſed to fall in pieces before it had reached halfway to the bottom; but that, after his days, it uſed to be caught and eaten by the *Saracens* (76).

(V) How theſe lots were caſt doth not appear from Scripture. What the antient *Jews* tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-prieſt, into which he threw two wooden lots, upon one of which were written the words, FOR THE LORD; and on the other, FOR *AZAZEL*; and, after he had ſhaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right-hand, and the other in his left; and as the goats ſtood on each ſide of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They alſo uſed to draw a good omen of GOD's being pacified with them; if the right-hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the LORD, as they ſay it happened all the time of the high-prieſt mentioned in the laſt note. As for the reſt of their cuſtoms, obſerved on that day, ſuch as their mutual asking and granting forgiveneſs for paſt offences, making reſtitution, and

(76) *Miſn. traſt.* יומא, *vide & Maim. in* יום הכפורים.

the

hands upon its head, and confeſſed his own ſins, and thoſe of the whole nation, in words to this effect: *O* LORD, *thy people, the houſe of* Iſrael; *have ſinned, have rebelled againſt thee;----and now, O* LORD, *I beſeech thee, forgive their ſins, rebellions, and backſlidings; by which they have offended thee; according as it is written in the law of thy ſervant* Moſes: *in that day he ſhall make atonement for you, he ſhall cleanſe you, and you ſhall be clean from all your ſins*

the like, though they are probably as old, or very near, as the inſtitution of this feaſt, yet we rather chuſe to refer our readers for them to the two laſt quoted books; or, if he pleaſes, to *Leo de Modena* and *Buxtorf* (76).

One thing, however, is worth obſerving, that on the eve of this ſolemnity the *Jews* of old uſed to take a white cock, if it was to be had, if not, of any other colour but red, and after a prayer, they ſtruck their heads with that of the cock three times, ſaying, *Bear thou my ſins, ſuffer thou the death I have deſerved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a bleſſed life, with all the people of* Iſrael. After which they killed the cock, confeſſing that they deſerved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on the top of the houſe, in hopes that the crows would bear them and their ſins into the wilderneſs. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the *Dutch Jews* as ſinful, and that *Leo de Modena*, who owns that it was practiſed heretofore in the *Levant* and *Italy*, adds, that it was afterwards left off, becauſe it was found to be a mere piece of ſuperſtition, for which no tolerable reaſon could be aſſigned. But he ſeems to have forgot that they gave one, which, however ridiculed by our learned *Goodwin*, is not without a ſingular meaning. It is this: the word גבר, *geber*, in the Scripture, ſignifying a man; and in the *Talmud* and *Chaldee*, a cock; the divine juſtice required, that as *geber* in the firſt ſenſe had ſinned, *geber* in the other ſenſe ſhould bear his ſin. Now what other foundation can this cuſtom have than the prophecies, that the MESSIAH, as *geber*, in his human nature, ſhould expiate for the ſins of man? unto whom therefore they ſubſtituted this typical *geber*, cock, till the antitypical one ſhould accompliſh that expiation by his death. And might not the Chriſtians urging this againſt them be the motive of their aboliſhing it? Might not, moreover, the περιψήματα of the *Gentiles*, thoſe human victims, which they choſe out of the dregs of the people, to ſacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their καθάρματα, which they offered in times of

(76) *Ceremon. Jud. part* iii. *c.* 6. *Vide & Buxtorf. ſynagog. Jud. c.* 20.
(77) *Vide Suid. in voc.* περίψημα.

ſins before the LORD [i] (W). The confeſſion being ended, he delivered the ſcape-goat to a man appointed for the purpoſe, who conducted it into a deſert place, and there left it to ſhift for itſelf according to ſome, or threw it down a ſteep precipice according to others, as we have ſeen in a former note. After this ceremony the high-prieſt waſhed himſelf all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as ſeems moſt likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breaſt-plate, and his other prieſtly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himſelf, and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the ſcape-goat, he was deemed unclean, till he had bathed himſelf, and waſhed his cloaths, as were alſo thoſe who carried

[i] Levit. xvi. 30.

plague, famine, and other public calamities, and on whom they ſo liberally beſtowed all the curſes which they thought due to themſelves, have had their original from hence (78)? This is what the apoſtle juſtly complains was practiſed againſt the firſt Chriſtians (79), ſince there hardly happened any public calamity in the empire, but they were immediately perſecuted with the utmoſt cruelty, as the cauſe of them; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewiſe to make ſuch another confeſſion when he offered the bullock for himſelf and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy of holies; but, inſtead of the houſe of *Iſrael*, he only mentioned that of *Aaron*. The reader may find it in the *Miſhna*, in the place above-quoted. It is plain, however, from the ceremonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To ſet the incenſe a burning; for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing elſe with him (80). 2. When he carried ſome of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himſelf (81). 3. When he carried ſome of that which he offered for the people (82). And, 4. When he went to fetch out the cenſer and fire. The *Talmud* adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apoſtle ſays that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the verſion of the *Septuagint*, which render the words אחת בשנה, *achat baſhanah*, by ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· but it is certain it might have been more properly rendered one day in the year.

(78) *Vide vet. ſcholiaſt. in Ariſtoph.* (79) 1 Cor. iv. 13. *Vide Budæ. annot. in pandect. de pœnis. Godwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. §. 7, & *ſeq.* (80) *Levit.* xvi. 12, 13. (81) *Ibid. ver.* 14. (82) *Ver.* 15. (83) *Heb.* ix. 7.

away the flesh, blood, and entrails of the bullock and goat of the sin-offering, to be burnt without the camp [k].

It was likewise on this day that the high-priest entered the most holy place in the grandest manner, and gave the people the solemn blessing prescribed by *Moses* [l], in which he pronounced the unutterable name of God, of which we shall speak in a more proper place in the sequel; for, according to the *Jews* [m], the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occasion, by a particular law, ever since the stoning of a notorious blasphemer [n]. However that be, the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the sacred awfulness of the place, may be reasonably supposed to have filled him with uncommon dread whilst he stayed in it, which is the reason why he usually made what haste he could decently out of it, lest he should be struck dead for some accidental miscarriage or inadvertency during his short stay there; and when he came out he went backwards, keeping his face still towards the mercy-seat, and bending towards the ground. All these things, no doubt, took up a considerable time; the residue of the day was spent in prayers, and other works of mortification; and they were so afraid of shortening it, that they begun it half an hour sooner, and ended it half an hour later than other feast-days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the solemnity was expired; and then they dressed themselves in white, or, at least, put on clean linen, and, after a blessing, sat down to break their fast. They seldom failed making a plentiful meal, and to rejoice that their sins were now expiated; but, above all, the high-priest expressed a more than ordinary joy, that he had gone through the solemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come alive out of the most holy place [o].

Laws concerning other expiations, or atonements.

BEFORE we leave this subject of expiations, it will not be amiss to give an account of some others, which were injoined by *Moses*, upon their contracting of any legal impurities, such as those of a woman after child-birth, of a man by touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body

[k] Ibid. xvi. pass. ibid. vi. 30. Vide Fag. in loc. Hotting. & al. [l] Numb. vi. 24, & seq. [m] Philo, in vit. Mos. lib. iii. Joseph. Talmud, & al. [n] Levit. xxiv. 10, & seq.
[o] Vide Mishna, tract. yoma. Maimon. tract. yom hakiphur. Meyer, c. xv. §. 9.

or carcaſe, or an unclean perſon, as a leper, and the like; and ſecondly by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly, or through ignorance. By theſe and ſuch-like the perſons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleanſed, but by offering ſuch ſacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification was to be performed in the following manner. The perſon who had committed any treſpaſs, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or ſin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a prieſt, and, if for a layman, a goat, ſheep, kid, or lamb; and if the perſon was too poor to afford one of theſe, then two pigeons or turtle-doves, or even a ſmall quantity of flour, was accepted of. One or more of theſe, according to the nature of the treſpaſs, or the circumſtance of the perſon, were brought to the prieſt, by the perſon to be purified by them, who, having confeſſed his ſin, laying his hands upon the head of the victim, killed, and offered it up. The prieſt then took up ſome of the blood with his fingers, and, applying it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and having prayed for the perſon, pronounced him pardoned and abſolved from his treſpaſs; the fleſh of ſuch victim thus offered, belonged to the prieſt alone; none other was allowed to eat of it [p]. This ceremony was ſomewhat more ſolemnly performed when the king, high-prieſt, or the whole nation, had committed a treſpaſs; but, in the main, it was the ſame.

As for legal pollutions, ſuch as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleanſing;

[p] Vide Levit. iv. v, vi. paſſ.

(Y) We believe it is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve here, that in the language of the Old Teſtament, all tranſgreſſions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by the tranſgreſſor; and the pardon that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this alluſion that the *Septuagint* have rendered the words כופר and כפר, *kopher* and *kaphar*, as likewiſe thoſe of טהר and חטה, *tahar* and *chatah*, when this laſt ſignifies a forgiveneſs, by καθαρισμὸς and καθαρίζειν· and it is in the ſame ſenſe that the writers of the New affirm CHRIST to cleanſe and purify us from our ſins by his blood.

namely,

namely, the aſhes of the red heifer reſerved for that purpoſe. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as preſcribed by *Moſes* [q], was after this manner: The high-prieſt was to take care that it was without ſpot or blemiſh, and that it had never been yoked. It was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a ſevenfold aſperſion of the blood with his fingers towards the ſanctuary; after which a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its ſkin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyſſop, and ſcarlet, and burnt to aſhes before his face, himſelf helping to caſt her into the fire; and this was to be done in the preſence of the people. The aſhes were then gathered, and laid up for uſe, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. Whenever afterwards any perſon had contracted a pollution, ſuch as made him unclean ſeven days, he was to be ſprinkled with water, in which ſome of theſe aſhes had been thrown, on the third and ſeventh day, on which laſt he was to be clean; but if he neglected being ſprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was ſo ſevere againſt thoſe who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the ſanctuary. The very veſſels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itſelf where the corps lay, were likewiſe defiled, till ſprinkled with this water of ſeparation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from *Moſes* to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm, that the heifer which was burnt by *Eleazar*, *Aaron*'s ſon, did laſt them all that time; others, that there was one burnt every year, and that ſome of the aſhes of it were ſent to every city and town in *Iſrael* [r] (Z). Whether or no this ſacrifice was to be

[q] Numb xix. per tot. [r] Vide Hieron. epiſt. 27.

(Z) It is juſtly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the aſhes of the red heifer ſhould purify the unclean, and at the ſame time pollute not only thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſlaying, burning, and gathering the aſhes of it, but even thoſe who ſprinkled the unclean perſon with it (84). The *Jews* have a very antient tradition, that *Solomon*, who was maſter of all other myſteries and knowlege, and could account for every

(84) *Numb.* xix. 7, 8, 10, 21.

be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation, is a diſpute amongſt the learned, both *Jews*

precept in the law, even thoſe which forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, or wearing of mixtures of linen and wool, yet owned himſelf ignorant of this *red heifer* (85). However, our *Spencer* has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of conformity or oppoſition to the *Egyptian* rites: he ranks therefore the red heifer under this laſt claſs, becauſe that nation ſacrificed nothing but male animals, and that they had an averſion to all red-haired creatures, and even to the colour itſelf, whereas the *Moſaic* law makes no diſtinction of colours in any caſe but this (86). But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the *Jews* were as little fond of the red as the *Egyptians*; and that *Moſes* commanded the uſe of ſcarlet in ſacrifices for ſin, only to expreſs the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inſpired writers compared ſins of the deepeſt guilt to crimſon and ſcarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this we think doth ſufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to ſubjoin a remark to the ſame effect; which is, that in the 22d pſalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to CHRIST's paſſion, there is one expreſſion, not hitherto obſerved, nor rightly rendered by any tranſlation that we know of. It is where he is called a worm and no man (88); for it is plain the word תולעת, *tholaath*, is no-where uſed in Scripture, but to expreſs either the crimſon or ſcarlet colour itſelf (in which caſe it is commonly joined to the word שני, *ſhani*, and ſignifies double dyed); or at moſt the inſect from which that dye is made, unleſs it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of *Iſaiah*. The moſt literally therefore that the pſalmiſt's words can be rendered would be; As for me, I am a ſcarlet inſect or worm, and not a man: but the figurative ſenſe will be plainly this; I bear the ſcandal and reproach of the deepeſt guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a ſinner, and yet am free from ſin. But this by-the-by. We ſhall only add, that the *Jews*, *Maimon* excepted, whom *Spencer* affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper myſtery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole Scripture, and highly condemn the preſumption of thoſe who pretend to dive into that deep abyſs (89). However, what was a myſtery to the *Jews* is ſufficiently explained to

(85) *Miſhn. tract. de* פרה ארמה. *Maimon. more nevoch. p.* 3. *c.* 26. *vide & lib. Jalkut, & al.* (86) *De leg. rit. lib.* ii. *c.* 15. (87) *Vide int. al. Iſai.* i, 18. (88) *Ver.* 6. (89) *Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. R. Abr. Seba. in Zeror Hamor. fol.* 118. *& ſeq. RR. Salom. Abenez. Aba-ban. & al.*

the

Jews and *Chriſtians*, which we ſhall not enter into: ſure it is, that the author of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* looked upon it as a figure of *Chriſt*, who therefore ſuffered without the gates of the city, even as the heifer was burned without the camp [r]; and whoſe blood is of much greater efficacy towards the purging and ſanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the aſhes of an heifer, or any other legal ſacrifices [s].

Laws concerning ſome other ſacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.

AS we had occaſion to mention the ſacrifices that were injoined to be offered upon every ſolemn feſtival, under the head of each, and of thoſe which were offered by way of expiation for ſin; we ſhall now mention the few others that remain unſpoken of. Theſe may be reduced under the ſeven following heads: 1. The daily ſacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleanſing. 5. Firſt-fruits. 6. Firſt-born; and, 7. Tithes. Beſides theſe, there were other occaſional ſacrifices, one ſort directed by ſome prophets, as in the caſe of *Samuel* [t] and *Elijah* [u]; and others obſerved by particular families, which were rather feaſts, than ſacrifices; as appears, by the pretence which *David* made for abſenting from *Saul*'s table [w], and the like; of which we ſhall take no farther notice, they being intirely arbitrary. As for thoſe that were to be offered at the conſecration of the high-prieſt, and of other inferior prieſts, they will be better ſeen in another place.

1. THE daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual ſacrifice, conſiſted firſt, and before all things, in burning a certain quantity of incenſe upon the golden altar; after which, they were to offer two lambs of the firſt year, and without blemiſh, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation: theſe were burnt every morning and evening, and with a flower fire than ordinary, that it might laſt

[r] Heb. xiii. 11, 12. [s] Ibid. ix. 13. [t] 1 Sam. ix. 12. xii. 9. xvi. 2, & ſeq. [u] 1 Kings xviii. 30, & ſeq. [w] 1 Sam. xx. 29.

the *Chriſtians* by the apoſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the place quoted above, and to which we think *Spencer* has given but a jejune and trifling anſwer (90).

(90) *Ubi ſup. ſect.* 6. *obj.* 3.

the longer. They offered, likewiſe, a certain quantity of wine and flour, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering: this was ordained by GOD upon mount *Sinai* [x]; and is therefore called continual, becauſe it was not to be interrupted by any other ſacrifices or ſolemnity, as we have ſeen under the article of each feſtival.

2. PEACE-OFFERINGS: this ſacrifice was either euchariſtical, in acknowlegement of ſome mercies received from GOD; or ſupplicatory, in order to obtain ſome bleſſings from him; or out of mere devotion, in honour to GOD; or, laſtly, upon account of ſome vow. Theſe were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the *Iſraelites* to them; except where it is ſaid, that *they ſhould not appear empty before the Lord*; *but be liberal in theſe kinds of ſacrifices, according as God had bleſſed them.* The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it; the prieſt then took ſome of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground at the foot of it: all the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it was a ſheep, or lamb, the rump, were burnt upon the altar: the breaſt and ſhoulder of the victim was the perquiſite of the prieſt in waiting, and the reſt belonged to the owner, who might then dreſs and eat it, how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates [y].

3. THE meat and drink-offerings: theſe we have already ſpoken of occaſionally, becauſe they uſed to accompany the burnt-offerings of every feſtival, the daily and all other ſacrifices made with fire: they conſiſted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flour, to every beaſt that was ſacrificed.

4. OFFERINGS for cleanſing we have ſpoken of above, under the head of expiation: there remain two more; namely, that of two pigeons, which a woman was to offer, for her purification, after child-bed, in caſe ſhe could not afford a lamb; or, if the pigeons were alſo above her circumſtances, an handful of flour and oil [z]: and that of two ſparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleanſing himſelf [b], and his houſe [c]. In both theſe caſes, one of the birds was, inſtead of a lamb, for a burnt-offering; and the other for a ſin-offering: the firſt bird was to

[x] Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6, & ſeq. [y] Levit. iii. paſſ. [z] Levit. xii. per tot. [b] Ibid. xiv. 4, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. ver. 49, & ſeq.

be

be killed in a clean earthen veſſel, over a running water; after which the prieſt took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, ſcarlet, and hyſſop; and dipped them in the blood, and ſprinkled the perſon, or houſe, ſeven times, with it, and then pronounced them clean; and the living bird was let looſe. Some portion of flour and oil was likewiſe made into cakes, and offered up to GOD, either of barley, or wheat-flour; ſome with leaven, which, conſequently, came not near the altar[d]; others without it: all of them were to have ſome ſalt. Some were voluntary, others not; ſome dreſſed one way, and ſome another, according to the diſcretion or circumſtances of the votary.

THE next under this head is the ſhew-bread, called, in the original, *the bread of faces* (B), becauſe it was always to ſtand before the LORD upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the pureſt wheat, into twelve loaves, or cakes, anſwering to the twelve tribes. The prieſts were to take care to bring freſh ones, warm, every ſabbath-day, in the morning; at which time, they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but prieſts: each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine-pints, of flour; and they were to be ſet up in two piles, ſix to each pile. The *Jews* tell us, that there were ſome double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incenſe, with which the loaves were to be perfumed;

[d] Levit. ii. 11.

(B) The words are, לחם פנים, *lechem phanim*, which name ſome, eſpecially of the *Jews*, affirm to be given, becauſe the loaves had four *phanim*, or faces, that is, were four-ſquare (94): but it is more likely that they were ſo called from their ſtanding continually, לפני אלהים, *liphne Elohim*, *in the preſence of the Lord*. Some have thought it improper to place this ſhew-bread among the meat-offerings, becauſe they were not offered upon the altar as theſe were. For our part, we think, with ſome others, that the ſacred table, on which they were ſet (which may not improperly be deemed an altar; their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and, as ſuch, allowed only to be eaten by the prieſts), may eaſily excuſe our ranking them under this claſs, rather than any other; eſpecially, they being accompanied with incenſe, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The *Jews* add, that they were covered with leaf-gold; but do no-where tell us where they are commanded to do ſo.

(94) *Vide Maim. tract.* חמירין, *Abr. Harepk*, שלטי גבורים, *& al.*

fumed; but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators say, that there was a quantity of wine offered with them; but the text mentions nothing but incense and salt [e]. These loaves were called the hallowed bread, in opposition to the common sort, which every-body might eat [f].

5. FIRST-FRUITS. We have already spoken of those that were offered at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and at the feast of *Tabernacles*; and these were offered in the name of the whole nation: but, besides them, every private man was likewise obliged to bring the first-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowlegement that GOD was the giver of them. Neither the time, nor the quantity, being prescribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter was determined, in some sort, by their wise men, yet so as to leave room for generosity to exert itself, more or less, according to the disposition of each person. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer, at least, the sixtieth part of the product; but some offered the fiftieth, and some even the fortieth part [g]. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows:

As soon as the person who came to offer them had reached the court of the priests, the *Levites* began to sing the 30th psalm; after which, the person made this confession: *I do this day make a public acknowlegement before the* LORD *your* GOD, *that I am entered into the good land which he sware unto our fathers that he would give us.* Whilst he was speaking these words, he took his basket off his shoulder, the priest lending him a hand; and, whilst these two held it up, he made an end of his confession, in the remarkable words prescribed by *Moses* [h], which the reader may see in the margin (C); which being ended, the

[e] Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & seq. [f] Vid. 2 Sam. xxi. 3, 4. [g] Vid. Mishn. tract. terumoth & bekorim, & commentat. in eund. vid. & MAIM. in loc. [h] Deut. xxvi. 4, & seq. Vid. MUNST. JUN. & al. in Levit. xxii. xxiii. & Deut. xxvi.

(C) *A* Syrian, *ready to perish, was my father, and he went down into* Egypt, *and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous; and the* Egyptians *did evil-intreat us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage.*

the baſket was ſet before the LORD by the ſide of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering, which were always to accompany the firſt-fruits; and, having paid his devotions to GOD, he went to feaſt with his acquaintance, on his ſhare of the peace and meat-offerings: and here he was likewiſe obliged to impart ſome portion of his good chear to the fatherleſs, the widows, and the *Levites*, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who ſacrificed a bullock, might be the more ready to do, becauſe they were forbid to leave any fragments till the next day [t].

6. FIRST-BORN. The *Moſaic* law makes a threefold diſtinction of theſe; namely, the firſt-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). We ſhall, in the

[t] Levit. vii. 15, & alib.

age. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour, and oppreſſion. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt *with a mighty hand, and ſtretched-out arm, and with great terribleneſs, with ſigns, and with wonders; and brought us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought the firſt-fruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, haſt given me.*

The *Talmud* adds ſeveral other remarkable particulars, concerning the bringing the firſt-fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant, nor diſprove to have been uſed during the firſt temple. Thus, for inſtance, to prevent confuſion, as much as poſſible, they uſed to join themſelves by troops, of four-and-twenty to a troop; which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns tipped with gold or ſilver, which was to be offered with their firſt-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute, or ſome ſuch inſtrument; and, in that order, they marched to *Jeruſalem*, ſinging ſome pſalm or hymn proper for the occaſion. As ſoon as they came near the gates of *Jeruſalem*, the inhabitants uſed to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome; and after each band had performed their duty, in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(E) We muſt remind our *Engliſh* readers, that this expreſſion has no ſuch harſhneſs in the original as it has in ours, and other languages; becauſe the word which in theſe is rendered firſt-born, in the original is בכור, *becor*, which properly implies, the principal, or moſt excellent, of every thing or creature, in its kind, whether in a

(96) *Vid. Baſnag. ex Cuzae, tom.* iii. *lib.* iii. *c.* 2.

good

the ſequel, give the reaſon why the firſt of theſe were to be conſecrated to God, and redeemed by their parents. But here we muſt obſerve, that the word firſt-born of the males muſt not be reſtrained to the eldeſt ſon; for he may be eldeſt, and yet not firſt-born: and therefore *Moſes* adds, that firſt opened the womb. So that it was poſſible among the *Jews*, where polygamy and polyguny were allowed, for a man to have ſeveral firſt-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, as ſoon as they were thirty days old; at which time they were preſented to the prieſt, and the mother offered the ſacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article; and, the price being paid for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then [m] (F). How they redeemed them ſince the deſtruction of the ſecond temple, is foreign to our preſent purpoſe; the reader may ſee it in *Leo de Modena*, and other *Hebrew* rabbis: only we may obſerve, that the children of the prieſts needed not to be redeemed, at any time.

The firſt-born of clean beaſts, ſuch as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were alſo conſecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle, or temple, and there be killed: the blood was poured at the foot of the altar,

[m] Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

good or bad ſenſe. Thus God expreſſes himſelf, concerning *David*, *I will make him my firſt-born, higher than the kings of the earth* (98); where the word means nothing like firſt-born, in a ſtrict ſenſe. On the other hand, a moſt cruel death is in *Job* called בכור מות, *becor-maveth*, *the firſt-born of death* (99). And *Iſaiah* called the pooreſt, or the weakeſt of all, בכורי דלים, *becore-dallim*, *the firſt-born of the weak* (100). It is therefore probable, that this word was figuratively applied to the firſt-born, to imply their excellency in ſtrength and dignity, according to *Jacob*'s expreſſion to *Reuben*, his eldeſt ſon (1).

(F) According to this law, we find the *Virgin Mary* redeeming her child *Jeſus* (2): nevertheleſs, it has been much diſputed, whether he was ſubject to this, or not, though he is allowed, on all hands, to have been her firſt-born; concerning which queſtion, the reader may conſult, among others, the authors quoted in the margin (3).

(98) *Pſal.* lxxxix. 27. (99) *Job* xviii. 13. (100) *Iſa.* xiv. 30.
(1) *Gen.* xlix. 3. (2) *Luke* ii. 22, 23. (3) *Cyril. Hieroſol. homil. de occurſ. Domin. Vid. Cornel. a Lapid. in Exod.* xiii. *& auct. ab eo citat. Origen. Tertul. Ambroſ. & al. mult.*

the

the fat burnt upon it, and the reſt of the fleſh was the prieſt's perquiſite; with this precaution, however, that if the beaſt had any natural or legal defects, ſuch as blindneſs, lameneſs, the want of a limb, and the like, it was not to be ſacrificed: the prieſt took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would to partake of it, as of any other common meat. But if it was an unclean beaſt, ſuch as an aſs, a dog, and the like; the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five ſhekels of money, or to break the neck of it[n].

As to the firſt product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new-planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumciſed, and impure, during the firſt three years. It was not lawful to gather, much leſs to eat the fruit of it. On the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the LORD's, and, conſequently, the perquiſite of the prieſts; from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent[o]: but, from that time, the owner was at liberty to make the ſame uſe of them as he did of his old ones[p].

7. TITHES. Theſe and the firſt-fruits, and the redemption of the firſt-born, were the moſt conſtant and conſiderable income of the prieſts and *Levites*; though the firſt is by far the more antient, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory: however, we confine ourſelves to thoſe preſcribed by the laws of *Moſes*, in which he has been ſo ſtrict, that he ordained, that, of all thoſe which conſiſted of clean animals, none ſhould be redeemed, at any rate, but that they ſhould all be ſacrificed to the LORD; and that thoſe which conſiſted of the fruits of the earth, ſuch as grains, fruits, and the like, ſhould not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinſic value[q]. We need not here obſerve, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the reſt of the people (H).

[n] Vid. Num. xviii. 17, & ſeq. Exod. xiii. 13. Deut. xv. 20, & ſeq. [o] Vid. præc. affirm. 137. [p] Levit. xix. 23. [q] Ibid. xxvii. 30, & ſeq.

(H) And perhaps, too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious obſervance of God's laws among the people, too prone naturally to backſlide; ſince their income was ſure to riſe and fall, according as the ſpirit of religion and obedience proved more or leſs vigorous.

THESE

THESE tithes were of four sorts; namely, 1. Those which were thus assigned to the tribe of *Levi*[r] (I); and these not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the *Levites*, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. 2. The tenths of these tithes which were assigned to the priests; for these last did not gather the tithes themselves, but that office belonged to the *Levites*, who were not to touch any part of them till they had paid that proportion to the priests[s], and had sent it to *Jerusalem*. 3. After a layman had paid his first tithes to the *Levites*, he was obliged to set aside a second tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to *Jerusalem*, and there make a feast, and invite, besides his friends and relations, the priests and *Levites* to it[t] (K). 4. The last kind of tithes which *Moses* commands, was to be set by every third year, and be consumed in feasts at

[r] Num. xviii. 20, & seq. Deut. xiv. 22, & alib. Vid. & 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, & seq. [s] Num. xviii. 25, & seq. [t] Deut. xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22, 23.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or send by proxy these first-tithes to *Jerusalem* (8): but, besides that there doth not appear the least shadow of a precept for it, it seems rather from the second tithes, which the *Levites* were to send to *Jerusalem* (9), to the priests, that the first was to be paid upon the spot, or, at farthest, in the cities of the *Levites*. And, indeed, it would have been too great trouble and expence, especially for those that dwelt at a considerable distance from *Jerusalem*, to have even sent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally so to the *Levites*, the answer is obvious, that it was much easier for them to send a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their respective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the first that was paid to the *Levites*, whatever some commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain; 1. Because the first was the hereditary right of the tribe of *Levi*, which would have starved without it; and this was consumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The *Levites* were obliged to refund a tenth part of the first to the priests, but in this they were only invited as guests. 3. The first was paid all the land over, but this only at *Jerusalem*.

(8) *Joseph. ant. l.* iv. c. 8. *Vid. Sixt. Amam. de decim. & auct. ab ea citat.*
(9) *Comp. Deut.* xiv. 22, 23. *with Nehem.* x. 34, & *seq.*

home,

home, to which they were obliged to invite the *Levites*, the poor, fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers [v] (L).

To

[v] Deut. xii. 28, 29.

(L) It is, however, more likely, that this laſt tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was ſpent at home every third year, and the other at *Jeruſalem* on the other two years: ſo that there might be properly but three ſorts of tithes; that of the *Levites*, of the prieſts, and theſe laſt, which were rather a kind of euchariſtical *agapæ*, which the *Jews* therefore called מעשר עני, and the *Greeks* πτωχοδεκάτη, *the tenth of the poor*, and *Tobit* the *third tenth* (10).

We read, indeed, of another kind of tithes, ſuch as *Samuel* threatened the *Iſraelites*, their king, if they perſiſted in the choice of one, would levy upon them, out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks (11): but as there is nothing of ſuch a right mentioned by *Moſes* in the rules which he ſettled for the conduct of their future kings (12), it is likely the prophet only forewarns them of what they would be apt to do, rather than of what they might lawfully do.

What the firſt ſort of tithes conſiſted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the prieſts and *Levites*, whether in all great and ſmall cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all ſorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is not eaſy to determine. The *Jews*, if we will believe ſome of the moſt learned among them (13), affirm, that they had no ſhare nor title in the former; and that the fleſh of all thoſe creatures that were decimated, belonged to the owners: and *Obadiah de Barthenora* adds, that there is not one paſſage in the whole law that proves, that the prieſt had a right to any part of it (14). It is hardly worth while to dive farther into this matter, becauſe we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was uſually decimated, we ſhall give it, in *Maimon*'s own words (15):

" A man, *ſays he*, who out of
" ten lambs, for inſtance, ſhould
" have ſet aſide one, or ten out
" of an hundred, would not be
" reckoned to have paid the
" tithes of them. The right
" way, therefore, of doing it,
" was as follows: they ſhut up
" all the lambs, kids, or calves,
" in a ſtable, which had one
" door ſo ſtreight, that two
" of them could not get out
" abreaſt; they then brought
" their dams to the door, that
" their young ones, hearing
" their voice, might ſtrive to
" get out, purſuant to what is
" ſaid in *Leviticus* xxvii. 32.
" *Every thing that paſſeth un-*
" *der the rod.* Accordingly it

(10) *Tob.* i. 8. (11) 1 *Sam.* viii. 15, & *ſeq.* (12) *Deut.* xvii. 14, & *ſeq.* (13) *Vid. Maimon. in decoroth*, c. 6. *in zebachim*, c. 5, & *al.* (14) *Barthenor.* (15) *Maim. ubi ſup.*

" was

To these kind of offerings we might add some others; such as that of incense (N), which the priests only were to burn every day upon the altar of perfume, before the morning and evening sacrifice, and the high-priest once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already said something of; and those which were offered on solemn festivals, new-moons, sabbaths, and the like, besides some others, of less note: but we have already dwelt too long upon this article; and shall only add, that as *Jerusalem* became afterwards, to the *Jews*, what the camp was, during their abode in the wilderness; those victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burnt out of the walls of the city.

"was required, that these young ones should come out of themselves, and not be driven out; and as fast as they came out one after another, they that stood by told them one, two, three, and so on to ten. This tenth was immediately marked with red lead; and whether it were male or female, whether with or without blemish, the owner said, *This shall be consecrated to pay the tithes.* If it was fit, it was then to be sacrificed to God; if not, it might be killed and eaten where the owner pleased; for it could be neither redeemed, nor exchanged (23)."

(N) This mixture, which our version doth simply call incense, was rather a perfume, the composition of which is prescribed by *Moses*, and forbid, under pain of death, to be used by any but priests, or any-where but in the sanctuary (24); tho' any other composition might be, and was lawfully used; as appears by several places of Scripture. Thus we read, that *Hezekiah* shewed several sorts of them, among other rarities of his treasure-house, to the king of *Babylon*'s embassadors (25): and king *Asa* had some such-like sort used at his funeral (26).

As to the reason of this continual burning of incense, tho' we grant, that it might be typical of the prayers of the saints, yet we believe we may take that of the learned *Maimon* along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place smell too much like a slaughter-house, and, consequently, have inspired the comers rather with disgust and contempt, than awe and reverence, had it not been overpowered by the agreeable fragrancy of those perfumes (27).

(23) *Vid. Basnag. rep. Hebr. tom.* iii. *l.* xxxiii. *c.* 4. (24) *Exod.* xxx. 34, *& seq.* (25) 2 *Kings* xx. 13. (26) 2 *Chron.* xvi, *ult.* (27) *Ap. Basnag. in Con. tom.* ii. *l.* i. *c.* 12.

Laws

Laws concerning vows.

AS theſe made a ſolemn part of the *Jewiſh* worſhip and offerings, they may properly be joined, as an appendix to the former, though their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the ſame rank. How ſoon they began to be in uſe, we ſhall ſee in *Jacob*'s vowing the tenths of all his acquiſitions, as he went to *Padan-aram* [b]: however, we confine ourſelves to thoſe under the *Moſaic* diſpenſation, concerning which that lawgiver made ſeveral regulations, in order to direct and inforce the performance of them [c]. *Laws concerning vows.*

Vows were of a twofold nature; namely, 1. Of ſuch as devoted the thing vowed, whether men, beaſt, money, or any part of a man's poſſeſſion, to the ſervice of God [d]. 2. Of ſuch as devoted them to utter deſtruction [e] (O). Under the firſt head it plainly appears, that perſons who were *ſui juris*, or *their own maſters*, might vow themſelves, their children, or any part of their poſſeſſions, to God. We ſay *ſui juris*, becauſe the vows of a ſon or a daughter, of a wife or ſlave, were of no further force, than as they were approved or diſapproved by thoſe under whoſe power they were [f]: ſo that a parent, huſband, or maſter, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a ſanction, or to diſannul it; but, if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the ſame day, according to the

[b] Gen. xxviii. 20. [c] Levit. xxvii. paſſ. [d] Ver. 2, & ſeq. [e] Ver. 28, 29. [f] Num. xxx. paſſ.

(O) The original diſtinguiſhes them by the words נדר, *nadar*, which ſignifies *to vow*, in the firſt ſenſe; and חרם, *cherem*, which implies, to lay a thing or perſon under an anathema, or to devote it or him to deſtruction. Several learned commentators, indeed, will not allow of this laſt meaning, when it relates to men; but think, that thoſe perſons, who were thus vowed, were to become wholly devoted to God beyond the poſſibility of redemption (28): but the reader may ſee, by the inſtances which we ſhall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the perſon, and extermination and deſtruction of the thing anathematized: and that the difference between the firſt and ſecond vow was, that the firſt might be redeemed, but not the ſecond.

(28) *Vid. Munſt. Grot. Le Clerc, Pagnin. Jun. Calm.*

text; or in twenty-four hours, according to the *Jewish* doctors.

OF persons vowing themselves in this sense, we meet with no plain instance; but, of their vowing their children, we have, among others, that of *Samuel*, who was dedicated to GOD by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be supposed, from what we just now hinted, by her husband [g]; and he was, accordingly, consecrated to GOD's service all his life-time. However, in these cases, the law of *Moses* allowed of a redemption, or commutation for a sum of money, which was either greater, or less, according to the age and sex of the person vowed; for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for those who were not able to pay that sum, in the chapter above-quoted concerning vows [h].

Anathemas. THE case was quite different with respect to those things which were vowed to destruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate [i]. That which had life, was to be put to death; and that which had not, was to be destroyed by fire, or some other way. We meet with various instances of it in the *Jewish* history; but shall single only a few of the most remarkable, under the following note (P).

WHAT

[g] 1 Sam. i. 21, & seq. [h] Levit. xxvii. 3, & seq. [i] Ibid. ver. 28, 29.

(P) Thus, for instance, the kingdom of *Arad*, and the cities of the *Canaanites*, were under the same anathema (29), and, more particularly, *Jericho*; and *Achan*, and all that he had, fell under the same curse, because he had saved some of the plunder of that city (30), which was to have been destroyed. As for *Jephthah*'s vow, besides that it was not exactly of the same nature, and authors are much divided about the manner of his fulfilling it; it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the history of that judge. The *Israelites*, assembled at *Mizpeh*, vowed those to destruction that did not assist in punishing the tribe of *Benjamin*, for their barbarous usage of the *Levite*'s concubine (31): and *Saul* would have sacrificed his own son *Jonathan*, for ignorantly incurring the curse, which he had laid upon those that should eat or drink whilst he was in pursuit of his victory, had not the whole army strongly opposed it. By all which instances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing less than death was the lot of the persons devoted by this kind of vows.

(29) *Num.* xxi. 1, & *seq.* *Deut.* vii. 23, & *seq.* xx. 15, & *seq.* (30) *Josh.* vi. & vii. *pass.* (31) *Judg.* xxi. 5.

Those

WHAT curſe *Jonadab*, the ſon of *Rechab*, had laid upon his poſterity, if they did not obſerve his arbitrary injunctions, of abſtaining from wine, from planting, ſowing, and

Thoſe who think, that, when they related to human victims, they meant no more than that they ſhould be dedicated to God's ſervice as long as they lived; do, indeed, object the abhorrence which God expreſſes againſt all kind of human ſacrifices: but we beg leave to obſerve, that the caſe here is not about ſacrifices, but vows, and ſuch as, for aught appears to the contrary, by all the inſtances we meet with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the caſe of the land of *Arad*, or of the kings and judges, as in the other inſtances above-mentioned. Beſides, they ſeem altogether to relate to thoſe idolatrous nations they were going to conquer, the meaſure of whoſe ſins had already provoked God to paſs ſentence of deſtruction againſt them: in which caſe, if they bound themſelves by a ſolemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly, we find them very exact where that was the caſe, and as remiſs when it was not; elſe they had not left ſo many nations undeſtroyed, to be a continual ſnare to ſeduce them into all manner of idolatries. If, therefore, it was of ſo great conſequence to them to remove all ſuch dangerous incitements, we need not wonder if they were, in ſome meaſure, led into it by the ſtronger obligation of an oath.

But, after all, this precept may be only an inforcement of that vow which *Moſes* had exacted of the whole nation a little before his death, of obſerving all the commandments of God, one of which was the extirpation of all theſe nations, with all their monuments of idolatry: in which caſe, the meaning of thoſe words will be only this, that, as they had ſolemnly vowed it to God, they muſt not pretend hereafter to exempt themſelves from it, upon any pretence whatever.

Thoſe who underſtand the original, know, that the future tenſe is very often uſed for the paſt, and ſo *vice verſa*: ſo that the words may be properly rendered, *ſhall have vowed*, inſtead of *ſhall vow*. Theſe two verſes, therefore, ſeem to us to come in as an exception to the regulations which *Moſes* had made a little before, concerning the redemption of thoſe things which had been vowed in the firſt ſenſe; and which he therefore prefaces with the word אַךְ, *ak*, notwithſtanding, or nevertheleſs, whatſoever ſhall be vowed in the ſecond ſenſe, that is, to deſtruction, whether of men, or beaſts, &c. ſhall not be redeemed, but put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourſelves, by a ſolemn oath, to deſtroy all thoſe nations that will not accept of proffered peace, and forſake their idolatry, and to exterminate all that belongs to them: remember therefore, that

and the like, doth not appear; but how ſtrict obſervers they were of them, we may conclude, from their anſwer to *Jeremiah*, when he invited them to drink wine[p]. We

Nazarites. ſhall conclude this article with a ſhort account of the *Nazarites*, often mentioned in the Old Teſtament, who were perſons that either dedicated themſelves, or were dedicated by their parents, to the obſervance of the laws of *Nazaritiſm*. Theſe were of two ſorts; namely, of ſuch who obliged themſelves to it only for ſome ſhort ſpace, as a week, or a month; and thoſe who were bound to it all their life; and the latter were, moſt commonly, dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were *Samſon* and *Samuel*[q]; and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abſtain from wine, and all intoxicating liquors; and to wear their hair to its full length. As for thoſe of the firſt ſort, they were, moreover, to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into an houſe where a dead perſon was; for, if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin afreſh[r]. Women, as well as men, might bind themſelves by this vow; and, after it was accompliſhed, they preſented themſelves to the prieſt, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle, or temple, where they offered the ſacrifices preſcribed by *Moſes* in ſuch caſes[s]; after which he cauſed their heads to be ſhaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the ſacrifice; and then pronounced them freed from their vow.

THOSE who lived at ſuch a diſtance from the temple, that they could not reach it by the time their vow was expired, might ſhave their heads at what place ſoever they

[p] Jer. xxxv. paſſ. [q] Judg. xiii. 5. 1 Sam. i. 11. [r] Num. vi. 1, & ſeq. [s] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq.

there is no redemption for them; and that if you ſuffer yourſelves, either through pity or covetouſneſs, to ſpare any of them, you will not only incur the puniſhment of perjury and rebellion, but be inſnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had *Saul* been mindful of this, he had not ſaved the king of *Amalek*, and the choiceſt of the cattle and plunder (32). When, therefore, he made that weak and puerile excuſe, that he deſigned the latter as an offering to God, *Samuel* did juſtly reprove him, by ſhewing him how vain it was to pretend to atone for one open violation of God's command by another.

(32) 1 *Sam.* xv. 9, & *ſeq.*

found

found themſelves; at which time they ſet by the price of their ſacrifice, in order to bring or ſend it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find St. *Paul* did, who made this vow at *Corinth*, ſhaved his head at *Cenchrea*, and went, ſoon after, to *Jeruſalem*, to accompliſh it by the uſual offering [r].

Laws concerning the prieſts, Levites, *and* Nethinims.

THE two laſt things to be conſidered, under this head of the worſhip of GOD, or, as it is commonly called, the commands of the firſt table, are, 1. The perſons, and, 2. The things, which were, in a more peculiar manner, conſecrated to his ſervice. Of the firſt ſort were the prieſts, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*; of the ſecond, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous apparatus of utenſils preſcribed by GOD himſelf to *Moſes* on the mount, in order to inſpire that carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of *Levi*, we ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, how, and upon what account, it was ſeparated from the reſt, and appointed for this important office (Q).

Laws concerning the prieſts, Levites, *and* Nethinims.

I. *Of*

Laws concerning the prieſts, Levites, *and* Nethinims.

Of

[r] Acts xviii. 18.

(Q) Before that time the prieſthood is generally thought to have belonged to the firſt-born; and when *Moſes* ratified the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-prieſt, and choſe a ſet of young men to act under him (33); but after the tribe of *Levi* had been thus ſet apart for the inferior, and the family of *Aaron* for the higher offices of the miniſtry, it became a capital crime for any other tribe to interfere with them in the ſacred function; inſomuch that God's vengeance did miraculouſly diſplay itſelf in the puniſhment of the firſt offenders, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; and in confirming the prieſthood in that family by the ſupernatural budding of *Aaron*'s rod (34). It is not, indeed, eaſy to reconcile what is ſaid of the *Levites* being choſen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they ſhewed in puniſhing the worſhipers of the golden calf (35); with *Aaron*'s being raiſed to the higheſt dignity in that tribe, who had ſo baſely conſented to, and countenanced that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be aſcribed to

(33) *Exod.* xxiv. 5, & *ſeq.*
(34) *Numb.* xvi, & xvii. *paſſ.*
(35) *Deut.* xxxiii. 8, & *ſeq.* & *alib.*

I. *Of the priests.*

THE *Levitical* tribe, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel, consisted of three main branches, distinguished by their principal heads; namely, *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*: but the priesthood was given solely to the family of *Aaron*, which was no more than a small branch of that of *Kohath*, whilst all the rest of it, even the sons of *Moses* himself, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of *Levites*, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the ministry, whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that these were always subject to, and dependent on, the priests, as will appear in its proper place.

AT the head of the priesthood was the high-priest, who was also the head of the *Jewish* church, and the final judge of all controversies, whether concerning religion, or even about the administration of common justice. This last seems plainly implied in the directions which *Moses* gives the people, to have recourse to the priests in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination, under pain of death [z]: and, in this sense, *Josephus*, *Philo*, and

[z] Deut. xvii. 8, & seq. xix. 17. xxi. 5. xxii. 10. xxxiii. 20. Vid. & Ezek. xliv. 24.

the mere pleasure of God, like that which he made before of *Seth*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and since of *David*, and many more. But, however that be, *Moses* tells us, in another place, that God took the *Levites*, instead of the first-born of *Israel*, to be his own tribe: and it is remarkable, that when the sums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded, that the overplus should be redeemed at the price of five shekels *per* head, and the price to be given to *Aaron* and his sons (36). So that it is plain, that here was an actual substitution or exchange of the *Levitical* tribe, in lieu of the first-born which God had claim'd to himself for his having spar'd those of *Israel*, when he destroyed those of *Egypt*; and a superiority given to the family of *Aaron* over all the rest of that tribe, both as to office and dignity, as we shall presently shew, under each head. As for the *Nethinims*, they were not so much as of the seed of *Jacob*; and we only rank them here, as being appointed to serve in the lowest offices of the tabernacle and temple.

(36) *Vid. Num.* iii. 12, 13. 45, *& seq.*

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THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN
HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.

moſt, if not all the *Jewiſh* rabbies, underſtand them [a]. However, in this reſpect, he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-prieſt. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſubaltern prieſts and *Levites*, who were commonly admitted to ſit in their inferior courts of judicature: for it is plain, that the main end, for which they were ſet apart, was, to bleſs the people in GOD's name, and to offer up incenſe, and thoſe ſacrifices to him that were preſcribed by the law, excluſive of all other tribes [b], under the ſevere penalties abovementioned.

THE laws relating to the high-prieſt are reducible to theſe three heads: 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his conſecration; and, 3. To his dreſs.

As to his office, beſides his having it in his power, whenever he pleaſed, to perform any of the functions of the inferior prieſts, and his being alone poſſeſſed of the divine oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, of which more in the ſequel, he was alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and pronounce that ſolemn bleſſing, on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head: all which great privileges were confined to him, and entailed on his ſon and ſucceſſor, either of his own body, or family (R). There was ſuch a particular *The high-prieſt's office.*

[a] Cont. Apion. & alib. PHIL. MAIMON. Vid. SELDEN. de ſynedr. vet. Hebr. & al. [b] Numb. xvi. & alib.

(R) Accordingly, we find the two branches of it, that of *Eleazar*, and that of *Ithamar*, the ſons of *Aaron*, in the high-prieſthood at different times, till the captivity, whilſt the other occupied the next in rank; and this is the moſt probable reaſon why the ſacred writers mention a high-prieſt, and a ſecond prieſt (37). How *Phineas*'s line came to be ſet aſide from the firſt rank, the text doth not tell us; but the legal imperfections, which diſqualified a man for that high dignity, were ſo many, and ſo frequent, that it is probable, that ſome of them might be the reaſon of its paſſing to *Eli*, who was of the younger branch, in whoſe houſe it continued till *Saul*'s time. After this, it ſhifted once or twice more in *David*'s time, till *Solomon*, diſſatisfied with *Abiathár*, reſtored *Zadok* of the *Phinean* family to the firſt rank again, where it continued to the end. So that *Abiathar* cannot ſo properly be ſaid to have been depoſed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the priſtine rank of his branch. Accordingly, we find him named in the very next chapter but one, after his ſup-

(37) *Jer. ch. ult. ver.* 24. *Vid.* 1 *Chron.* xxiv. 2.

particular ſacredneſs inherent in his dignity, as obliged him to ſeveral ſtrict laws, from which the reſt of the prieſts were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or an harlot; the perſon whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe: he was forbid to put himſelf into mourning for the neareſt relation, or to go into any houſe where a dead body was [c]: he was farther obliged to abſtain not only from matrimonial commerce, during thoſe feſtivals in which he was to officiate; but, alſo, from all food, and other things, which might occaſion any defilement. Beſides all theſe, he was, in common with other prieſts, to be free from all natural defects mentioned by *Moſes* [d]; that is to ſay, he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither ſcurvy, itch, nor any diſeaſe, in his ſkin, or defect in any of his limbs: as many as had any one of theſe blemiſhes, were abſolutely excluded from all prieſtly functions, from entering into the ſanctuary, and

[c] Levit. xxi. 10, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. xiii, & ſeq.

poſed depoſition, as ſecond to *Zadok*; *And* Zadok *and* Abiathar *were prieſts* (38).

It were needleſs to trouble our readers with the various conjectures that have been made about the reaſon of this tranſlation of the high-prieſthood from the eldeſt to the youngeſt branch: it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet ſent from God ſaid unto *Eli* (39), to this effect — *I choſe the houſe of thy father* Aaron *to offer up incenſe and ſacrifices upon my altar* —— *Why then do ye kick at my ſacrifices?* —— *Wherefore, tho' I ſaid that thine houſe* —— *ſhould ſtand before me for ever* —— *Now far be it from me to honour thoſe that diſhonour me* —— *Lo, the time cometh, that thy ſons* Hophni *and* Phineas *ſhall be cut off in one day* —— *And thou ſhalt behold an enemy in my habitation* —— *And I will raiſe me up a faithful prieſt* —— *Whilſt thoſe that are left of thine houſe ſhall fall into the utmoſt poverty and contempt.* How and when this prophecy was fulfilled, will be ſeen in its proper place. It is ſufficient, at preſent, to have given the beſt light we can get to the manner of this ſacred ſucceſſion. We beg leave only to add, that where the prophet tells *Eli*, *Thou ſhalt ſee an enemy* in my *habitation*, the word ſignifies, more properly, *a rival*; and ſeems to point directly at the eldeſt branch, which, though ſet aſide for a time, would again be reinſtated to that ſupreme dignity, as it actually was, when *Saul* cauſed *Abimelech* to be ſlain, and *Zadok* to be put in his place.

(38) *Comp.* 1 *Kings* i. 26, 27. *and* iii. 4. (39) 1 *Sam.* ii. 27, *& ſeq.*

offering

offering the ſhew-bread; only they were allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there [e].

2. His conſecration. This ceremony was preſcribed by GOD himſelf on the mount [f], and was performed by *Moſes*, upon his brother *Aaron*, with a ſolemnity anſwerable to the ſacredneſs of his office. It conſiſted, chiefly, in the ſix following particulars, which the reader will find in the margin (S). *Conſecration.*

THERE is one thing to be obſerved in this firſt conſecration, that not only *Aaron*, but his ſons, were conſe-

[e] Ibid. xxi, & ſeq. [f] Exod. xl. 12, & ſeq.

(S) 1. Before all things, he was preſented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the preſence of all the people. 2. He was to waſh himſelf all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious veſſel, that ſtood near the altar, and was ſet up there for all ſuch purpoſes. 3. He was then immediately inveſted with all the pontifical veſtments, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head, and with the breaſt-plate and *urim*. 4. His next buſineſs was, offering the ſacrifices appointed for this purpoſe; namely, a bullock for a ſin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, and another for his conſecration; with the blood of which, *Moſes*, 5. Anointed the tip of his right-ear, his thumb, and great toe; beſides the uſual aſperſions on the altar, and other wave, meat, and drink-offerings. The laſt ceremony was, the anointing him with the ſacred oil, whoſe compoſition was likewiſe preſcribed by God (40), and was not to be uſed for any other purpoſe. Theſe ceremonies were repeated ſeven days ſucceſſively, at leaſt as far as relates to the waſhing, the ſacrifices, and the unction: for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the prieſtly garments (41). During all this time, *Aaron* and his ſons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feaſted themſelves with the daily ſacrifices, which they offered for their conſecration, of which no fragment was to be left till the next morning, but was to be burnt that very night. On the eighth day *Aaron* entered into his office by a double ſacrifice, one which he offered for himſelf, and the other for the people, whom he bleſſed for the firſt time; and this his inauguration was ſignalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the deſcent of the holy fire from heaven (42), which was thenceforwards preſerved till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, and the uſe of any other in the ſacred miniſtry expreſly forbid, under pain of death, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(40) *Exod.* xxx. 22, & ſeq. (41) *Levit.* viii. 1, & ſeq. (42) *Ibid.* x. paſſ. *vid. ver.* 23, & 24.

crated

crated at the ſame time, and with the ſame ceremonies, though theſe were to continue ſtill in the rank of common prieſts. This may be the reaſon why *Eleazar* is afterwards ſaid to have been inſtalled into the high-prieſthood, by the ſole inveſtiture of his father's garments, without any other ceremony: from which ſeveral commentators have concluded, that the reſt were not to be uſed at the inſtallation of any new high-prieſt. It is true, we can offer nothing concluſive out of the *Moſaic* text, to confute that notion; yet, if we believe the antient *Jews*, who may be properly enough looked upon as the beſt judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the inveſtiture till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, when *Joſiah* depoſited the ſacred oil in ſo ſecret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity: from which time, and not till then, they began to content themſelves with the bare inveſtiture, without the unction [k]. However that be, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that *Moſes* was commanded to conſecrate *Aaron*'s two ſons, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-prieſthood was confined, as he did, at the ſame time, all the prieſtly garments, the tabernacle, and all the ſacred utenſils of it, which were to be intirely dedicated to the ſervice of God ever after [l].

His dreſs. 3. His prieſtly veſtments; concerning which, all that we can, with any certainty, advance, is, that they were likewiſe preſcribed by God himſelf, and conſiſted of every thing that could make them truly rich, ſumptuous, and venerable; ſuch as a great variety of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, purple, ſcarlet, the fineſt of ſilk, linen, and the like: but, as to the faſhion of them, all that has been advanced about it, though with ever ſo poſitive an air, is mere conjecture; becauſe *Moſes* has contented himſelf with giving us the names of them, without any farther deſcription, as being altogether needleſs. *Joſephus* has, indeed, been more particular, in this reſpect [m]; but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has deſcribed them as they were worn in his time: and how far the faſhion of them might have altered, during ſo long a ſpace, and ſuch a variety of circumſtances which the *Jewiſh* commonwealth went through, is not eaſy to gueſs. The rabbies vary greatly from him, in their deſcription of them; and St. *Jerom* both

[k] Vid. Seld. de ſucceſſione ad pontificat. l. ii. c. 9. Basnag. rep. Hebr. tom. i. l. ii. c. 7. [l] Vid. Levit. viii. 10, & ſeq. ad 30. ix. paſſ. Vid. & ver. 23, & 24. [m] Ant. l. iii. c. 7.

from

from him, and them [n]: ſo that we may truly ſay, that thoſe moderns who have lately given us ſuch lively deſcriptions of them, both in writing, and in various prints, have rather furniſhed the world with new models for maſquerading habits, than informed us of any thing, either certain, or, indeed, material. This caution being premiſed, we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers, in the following note (T), the beſt account we can of them, with any tolerable

[n] HIERON. ad Fabiol.

(T) They were of two ſorts, one made of linen, and common to him and all the other prieſts; and, if there was any difference between them, it was, that the former was made of finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones that he is ſuppoſed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that theſe were made of a finer linen, becauſe they are called by another name, namely, *ſheſh*, which is thought a fine *Egyptian* ſort; whereas that which is called *bad*, is a more common one: theſe were the mitre, or turbant, long robe, or veſt, his drawers, and his girdle: the others, which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all ſolemn days and occaſions, were ſo rich and magnificent, that the *Jews* called them *bagde zabab*, *veſtures of gold*, to expreſs the richneſs of them; and *Moſes*, *the glory and ornament of* Aaron (43). The firſt was a blue or purple robe, which he put over his linen veſt; this garment had no ſleeves, nor any ſeam, according to *Joſephus*, being woven, like that of our Saviour's, from top to bottom, with a ſlit to put his head thro'. The border of it, which reached almoſt to his ankles, was trimmed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomgranates, curiouſly wrought in pure gold, at equal diſtances one from another, that, by their tinkling, his approach might be the more eaſily diſtinguiſhed: this veſt was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice about his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

Over this veſt was a third, called the ephod, curiouſly wrought with gold, and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a ſhort coat, about two feet in length: on the top of it, on each ſide, were two ſhoulder-pieces, to which were faſtened two precious ſtones, ſet in gold, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes, ſix upon each ſtone, that he might always have before his eyes thoſe that were committed to his paſtoral care: upon the breaſt of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length,

(43) *Exod.* xxviii. 2.

and

rable certainty; and refer the reader to *Josephus*, and those modern authors who have treated more fully of them P.

WHAT this oracle consisted in, and how it was consulted, shall be shewn, in a more proper place: and, as to its form and shape (X), we are left so much in the dark, that it

P Ant. l. iii. c. 7. CUNÆUS, BASNAG. LAMY, CALMET, & al.

and a proportionable breadth, on which the breast-plate was to be fastened; this was a folded piece of the same rich embroidered tissue, on which were set twelve precious stones, in gold, on each of which was engraven the name of one of the tribes: these were set in four rows, three in each row, and the whole was fastened at the four corners, those on the top to each shoulder-piece by a golden hook, or ring, at the end of a wreathed chain; and those below to the girdle of the ephod, by two blue strings, or ribbands, which had likewise two rings and hooks; so that the whole might be tied fast to the garment, beyond the danger of falling off; for these were never to be severed: and the *Jews* tell us, that if the high-priest did, at any time, either through inadvertency, or wilfully, put on one without the other, he was to be punished for it: this ornament is therefore called the *memorial*, to put him in mind how dear those tribes ought to be to him, whose names he wore over his breast: it is also call'd the breast-plate of judgment, because it had the divine oracle fasten'd to it; at least the far greatest part of interpreters have understood the command of God to *Moses*, of putting the *urim* and *thummim* to the breast-plate (51), as if it implied them to be a distinct thing from it: and this has made them run into various notions, as we shall shew presently.

(X) The stones of the breast-plate were divided from each other by the golden partitions into which they were set, and were ranged in the following order; to which we have added their *Hebrew* names, together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them (52).

1.	אדם	Sardius	7.	לשם	Ligure
	Odem	REUBEN		Leshem	GAD
2.	פטרה	Topas	8.	שבו	Agate
	Phiterah	SIMEON		Shebo	ASHER
3.	ברקת	Carbuncle	9.	אחלמה	Amethyst
	Barketh	LEVI		Achlamah	ISSACHAR
4.	נפך	Emerald	10.	תרשיש	Beryl
	Nophek	JUDAH		Tarshish	ZEBULUN
5.	ספיר	Saphire	11.	שוהם	Onyx
	Saphir	DAN		Shohem	JOSEPH
6.	יהלום	Diamond	12.	ישפה	Jasper
	Jahalom	NAPHTALI		Yashphe	BENJAMIN.

(51) *Exod.* xxviii. 30. (52) *Vid. Exod.* xxviii. 17, & *seq.*

Some

it would require a new *urim* and *thummim* to acquaint us with it; becauſe no inſpired writer has given us any hint: and thoſe who have ſince wrote their conjectures about it, ſeem to have given ſo great a ſcope to their fancy, that one ſhall ſcarce find two or three of them agreeing in the ſame notion. Some antients thought, that there was a thirteenth ſtone in the breaſt-plate, whoſe extraordinary luſtre and beauty, above the reſt, did ſignify to the high-prieſt GOD's approbation or diſlike of the thing inquired about [q]. And though St. *Auſtin* has plainly proved, that there was not the leaſt foundation for ſuch a ſupernumerary ſtone [r], ſome moderns have not ſcrupled to add another, in order to anſwer the two names of *urim* and *thummim* [s]. An antient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that thoſe two words were either engraven on a plate of gold, and fixed to the breaſt-plate; or imbroidered, in raiſed work, upon it [t]. Moſt of the *Jews* believe, that it was the *tetra-*

[q] EPIPHAN. tract. de xii. gemmis. SUIDAS in Εφοδ. [r] Quæſt. in Exod. 117. [s] ARR. MONT. & al. [t] CYRIL. expoſit. ſymbol.

Some of theſe ſtones, it muſt be owned, are of ſo hard a nature, eſpecially the diamond, that one may juſtly queſtion how they came ſo ſoon by the art of engraving on them. But here the *Talmudiſts* wonderfully help us out, by aſſuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have waſted ſome part of the ſtone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which, when ſet upon each of theſe ſtones, did ſink itſelf all along thoſe places which *Moſes* had chalked to it, and ſo impreſſed the letters into the ſtones, in the ſame manner as we might do into ſome things of a ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, without taking off any part of it. They relate, likewiſe, ſeveral other wonders about this worm, and theſe precious ſtones, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, after what we have own'd in the laſt note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true ſignification of their names. The *Jews*, among other things, tell us, that the names of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were engraven alſo over the name of *Reuben*, in the firſt ſtone, and in the laſt, under that of *Benjamin* the words, שבטי יה, *ſhibte-Jah*, *the tribes of the Lord*; in order to make up the whole alphabet, ſome letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypotheſis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance, or ſuperior luſtre, of ſuch letters as compoſed the anſwer. But of this we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

(53) *Maimon, hele bammikdaſh, c. 9.*

grammaton

grammaton written upon a plate of gold, or some other way fixed to the breast-plate [u]; and *Le Clerc*, that *urim* and *thummim* were the names of two kinds of precious stones, set in a gold chain, or collar, which were hung about the high-priest's neck, and came down to his breast; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the *Egyptians*, whose chief magistrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of justice and truth, engraven on some precious stone [w]. A modern traveller, in a letter dated from *Cairo*, tells us, that he saw a very antient mummy in *Egypt*, which had a large collar hanging down to its breast, with a bird engraven in gold fastened to the end of it [x]. *Spencer*, after *De Castro*, believed, that the breast-plate had two little golden figures, inclosed in a kind of purse, which gave answers, *viva voce*, to the questions of the high-priest [y]: and for this he quotes St. *Jerom* and *Cedrenus* among the antients, *Cornelius à Lapide* and *Ludovicus de Dieu* among the moderns, with some *Jewish* writers: but this notion has been so severely answered by the learned *Pococke* *, as absurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author since. *Philo*, indeed, seems to hint something like it [z], only with this difference, that he says those two figures, or virtues, namely, manifestation and truth, were only imbroidered upon it: and it must be owned, that, if there were any such figures, or symbols, it is more reasonable to suppose them, with him, to have been only imbroidered, than, with *Spencer*, that they were real figures, whether cast, or carved by any other way; because this latter seems too contrary to the prohibition in the second commandment. But we see no need of supposing any such figures, upon the authority of either; because *Josephus*, who was also a priest, and may be reasonably supposed to have been as well acquainted with it as *Philo*, doth not so much as hint any thing like such figures; but makes the oracle to consist in the supernatural brightness of the twelve stones at the time of inquiring, as we have seen already: and, as for *Spencer*, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from *Egypt*. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places where *Moses* mentions the *urim* and *thummim* [a], will have reason to won-

[u] Ita rabbin. Vid. R. Salom. Vid. Egub. & Mont. in loc. [w] Comm. in loc. Vid. Diod. Sicul. biblioth. l. ii. c. 3. Ælian. var. hist. & al. [x] Della Valle, epist. xi. [y] Dissert. de ur. & thum. * Comm. in Hos. iii. 4. [z] In vit. Mos. l. iii. de monarc. l. ii. [a] Exod. xxviii. 30. xxxix. 8. & Levit. viii. 8.

der,

der, that GOD, who took ſuch particular care to give him the moſt exact directions for all the other garments, uteníils, &c. ſhould not give him the leaſt hint about theſe; unleſs we ſuppoſe them to have been things ſufficiently known, both to him, and to all the people. If, therefore, we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the reſt, it would be that of the judicious *Hottinger*, who thinks, that, when *Moſes* is commanded to put into the breaſt-plate the *urim* and *thummim*, which words, as has been ſhewn already, do ſignify *light* and *perfection*, in the plural; it means only, that he ſhould make choice of the moſt perfect ſet of ſtones, and have them poliſhed, ſo as to give the moſt conſummate luſtre [b] (Z). And this ſeems moſt agreeable to what *Joſephus* and *Maimon* ſaid of it, except the miraculous luſtre, which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle, concerning which, we may, perhaps, in the ſequel, offer a more probable conjecture. However, we are far from diſapproving of that more ſpiritual notion of the learned *Prideaux*, who believes that thoſe two words were choſen to expreſs the clearneſs and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine virtue communicated to the breaſt-plate at its conſecration: only we are more inclined to ſuppoſe, that this latter ſenſe was

[b] In Moſ. & Aar. l. i. c. 5. note 11.

(Z) This conjecture is ſo far from jarring with the literal ſenſe of the original, that the very expreſſion which *Moſes* makes uſe of in the places above quoted (54), ſeems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all the particular directions for making the breaſt-plate, ſuch as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious ſtones, &c. even to the hooks, rings, chains, and ſtrings, by which it was to be made faſt to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפט את האורים ואת התומים, which literally runs thus; *And thou ſhalt give to the breaſt-plate of judgment theſe lights, or luſtres and perfections:* namely, of the twelve ſtones before deſcribed. We need not add, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the word אור, or *light*, doth often imply the brightneſs; and תום, *thom*, the goodneſs of a thing in its kind; and that the plural number, as here, is often uſed to expreſs the higheſt degree of it. However, we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all theſe ſeems moſt probable to him; and, if he is deſirous to know more about this point, he may conſult the learned *Buxtorf* the younger, who has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject (55).

(54) *Exod.* xxviii. 30. (55) *Exercit.* iii. *de ur. & thum.*

emble-

emblematically signified by the genuineneſs and brightneſs of the ſtones: at leaſt we find, that the *Jews*, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it neceſſary to imitate this breaſt-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the ſame name, though they own, that it had not the oracular virtue of the former [c]. Now it is plain, that ſuch an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other ſuppoſition than that they underſtood the words *urim* and *thummim* to have been deſigned by GOD, not as abſolutely expreſſive, but as ſymbolical, of the light and clearneſs of this oracle.

THE laſt garment, peculiar to the high-prieſt, was his mitre, or bonnet. Whether, and how far, it differed in faſhion from that of the common prieſts, *Moſes* doth not tell us, neither is it eaſy to gueſs; though their being called by different names, and made, at leaſt, of different kinds of linen, inclines one to think, that there was ſome conſiderable difference between them; if not in ſhape, yet in beauty and richneſs. The reader may ſee, in the next note, all that can be conjectured concerning it (A), from *Jewiſh*

[c] Vid. MAIM. kele hammikdaſh, c. 10. §. 10.

(A) All that we can gather from *Joſephus*, St. *Jerom*, *Maimon* (58), and others, concerning this ornament, is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike an hemiſphere, which, conſequently, did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped ſeveral times about with a piece of fine cotton or linen, of a conſiderable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribband, or ſtring, to prevent its falling off. *Joſephus* adds, that the mitre was covered with another of fine blue or purple, having a triple crown of gold about it; and that on the top, juſt in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, reſembling the bud of a plant which he is there very particular in deſcribing. But we ſhall refer the reader to the author. The *Jews* further add, that, as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers, or feſtoons, to the place where it was tied. Both the high-prieſt and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets faſt when they officiated, becauſe it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldneſs to be ſeen bare-headed. According to which notion, the *Chaldee* paraphraſt renders thoſe places, where the *Iſraelites* are

(58) *Joſeph. ant. l. iii. c. 7. Hieron. ad Fabiol. Maim. kele hammikdaſh, c. 9, 10.*

ſaid

Jewiſh and *Chriſtian* authors; however, the pontifical one was remarkably diſtinguiſhed from the common, by the golden plate on which were engraven, in *Hebrew*, the words HOLINESS TO THE LORD [d]. This plate is alſo called, in ſome other places, a crown [e] (B); and was faſtened to the fore-part of the mitre by two blue ribbands, or ſtrings.

Laws

[d] Exod. xxviii. 36. [e] Ibid. xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. Levit. viii. 9.

ſaid to have marched out of *Egypt*, *with a high hand* (59), by the words *bare-headed*, that is, with boldneſs and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greateſt token of reſpect with them was, to be bare-foot; and this is the reaſon why we find no mention of ſhoes or ſandals among the prieſtly robes, they being all obliged to perform their office barefoot: and in this they became ſo ſcrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, though but a ſtraw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or elſe their miniſtry was eſteem'd null.

(B) Theſe words, the *Jews* tell us, were raiſed by a kind of enamel, above the gold (60); but this ſeems contrary to the meaning of *Moſes*'s words, who expreſly ſays, that they were to be *written, like the engraving of a ſignet*. However, there is no doubt but it was deſign'd to expreſs the holineſs of the character of the perſon that wore it, which was to be ſuch, that the leaſt defilement, however ſo involuntary, diſqualified him for performing his office, till he had been legally purified from it. Concerning this point, the *Jews* acquaint us with a particularity, which, tho' not mentioned by *Moſes*, is well worth inſerting here, as having no ſmall probability. They tell us, out of their *Talmud* (61), that, on expiation-day, the high-prieſt, being to perform the ſervice of that ſolemn faſt, and it being far from impoſſible that he might contract ſome impurity, which might render him unfit for his office, notwithſtanding all his care and caution; they uſed, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in caſe of ſuch a defilement; this vicar was neither anointed nor conſecrated for the place, though his new office obliged him to go into the moſt holy place, inſtead of the pontif. They add, that as ſoon as this laſt was cleanſed, he re-entered into his office, and the other relinquiſhed it, and returned into the rank of common prieſts; only with this difference, that he had ſome kind of ſuperiority and rule over the reſt; and, if the high-prieſt died before him, he ſucceeded him in that dignity, of courſe. *Joſephus* confirms this

(59) *Exod.* xiv. 8, *& alib.*
(60) *Maim. ubi ſup. c.* 9. *ſect.* 1.
(61) *Idem in mſſ. c. in Yoma.*

Laws concerning the priests.

Laws concerning priests.

WE have already taken notice, that these were descended from *Aaron*, the first high-priest, by his two sons *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*. *Moses*, indeed, mentions only these two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the priesthood; but it were absurd to suppose, from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father: for we find, that *Phineas* was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he shewed against the *Midianitish* defection [k]; and, probably, there were more of age sufficient to perform the priestly functions. These being subordinate to the high-priest, and of a rank and office superior to the *Levites*, may be considered in a threefold view; namely,

[k] Num. xxv. 7, & seq.

by the instance of the high-priest *Matthias*, who, having defiled himself by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, *Joseph*, the son of *Eli*, a near relation of his, officiated for him (62). *Maimon* calls this vicar *Sagan*, and adds, that he had two priests to wait upon him, as he himself waited on the high-priest; with some other particulars, which we shall not dwell upon, because they appear of later institution (63). However, with respect to the high-priest, it is plain, that he might be sullied so many unforeseen ways, and ran such risque if he entered the most holy place with any such pollution, that, it is more than probable, there was some person appointed, by way of precaution, to perform his office, in all such cases. But who this substitute was, how, and by whom, he was appointed, we dare not affirm; though it is not improbable, that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we observed at first, did hold the next rank to him; and is therefore most likely to be the person meant in the last chapter of *Jeremiah*; where it is said, that *the captain of the guard took* Seraiah *the high, and* Zephaniah *the second priest* (64). In this sense, likewise, it is thought, by many of the learned, that *Annas* and *Caiaphas* are said, by St. *Luke* (65), to be high-priests in the same year: but, concerning the person that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, *Moses* has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a successor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

(62) *Ant. l.* xvii. *c.* 8. (63) *Vid. Mdim. hele hammikdash.* (64) *Ver.* 24. (65) *Luke* iii. 2. *Vid. Cleric. Whiston. Baron. J. J. Scaliger. prolog. in Euseb. Hutting. in Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. l.* i. *c.* 5. *sub not.* 19, *& al.*

with

with regard to their conſecration, office, and dreſs. But of theſe we ſhall not need ſay much, becauſe there was nothing of pomp or ſolemnity uſed in any of them.

THEIR conſecration, if we except that of the ſons of *Aaron*, which we mentioned in a former article, was performed with little or no ceremony. They were firſt carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities (C); and if ſo, they were intro- *Their conſecration.*

(C) Theſe were the ſame as unqualified the high-prieſt, and are mentioned under that head out of *Leviticus* (1); but the *Jews* tells us, that theſe are but a sketch of thoſe that exclude from the prieſtly functions, which their ſuperſtitious nicety hath inlarged at a very ſtrange rate. We ſhall juſt mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids, ſeven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the noſe, ſix to the mouth, three to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, ſixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the skin and fleſh, and at leaſt, eleven to the upper skin (2).

Beſides theſe, which unqualified a man, either for being admitted to the prieſtly office, or for being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were ſeveral other voluntary ones for which he was ſet aſide from the miniſtry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the firſt kind were ſeveral legal pollutions, the greateſt of which was that of a dead body. For this reaſon they were not allowed to aſſiſt at the funeral of any but the neareſt relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or ſiſter that died virgins. In all ſuch pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any ſacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things, till they had thoroughly purified themſelves according to the law (3). Thoſe that excluded them wholly from the prieſthood, beſides the natural and accidental ones above-mentioned, were, for inſtance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying an harlot, or a *Canaaniteſs*, or any ſtrange woman, and refuſing to put her away. Something like this we find practiſed in the time of *Ezra* (4), after the captivity; to which we may add that of the prophet (5), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a prieſt. Idolatry likewiſe, and many other crimes of that high nature, did wholly exclude a perſon from the prieſthood (6).

(1) *Ch.* xxi. 18, *& ſeqq.* (2) *Vide Maim. in Hath hammikd.* c. 3.
Buxtorf. de ſynag. vet. lib. iii. c. 4. (3) *Lev.* xxii. 6, *& ſeq.*
(4) *Ezr.* x. 10, *& ſeq.* (5) *Conf. Ezek.* xliv. 22. *& Levit.* xxi. 13.
(6) *Vide Maim. Hath hammikdaſh*, c. 1.

duced into the court of the tabernacle or temple, where they washed themselves with pure water, preserved there for that purpose; after which, being cloathed in their priestly habit, they were brought to the high-priest, who presented them to the LORD; and after the usual sacrifices prescribed by *Moses*, that pontif, or the priest in waiting, sanctified them, or, as the original imports, *filled their hands*; by which is understood, their being immediately set about some branch of the priestly office (D).

Office. THEIR office, which was severally determined by lot, and which they did cast at their first coming into waiting, was either to burn incense morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice, to kill, dress, and offer up, the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar, to keep up a continual fire on the altar of burnt-offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the shew-bread upon the golden table, with some others of the like nature; the most material of which we have had occasion to mention under the articles of sacrifices, first-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from Sabbath to Sabbath, and quarterly, according to their classes; the age in which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by *Moses* at about 25 or 30 years of age, and ended about 50[n]; but in *David*'s time they were made to serve from the age of 20[o]. Those who, either by age or infirmity, were disabled from ministring, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquisites of the priesthood; and any *Levite*, that willingly offered himself to serve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance[p], as we shall see in its place (E).

IN

[n] Numb. iv. 3. viii. 24. [o] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. [p] Deut. xviii. 6.

(D) At least these ceremonies are inferred from those of the consecration of the *Levites* (6); for as the latter were of an inferior rank, it is reasonable to suppose, that the priests could not be consecrated with less ceremony; but even here it is very much questioned whether any of these, except only the two or three first, were ever used, unless in cases of some signal defection, or long disuse, of their office, and the like; such as frequently happened during the reigns of some of their wicked kings (7).

(E) Some other important parts of the priestly office were the instruction of the people,

(6) *Numb.* viii. 5, & *seqq.*

(7) *Vide* 2 *Kings* ii. 5.

(8), judg-

In *David*'s time, the two familes of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* were, for better order's ſake, divided into 24 claſſes, according to the number of each family; ſo that the former, being the more numerous, was divided into ſixteen, and the latter into eight claſſes. Theſe took their turns in the miniſtry, according as it was aſſigned to them by lot, which was commonly caſt before the king, high-prieſt, and other perſons of diſtinction, to avoid fraud and confuſion: an account of which the reader will find in the xxivth chapter of the firſt book of the *Chronicles*. All that we ſhall add is, that theſe claſſes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that commonwealth, and from this the heads of each claſs came afterwards to be called *chief-prieſts*. This is the reaſon why we meet, in two of the evangeliſts [a], with

[a] Matth. xxvi. 3. Mark xv. 1.

(8), judging of controverſies (9), of leproſy, and other pollutions (10), cauſes of divorce, and the uſe of the waters of jealouſy (11); of vows, and of the fitneſs or unfitneſs of victims; blowing the trumpets, in order to proclaim the Sabbath, and ſolemn feaſts; the calling of aſſemblies; ſounding to war; encouraging the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occaſionally ſpoken of already. But the moſt ſacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preſerving the volumes of the law, and bleſſing the people in God's name (12). There were likewiſe ſome ſevere inhibitions relating to their office, ſome of which were explicit, and ſome implicit. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which forbad them to make uſe of any ſtrange fire (13), of drinking either wine, or any intoxicating liquors, when they came to miniſter (14). They were likewiſe forbid to begin any ſacerdotal function, till they had firſt waſhed their hands and feet (15). The implicit ones were not to appear in the miniſtry without their prieſtly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, becauſe they were tokens of mourning, or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To theſe the *Talmudiſts* have added ſome others, ſuch as ſitting down whilſt they performed any part of their office; making uſe of the left-hand inſtead of the right (becauſe *Aaron* and his ſons had their right ears, thumbs, and great toes, ſanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of leſs conſequence (16).

(8) *Lev.* x. 11. *Malach.* ii. 7. (9) *Deut.* xvii. 8, *& ſeqq.* xix. 17, *& alib.* (10) *Lev.* xiii. xiv. *& xv. paſſ. & alib.* (11) *Numb.* v. 12, *& ſeqq.* (12) *Numb.* vi. 23, *& ſeqq.* (13) *Lev.* x. 1, *& ſeqq.* (14) *Ibid.* ver. 9. (15) *Exod.* xxx. 21. (16) *Vide Maim. hilch bammikdaſh*, c. 1, *& ſeqq. Enjuag. R. H. tom.* iii. *lib.* ii. *c.* 4.

an aſſembly of them, which ought therefore to be diſtinguiſhed both from the high-prieſt and from his ſuffragan (F).

Laws concerning the Levites.

Levites. THESE related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes; for, as to their deſcent, the choice of their tribe, and their conſecration, we have had already occaſion to mention all that is material concerning them: only, with reſpect to the laſt of theſe, it is obſervable, that this ceremony was begun with ſprinkling them with the water of ſeparation, which was that with which they uſed to purify thoſe who had contracted any legal impurity, with ſhaving their whole body, and waſhing all their cloaths before they were preſented by the people

(F) We have already ſaid ſomething of their dreſs, when we ſpoke of that of the high-prieſt going into the holy of holies. It conſiſted of a veſt, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre, or cap, all of linen. The cap reſembled, according to *Joſephus*, and thoſe who follow him, an helmet, or pointed turbant. Their girdle was variegated with the fineſt colours, about three fingers breadth. and woven round like an eel-skin. Their veſt, or long coat, it is pretended, was without ſeam, woven from top to bottom, and with the ſleeves to it. Some of thoſe authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom, or frame, for making ſuch kind of garments (17). No prieſt was to wear his hair to its full length, but was obliged to clip it with a pair of ſciſſars, at leaſt when he went into waking (18). As to their dreſs, they were only bound to wear it at the time of their miniſtring; at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue, and perquiſites, will be beſt ſeen when we come to ſpeak of the *Levites:* in the mean time, we cannot forbear making one obſervation upon the garb both of the high and lower prieſts (in deſcribing of which we have followed *Joſephus*, and the current of interpreters); namely, that if their veſts had been of the length which they tell us of, and they had really had what all verſions render breeches, or drawers, under them, there would ſcarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without ſteps, for fear of their diſcovering that which modeſty requires to be hid (19). We hope this will be a ſufficient excuſe for our enlarging no farther on that ſubject.

(17) *See the verſion of Joſephus, Lamy, Calmet, and others.* (18) *Comp. Levit.* xxi. 5. *& Ezek.* xliv. 20. (19) *Exod.* xx. *ver. ult.*

to

to the high-prieſt [d]. As to their dreſs, it was the ſame with that of the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, *Moſes* not having appointed them any particular one. We ſhall, in its proper place, give an account of their number, claſſes, encampments, marches, carrying, ſetting up and taking down the tabernacle, and all its moveables [e]; of their being ſubject to their brethren of the family of *Aaron*, and officiating under them in the lower and more laborious branches of the miniſtry, during all the time that the ark, and the tabernacle, *&c.* were removing from place to place. But, after theſe were once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their ſervice became eaſier and more delightful [f] (G).

Their conſecration and dreſs.

THESE

[d] Numb. viii. 5, & ſeqq. [e] Ibid. ver. 15, & ſeqq. [f] Vide MAIM. & BASNAG. ubi ſup.

(G) This ſeems to be the reaſon why *Moſes* ordered at firſt, that they ſhould not be admitted into their office till they had attained to the age of between 25 and 30, and that they ſhould be diſcharged from it at 50 (20), their office being then ſuch as required more ſtrength and vigour; but in *David*'s time, when they were eaſed of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of 20 (21). And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the 50th year, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

Before *David* had divided them into claſſes, their miniſtry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the prieſts did; and their buſineſs was, ſome to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were uſed by the prieſts; others to keep the court of the ſanctuary, and all the utenſils that ſtood out of the tabernacle, clean and decent; and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle. Some were likewiſe appointed to ſing, and play upon inſtruments; others, to ſtudy and expound the law to the people, and to aſſiſt at the inferior courts of judicature; and theſe provinces were, in all probability, aſſigned to them according to their ſeveral capacities. But after *David* had once fixed the ark at *Jeruſalem*, by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more ſo than the vaſt project he had premeditated of building the temple would moſt likely require; that wiſe monarch made ſeveral neceſſary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* polity. We have ſeen above, that they were diſtinguiſhed into three families, namely, *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*. To each of theſe, which he alſo ſubdivided into 24 claſſes, which were to ſuc-

(20) *Comp. Numb.* iv. 3. & viii. 24. (21) 1 *Chron.* xxiii. 27.

THESE ſingers king *Solomon* diſtinguiſhed from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a linen kind of robe, or ſurplice, when they were upon duty [k]; but the reſt did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king *Agrippa*, about the year of CHRIST 62, and about ſix years before the deſtruction of the laſt temple. *Joſephus* adds [l], that the prieſts did highly reſent it; and obſerves, that ſuch innovations ſeldom went unpuniſhed. It is true, that he calls them ſingers; but it is plain he muſt have been either miſtaken or miſcopied; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that he there ſpeaks of a particular garment to be worn by them at all times, as well as at divine ſervice.

Their revenues.

2. THEIR revenues. We have choſen to ſpeak jointly of thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, becauſe they were intermixed together by GOD's own appointment, at leaſt in their main branches, thoſe of the tithes, cities, and ſome other perquiſites. As for what either of them had in particular, it is ſcarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that, according to *Jacob*'s prophecy, the tribe of *Levi* was to be interſperſed among the other tribes; and they were excluded by an expreſs law of *Deuteronomy* [m], from having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land; and had

[k] 2 Chron. v. 12. [l] Ant. lib. xx. c. 8. [m] Ch. xviii. paſſ.

ceed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their ſeveral functions, as follows: to the one he aſſigned the aſſiſting the prieſts at the tabernacle, preparing of flour, cakes, wine, and oil, for the ſacrifices, and all other ſervices of that kind. The ſecond was appointed to ſing, and play on muſical inſtruments, at proper periods of the divine ſervice; and the third, to keep a conſtant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over theſe claſſes he appointed from among them proper officers and overſeers of ſeveral ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He choſe likewiſe from among them men of learning and piety, to teach and breed up the younger *Levites*, either to their miniſtry, or to expound the law to the people; beſides thoſe whom he appointed to aſſiſt at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all theſe functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man for performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the *Jews* do, that of ſinging, for which it is poſſible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reaſon of the diſagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice (22).

(22) *Vide Obad. Bartner, tract. cholin, c.* i. §. 6.

their

their portion aſſigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the firſt-born of the *Iſraelites*, in whoſe ſtead they were ſubſtituted. We have already ſpoken of all theſe; but as it was neceſſary, that they ſhould have ſome certain places of abode appointed for them, as ſoon as they were come to the plain of *Moab*, over-againſt *Jericho*, God was pleaſed to aſſign them 48 cities, with their ſuburbs, 13 of which were to belong to the prieſts, and the other 35 to the reſt of the tribe of *Levi* [n] (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the prieſts were, for the moſt part, of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and conſequently nearer to *Jeruſalem*; whereas thoſe of the *Levites* were divided to them by lot, out of all the other tribes on either ſide *Jordan*. Thus did God turn *Jacob*'s curſe into a bleſſing, and the prieſts and *Levites*, whoſe buſineſs it was to preſerve knowlege, became ſo diſperſed accordingly, that the people might be every-where ſupplied with it. What thoſe cities were, hath been ſeen in the beginning of this chapter. All that we ſhall examine at preſent is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues, conſiſted in, and how far they extended (As for the ſix cities of refuge which were choſen out of that number, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate article). With reſpect then to the privilege of the former, which ſome authors extend no further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may obſerve, that their owners had power to ſell or mortgage

[n] Numb. xxxv. 1, & ſeqq. Joſh. xxi. 10, & ſeqq.

(H) The right of the *Levitical* tribe to theſe cities, and lands adjacent, is not without ſome difficulties, which have made ſome authors doubt whether they had any more than the bare uſe and income without the power of alienating them (23). Thus it is objected, that *Hebron* was given to the prieſts as a city of refuge; and yet *Caleb*, who was of the tribe of *Judah*, had the fields and villages belonging to it aſſigned to him (24). This difficulty may be eaſily removed, by ſuppoſing, with our author, that *Caleb* did yield the city unto them, becauſe the Lord had determined it for a city of refuge; but that he reſerved the territories to himſelf, as being out of the caſe. However, as to the prieſts and *Levites* having power to alienate their houſes and lands, or even to purchaſe new ones, excluſive of thoſe allotted to them, we have ſufficient proof; as the reader will ſee by what follows in the text.

(23) *Vide Baſnag. ubi ſup. c.* 7. (24) *Joſh.* xxi. 11, & *ſeqq.*

had

them, as well as the other tribes; only with this advantageous difference on their side, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able; and if not, they devolved to them on the year of *jubilee*: whereas those alienated houses of the laity, which stood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably lost to the first owner [o] (I).

[o] Levit. xxv. 29, & seqq.

(I) Hence it is plain, that their right to their houses was even stronger than that of the people; for which reason it is called their inheritance (25). The case was indeed different with respect to the grounds that were annexed to those cities, which could not be alienated upon any account (26); but the reason of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only pasture-ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by consent to inclose or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the division was made in proportion to the largeness of their families, which could not have subsisted, had such an alienation been permitted.

It is likewise manifest, that their being excluded from any portion in the distribution of the land, was so far from depriving them of the right of possession, or even of purchase, that we have several instances to the contrary in both cases, and them authorized by God. With respect to the first, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his house or land unto the Lord, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling to redeem them, they were then to continue sacred unto God (27); that is, the priests became the right owners of them: accordingly we find, that the high-priest had some estate of his own, into which he was relegated by *Solomon* (28); and, even in the apostles time, *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, had some land which he sold for the use of the church (29). To this we may add, if what *Maimon* tells us be right, that the tribe of *Levi* had their twelfth share of all the lands which were got by the sword (30). As for their having it in their power to purchase estates, we need but read the xxxiid chapter of *Jeremiah*, who was a priest; where we shall find a curious account of his purchasing a piece of land, and with it all the formalities that were then used in such cases (31).

(25) *Ibid.* ver. 33. (26) *Ibid.* ver. 34. (27) *Levit.* xxvii. 14, & *seqq.* (28) 1 *Kings* ii. 26. (29) *Acts* iv. 36, 37. (30) *Halak shemit. reysbel. Vide Basnag. ubi sup.* (31) *Ver.* 7, & *seqq.*

EVERY one of theſe cities had ſuburbs, the limits whereof were alſo appointed by GOD himſelf [x]; but *Moſes* has expreſſed them in ſuch terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him, than our readers would care to be troubled with: in which uncertainty we are unwilling to rely on the *Jews*, who tell us, that thoſe two numbers were to be taken jointly; ſo that thoſe ſuburbs, or rather territories, ſhould extend to the diſtance of 3000 cubits from the out-walls [y]. They add, that the firſt thouſand were aſſigned for paſture-ground; on which therefore it was not lawful to build, ſow, or plant; but, within the limits of the other 2000 cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within thoſe cities, or their ſuburbs; but that they had, according to the *Jews*, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying-place, which was quite out of the verge of thoſe limits (K).

[x] Halak havoda. hacocabin umazaloth, ap. BASNAG. R. H. tom. i. lib. i. c. 7. [y] Vide Commentat. in EX. xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Deut. iv. 21. & xix. 2.

(K) We ſhall venture no further on the rights and privileges of theſe cities, concerning which the *Jews* tell us wonders, but without any probability: thoſe that are fond of ſuch fables, may find more than they can give credit to in *Maimon* (1), and other *Jewiſh* commentators, on the places of the pentateuch where mention is made of them (2). This however we may ſafely add concerning the cities themſelves; namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or leſs abounding in each of them. Thus, for inſtance, the tribe of *Judah*, whoſe ſhare was full of them, allotted nine, whereas that of *Benjamin*, which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only (3). As to the diſtribution of them among the *Levites*, it was made in the ſame manner as that of the land itſelf, namely, by lot; which was the moſt effectual way to prevent all difference; for even this tribe do not ſeem to have been ſo diſintereſted, that any other method could have ſatisfied them.

(1) *In Numb.* xxxv. 45. *Munſt. Jun. & al. in loc.* (2) *Reb. Salom. in loc. vide & Moſ. de Cotzi.* (3) *Joſh.* xxi. *paſſ.*

Lotus

Laws concerning the six cities of refuge.

Cities of refuge.

THESE were chosen out of those 42 which had been assigned to the tribe of *Levi* [c]. They differed from the *asyla* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in that they were designed to protect innocent persons only from the rigour of the law, in cases of unvoluntary homicide, whereas theirs did equally shelter the guilty and innocent. There is an express command in *Exodus* with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty person shall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death [d]; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderness, but all the time of their abode in the land of *Canaan*; at least, the instance of *Joab*'s taking refuge there seems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it [e]. And indeed so severe were God's laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, in correcting a servant, or in some other cases, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not go unpunished [f]. And where the fact was accidental and unvoluntary, though God's concern for the life of the innocent person was such, that he not only appointed these cities for his protection, but seemed, as it were, to take the fault upon himself (L), yet he condemned him to a kind of banishment, till the death of the high-priest for the time being [g] (M); insomuch that if he ventured out of the limits,

[c] Numb. xxxv. 6. [d] Exod. xxi. 14. [e] 1 Kings ii. 28. [f] Exod. xxi. 12, 20. [g] Numb. xxxv. 25, & seqq.

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but* God *deliver him into his hand.* This we purposely take notice of, because these, and such-like expressions, which occur in Scripture, whatever sinister sense some may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* idiom than that, tho' a man may die contrary to the seeming course of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permission of heaven, whose providence directs all such events, either for the punishment of the person, or for some other wise purposes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that it is only used in this place to shew the injustice there would be in punishing a man for an act which had been directed by providence, without the least design in him of hurting the other.

(M) The reason which the *Jews* give for this is, that the death of so great a person, which was universally lamented, was the

limits, *Joſephus* ſays out of the walls, of the city [h], it was lawful for any relations of the deceaſed either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of juſtice.

THESE cities were not only for the *Iſraelites*, but for all ſtrangers that either lived among them, or came occaſionally. The *Jews* indeed confine the benefit of them to their proſelytes, but this ſenſe ſeems to flow more from their narrowneſs of ſoul, than from the words of the text [i]. We may remember, that *Moſes* ordered three of them to be aſſigned on either ſide *Jordan* [k]. This partition ſeems indeed ſomewhat unequal, becauſe one ſide had but two tribes and half, and the other nine and half; the reaſon of which ſome *Jews* tell us was, becauſe there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of ſelf-defence, than in the latter: but this is ridiculous, and that of R. *Nachman* is by far more probable and judicious; namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at leaſt as large as that of the latter, though leſs inhabited; which made it neceſſary for them to have ſo many of thoſe cities. However, as to thoſe tribes on the other ſide, GOD permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeneſs of their conqueſts ſhould make it neceſſary [l].

How, where, and by whom, the examination of the manſlayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by thoſe of the city whither the man fled for ſanctuary; is neither clear from the text, nor agreed on by interpreters. However, as a late author juſtly obſerves [m], from an expreſſion in *Deuteronomy* and *Joſhua* [n], there

[h] Ant. lib. iv. c. 7. [i] Vide Numb. xxxv. 15. [k] Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix. paſſ. [l] Ibid. ver. 9. [m] CALM. ſub voc. Refuge. [n] Deut. xix. 11, 12. comp. with Joſh. xx. 6, 9.

the moſt proper motive to make all reſentment on the part of the proſecutor to ceaſe (4); and one would wonder, that they ſhould have been followed by any Chriſtians. But the far greater part of theſe look upon this circumſtance to have been typical of the reconciliation which CHRIST, our eternal high-prieſt, made of ſinners to GOD by his death (5). This is what the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems to intimate (6).

(4) *Vide Maim. more nevoch. c.* 40. (5) *Hieron. Auguſt. & al. vide & Grot. Jun. Corn. a Lap. & al. mult. in loc.* (6) Heb. ix. 15.

ſeems to have been a double tryal, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which are underſtood either thoſe of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and this ſeems to us to have been neceſſary only when the avenger of blood appealed from thoſe of the place of refuge. As ſoon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his firſt buſineſs was to flee with all convenient haſte to the next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by GOD's own appointment, to be kept in good repair (N), that nothing might retard his ſpeed. As ſoon as he came to the place, he preſented himſelf to the judges of it, and declared the occaſion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the perſon; and according as his account appeared true or falſe, he was admitted to or excluded from their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the neareſt relation to the deceaſed, came to demand juſtice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges either confirmed their

(N) The text (7) ſays only, *Thou ſhalt prepare thee a way, and divide the coaſt of the land into three parts, that every ſlayer may flee thither.* But their rulers added a number of other laws for keeping thoſe roads in continual repair, that the perſon might meet with no obſtruction in his flight. Theſe roads, acocrding to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, ſmooth, plain, and without aſcent, deſcent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a poſt was to be ſet up to direct them, which had the word מקלט *miklat, refuge,* engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the ſurface kept ſmooth and hard. To theſe precepts the words of the baptiſt, *Prepare the ways of the* LORD, *make his paths ſtrait; every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain levelled,* &c. are thought to allude. Once a year at leaſt, in the month of *Adar*, which anſwers in part to our *February*, the magiſtrates of every city were obliged to viſit them, and ſee that they were kept in good order; otherwiſe, in caſe the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the ſlayer, the magiſtracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate bigneſs, well furniſhed with water, proviſions, artiſts, and all manner of conveniences, weapons excepted. The reaſon they give for excluding this laſt was, leſt the avenger ſhould, in a fit of anger, make uſe of them againſt the ſlayer (8).

(7) *Deut.* xix. 3. (8) *Vide Gemar. tract.* מכלט, *præcept. affirm.* 7s, & *ſeqq. Rab. Salom. Maimon, Urachias, Munſter,* & *al. in Num.* xxxv.

former

former ſentence in favour of the manſlayer, or delivered him up to be puniſhed, if the fact was proved to be wilfully done; but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a ſecond time; and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a ſufficient guard, and remained there free from all further proſecutions; and, at the death of the high-prieſt, he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at leaſt, is what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeding in ſuch caſes. However, as the account we have of it from *Moſes* is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were ſometimes at ſuch a diſtance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manſlayer might be eaſily overtaken by the proſecutor, before he could reach it, we think it, at leaſt, as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he went and ſurrendered himſelf to the judges of the neareſt place; and, having cleared himſelf before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was, by their order, conducted ſafely to the next city of refuge, where the magiſtrates had a further hearing of the cauſe, and either confirmed or revoked the ſentence of the former. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the laſt note, about the conveniences of the roads leading to ſuch places, would be needleſs in this caſe; but we look upon their teſtimony to be very dubious, and in ſome caſes plainly wrong. Thus the Talmud tells us [o], that thoſe cities were to be ſituated by ſome rivers, in order to be well ſupplied with water, and all kind of proviſion; that acceſs to them was to be eaſy, and without aſcent; and yet it rather appears, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. They tell us many other particulars there, which we purpoſely omit, becauſe they are ſtill more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to chooſe which ſuppoſition he likes beſt.

BESIDES theſe cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly obſerved above, and afterwards the temple, had likewiſe the privilege of being ſanctuaries, eſpecially the altar of burnt-offering [p]. The rabbies indeed tell us, the latter was only for prieſts; but we have ſeen the contrary, in the inſtance of *Joab*, mentioned above. Thoſe indeed, who were guilty of wilful murder, ſheltered themſelves there in vain, and were, by GOD's expreſs command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign puniſhment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there alſo, *The altar a place of refuge.*

[o] Gemar. Tract. Maklot. [p] Vide PHILO. legat ad Cai.

whoſe

whose business it was to make a strict examination of the case, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of justice, or send the innocent, under a proper escort, to one of the cities of refuge [q] (O).

Nethinims.

THE *Nethinims* are the last sort of persons dedicated to the worship of GOD. These were not of the children of *Israel*, but of the *Gibeonites*, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a stratagem, which will be taken notice of in the sequel, and whom *Joshua* condemned to the lowest and most laborious offices in the tabernacle under the *Levites*; such as drawing of water, fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like [r]. We do not find, that this name of *Nethinims* was given to them till after the captivity, when a small number returned with *Ezra* and the rest of *Israel* from *Babylon* (P).

II. *Of*

[q] Vide MAIMONID. apud Hotting. in Goodw. lib. ii. c. 5. note 2, & commentators in Numb. xxxv. [r] Josh. ix. 23, 27.

(O) There are several other material circumstances relating to those kind of cases, which, *Moses* having left no particular directions about, may be reasonably supposed to have been left to the discretion of the judges. Such as, for instance, when the fact was committed just before, and the sentence of the judges not obtained in favour of the homicide till after the death of the high-priest; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in case the high-priest was killed by some friends of the exiled person; or, lastly, when the high-priest himself became a manslayer, which was far from impossible: concerning which, and several others of the like nature, the Talmudists have made very judicious and equitable regulations; but which we shall not trouble our readers with.

(P) That name imports as much as *given*; and *Ezra* says (1), they were given, or appointed, by *David* and other kings, to serve in the temple under the *Levites*; and in another place, that they were the children of *Solomon*'s servants (2). So that by this time the name was not confined to the *Gibeonites* alone, but was given also to the *Canaanites*, whom these princes had conquered and converted (3). We read of some such abject persons also in the time of *Moses*, who mentions them in his last pathetic speech, in these words: *You all stand this day before the* LORD —— *your little ones, and your wives, and the stranger that is in your camp, from the hewer of thy wood, to the*

(1) *Ezr.* viii. 20. (2) *Ibid.* ii. 58. (3) 1 *Kings* ix. 20, 21, & *alib.*

drawer

II. *Of things conſecrated to the ſervice of* God.

THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candleſtick, and other utenſils belonging to it. 5. The table of ſhew-bread. And, 6. The court, with all the utenſils which were repoſited in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be ſaid, with any tolerable certainty, is ſo well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and ſo diſregarded by the reſt of the world, that we ſhould gladly content ourſelves with the bare mention of them, did we think that our readers would be ſatisfied with it, without a further deſcription of them. It may indeed appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that *Moſes* ſhould have beſtowed almoſt as many pages in deſcribing the ſtructure of the tabernacle, and its ſumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we ſhould be ſo much in the dark about it, and that there ſhould be ſo much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper ſignification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the caſe, we ſhall not expatiate upon them, unleſs we can do it upon ſome ſure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the goſpel.

1. THE tabernacle was built by the command and directions of God himſelf, that he might dwell in the midſt of his people [a]. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderneſs, and thereby delayed the time of their en- *The tabernacle.*

[a] Vide Exod. xxv. 8, & alib. paſſ.

drawer of thy water (4). And probably, the lowneſs of their condition might be one reaſon why ſo few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we do not read of above 220 that came with *Ezra* (5), and 392 with *Zorobabel* (6); which number was ſo inſufficient for the exigences of the temple, that, *Joſephus* tells us, they inſtituted a feſtival, which he calls *Xylophoria*, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to ſupply the altar of burnt-offering (7): and not unlikely, that alſo of bringing water thither from the pool of *Siloah*, on the laſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles, the inſtitution of which is attributed to the prophet *Zachariah*, of which we have made ſome mention before.

(4) *Deut.* xxix. 11. (5) *Ezr.* viii. 20. (6) *Ibid.* ii. 58.
(7) *Wars of the Jews, lib.* ii. c. 17.

tering into the poſſeſſion of the *Promiſed Land*; it was neceſſary that this ſacred place, where the moſt ſolemn parts of the divine worſhip were to be performed, ſhould be fitted to their frequent marches, and be eaſily ſet up and taken down, as occaſion required. For which reaſon, among other names it has in the *Moſaic* writings (Q), it

(Q) The tabernacle is called by ſeveral names in Scripture, the moſt common of which is that of אהל מועד, *ohel moked*, the tent or tabernacle of the congregation or aſſembly, becauſe it was made in the faſhion of a magnificent tent or pavilion (90). For this reaſon *Joſephus* calls it μεταφερόμενος ναὸς, a portable temple (91): we find it elſewhere called מקדש, *mikdaſh*, the holy place (92), and by the *Septuagint* ἁγιασμα, becauſe it was made holy by God's preſence; it is therefore elſewhere called by way of excellency, המשכן, *hamiſhcan*, the habitation, which the *Greek* renders σκηνὴ, accordingly (93). Sometimes this laſt is joined with the word העדות, *habeduth*, teſtimony (94), the habitation or tabernacle of teſtimony, becauſe God delivered his oracles from thence: laſtly, it is in other parts of Scripture called היכל, *hecal*, palace, and the palace of the Lord (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

Our learned *Spencer* has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances, from *Egypt* (96). He quotes the ſacred and profane writings, to prove that the *Heathens* had ſuch portable temples, in which they depoſited the moſt valuable utenſils that belonged to their religion. It is, indeed, eaſy enough to prove, that they had both theſe, and many other things, very like thoſe of the *Jews*; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condeſcended ſo far to the genius of the *Iſraelites*, as to introduce them into his own worſhip, to be a kind of fence againſt their proneneſs to idolatrous ſuperſtitions, is not only very preſumptuous and unlikely, but doth too evidently thwart the known deſign of them, and the typical application which the apoſtle to the *Hebrews* makes of them (97). And yet this ſophiſtical way of reaſoning is juſtly enough obſerved by a later author (98) to run thro' all his writings on this ſubject; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear ſaying more about it, having ſo often given our reaſons for diſſenting from him. The reader, however, may ſee this laſt ſuppoſition ſufficiently exploded by the author laſt quoted, and but weakly defended ſince by *Le Clerc* (99).

(90) *Exod.* xxviii. 43, *& alib. paſſ.* (91) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 5. (92) *Exod.* xxv. 8. (93) *Ibid. ver.* 9. (94) *Ibid.* xxxviii. 21. (95) 1 *Sam.* i. 9. iii. 3. 1 *Kings* xxi. 1, *& alib. paſſ.* (96) *De leg. rit. Hebr. diſſert.* i. (97) *Heb.* ix. *paſſ. & ver.* 8. (98) *Vide Saurin's diſcourſe on the Pentateuch, diſc.* liv. *paſſ. & alib. paſſ.* (99) *Bibliot. A. M. tom.* xii. *part* ii. §. 1. *paſſ.*

is moſt commonly called by that of *Obel*, which doth properly ſignify a tent; but ſuch a magnificent one, both in its ſtructure, materials, and utenſils, as might inſpire both the *Iſraelites*, and all other nations, with an awful reſpect and regard for the ſervice of GOD. To this end, the moſt coſtly and precious things, which they had brought with them from *Egypt*, and thoſe other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally beſtowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ableſt artificers, to be wrought in a manner ſuitable to the deſign of it, and to the richneſs of the materials [b].

THE tabernacle was of an oblong ſquare figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in height. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of ſhittim-wood (R), covered over with maſſive gold, fixed in the ſame number of pedeſtals or ſockets of ſilver; from

[b] Exod. xxv. 1, & ſeqq.

(R) This wood, though ſo famous in Scripture, is yet ſo unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to tranſlate its name. St. *Jerom* has retained its *Hebrew* one, and the *Septuagint* only calls it imputrible wood; and, indeed, it is more than probable, that it was called *ſhittim*, from the place where it grew, often mentioned in Scripture (100). Our readers, therefore, may be, perhaps, willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The moſt probable account we can meet with is, that of St. *Jerom*, who ſays, that it is an hard ſmooth wood, free from knots, and of exquiſite beauty and lightneſs; inſomuch that the rich uſed to make ſcrews of it for their preſſes: that its leaves and colour were not unlike the white thorn; but that it grew to ſuch a height, as to be ſawed into boards of a conſiderable length; and that it was found in the *Roman* empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of *Arabia* (1). Hence ſome authors have concluded, that *Jerom* meant the black *Acacia*, not only becauſe it has all the ſmoothneſs, hardneſs, length, and beauty, which he ſpeaks of, but becauſe this latter is the only one that is to be found in thoſe parts of *Arabia* (2). But whoever reads the deſcription, which other authors give us of the *acacia* (3), will find, that it cannot be the *ſhittim* of St. *Jerom*, though we are told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in thoſe deſerts (4); but be it which of the two it will, it is plain, they were both very fit for *Moſes*'s purpoſe.

(100) *Num.* xxv. 1. xxxiii. 49. *Micah* vi. 5. (1) *Hieron. comm. in Joel* iii. *ad fin. in Mich.* vi. 5, & *alib.* (2) *Belon's obſerv. lib.* ii. *c.* 56, & 80. *Ætius, lib.* iv. *c.* 11. (3) *Vide Proſp. Alpin. ap. auctor. notar. in lib.* iv. *Theophraſt. Thevenot, La Roque, & al.* (4) *Vide Le Clerc, Calmet, & al. comm. in Exod.* xxv. 5 *Thevenot, La Roque, Radzivil, Ludolph, & al. Vide Baſnag. ex Cuneo, tom.* iii. *lib.* ii. *c.* 3.

which probably might come that antient method of ſetting porphyry columns on baſes of white marble. *Moſes* doth not tell us whether they were round or ſquare; but it ſeems more likely that they were ſquare, not only becauſe they became much in vogue in the inſide of great buildings, under the name of pilaſters, but alſo becauſe they were more proper for the deſign for which they were intended, and more eaſy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the tops, or rather chapiters of theſe, was faſtened by golden hooks a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and diſtinguiſhed the outward, called the holy, from the inward apartment, called the moſt holy, or the holy of holies. This latter was but ten cubits deep, and conſequently ſquare. The other was twenty cubits, and at the entrance, at the weſt end, hung a ſecond curtain to another row of five columns of the ſame fabricature with the former, only the baſes of theſe were of braſs; and this covered the inſide of the holy place from common ſight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the veil, that parted the holy from the moſt holy place, was made of the richeſt ſtuff, both for matter and workmanſhip; and adorned with cherubim, feſtoons, and other ornaments, curiouſly embroidered upon it. The whole was incloſed on the north, weſt, and ſouth ſide, with a flight of boards of the ſame wood, covered alſo with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into ſockets or mortiſes like the columns. Theſe boards were ten cubits in length, and one and half in breadth; ſo that there were twenty on each ſide, and eight at the weſt end. They were, moreover, faſtened to one another by a fivefold row of golden rings, at equal diſtance one over the other, five to each board; and through theſe were run five bars of gilt ſhittim-wood, which locked or unlocked them on thoſe three ſides. As for the eaſt end, it had no boards, but was ſheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubim embroidered upon it, as the innermoſt had; for theſe were never expoſed to public ſight; but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and ſuch-like embelliſhments of needle-work [e]. How low this curtain hung, is neither expreſſed in the text, nor agreed about; ſome thinking that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place [f]; others believing that

[e] Exod. xxvi. 36. [f] Joseph: ant. lib. iii. c. 6.

it touched the ground, and concealed it all 8; which laſt is the more probable of the two (S).

Of

8 PHILO ap. Baſnag. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5,

(S) *Joſephus* adds, farther, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preſerve it from the weather; being made of ſtuff that was proof againſt rain; but that it was drawn aſide on the ſabbath, and other feſtivals, to give the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments. If ſo, it muſt, at the ſame time, expoſe the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, *&c.* to public ſight. *Philo*, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no layman was ſuffered to ſee the fumigations which were performed within that place; the prieſts being the only perſons who had that privilege. This ſeems, at leaſt, more likely, by what we read of *Zachariah*'s tarrying longer than uſual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without, not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, *Moſes* calls theſe two curtains, or veils, by different names; namely, this outward one by the name of מוסך, *muſſak*, which only ſignifies *a covering*; whereas the inward, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place, he calls פרוכת, *paroketh*, from *parak*, which ſignifies *to take*, or *ſnatch away*, and, figuratively, *to free*; becauſe it covered the mercy-ſeat, and kept it from public ſight.

The whole had four different coverings, the two innermoſt of which were, by far, the richeſt; being of a beautiful light blue mohair, ſtriped with ſcarlet and purple, or crimſon, and adorned with cherubim (5). The other two were made, the under one of rams ſkins, with the wool on, of ſcarlet dye; and the uppermoſt of all of badgers ſkins, of a light blue. Theſe two laſt were intended to preſerve the other two from wind and rain; for which reaſon, they were made to hang down to the ground on the three ſides that were boarded, whilſt they left the outward veil open to public view on the weſt end, which was the entrance into that ſacred place. The inſide of both theſe apartments was ſtill made more awful by the darkneſs that reign'd in them; for we do not find, that there were any apertures made for the light: ſo that the moſt holy had none but what the cenſer gave it, when the high-prieſt went into it on expiation-day. As for the holy place, it had the golden candleſtick, with a ſufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We ſhall follow the *Jewiſh* lawgiver no farther in his ſuccinct account of every minute part that compoſed this portable edifice, much leſs thoſe who have commented upon him, the greateſt part of whom have given ſuch a ſcope to their luxuriant fancies, that they

(3) *Ap. Baſnag. ubi ſup.* (4) *Luke* i. 21. (5) *Exod.* xxvi. 1, *& ſeqq.*

Of the mercy-seat, and ark of the testimony.

The ark, and mercy-seat.

THESE were the two chief things that were deposited in the most holy place, and the former was as a lid or cover to the latter; for which reason some interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word *kaphoreth*, by which *Moses* calls it. But most versions do more properly render it the *propitiatory* [k], others the *Oracle* [l], and ours the *mercy-seat*; because GOD is said to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubim which cover it. Besides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary sanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of GOD's immediate presence; for which reason there were such severe judgments inflicted on those who presumed to approach it [m] (T).

THE

[k] LXX. [l] HIERON. Vulgat. & al. [m] Vide 1 Sam. vi. 19. 2 Sam. vi. 6, & seqq.

seem rather to have viewed it with the utmost nicety, than to have taken their description from him. We think it sufficient for us to say, that there was nothing wanting in it that could make it rich, sumptuous, and venerable; firm, lasting, and easily moved (6).

(T) *Moses* was commanded to make it of pure gold (7); from which we may conclude, that it was not made of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden table, and other sacred utensils. The length of it was two cubits and an half, and the breadth one cubit and an half; so that it exactly fitted the dimensions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubim that overshadowed it, in a frame, or, as *Moses* calls it, a crown (8), not of a round, but oblong square figure, which closed the upper part of the ark, like a rim, or ogee. As to the cherubim, it is certain, that they were made of gold; but whether solid, and cast of the same piece, and in the same mould, with the mercy-seat, as some *Jews* and *Christians* render it (9); or only chased and hammered, as the original, which only expresses it by hardened gold, seems rather to intimate; is not worth disputing. It would, indeed, be more material to know something concerning their form, posture, and attitude; but *Moses* has here, also, left us in the dark; except where he says, that they stretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-seat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-seat (10):

(6) *Exod.* xxvi. *per tot.* (7) *Ibid.* xxv. 17. (8) *Ibid. ver.* 11. (9) *Chald. paraph. R. Sal. Arr. Montan. Tremel. & al. in loc. ver.* 18. (10) *Exod.* xxv. 20.

from

THE ark was a ſmall cheſt made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have ſeen the dimenſions of its length and breadth, by thoſe of the mercy-ſeat; its height was equal to its breadth; that is, one cubit and an half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the teſtimony; the firſt, becauſe it was a ſymbol of the covenant made between GOD and his people, and contained the two tables of it, the pot of manna, and *Aaron*'s miraculous rod, which were depoſited in it, to be as ſo many witneſſes againſt every deviation of theirs. It had on each ſide two gold rings, through which were faſtened the two bars, by which it uſed to be carried on the prieſts ſhoulders (U).

BESIDES

from which we may reaſonably conclude, that they were, at leaſt, in a kind of bowing poſture. This attitude, tho' not ſo clearly expreſſed by *Moſes*, may be further evinced, not only as it was the moſt decent and reſpectful, but as it ſeems to be alluded to by the pſalmiſt, who, having declared that GOD was ſeated between the cherubim, and expreſſed his majeſty, juſtice, and power, in the two or three verſes following adds, *Proſtrate yourſelves before his footſtool* (11). Neither is it improbable, that what is ſaid of their looking down upon the mercy-ſeat, in a kind of admiring poſture, might give occaſion to that beautiful alluſion of St. *Peter*, when, ſpeaking of the myſteries of our redemption, he ſays, *Which the very angels deſire to look into* (12). We might likewiſe give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed, that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-ſeat, did bear the uſual proportion to the reſt of their bodies: but theſe inquiries are more curious than uſeful.

(U) Theſe bars were made of the ſame wood with the ark, and, like it, overlaid with gold; and theſe were never to be taken off. The ark, with its covering, ſtood lengthwiſe, and not croſſwiſe, as ſome have imagined, in the midſt of the moſt holy place. *Moſes* does not tell us whether or no it had either feet, or ſome pedeſtal, to ſtand upon; and yet it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that it ſtood upon the bare ground.

Several learned rabbies have a notion, that there were two arks, the one made by *Moſes*, and the other by *Bezaleel*; becauſe *Moſes* is ſaid, in one place, to have made an ark of ſhittim-wood, into which he put the two tables of ſtone (13); and, in another place, that *Bezaleel* made an ark, and cover'd it with gold (14). But they might as well conclude, that *Solomon* built one temple, and his workmen another. However,

(11) *Pſ.* xcix. 1, 5. (12) 1 *Pet.* i. 12. (13) *Deut.* x. 3.
(14) *Exod.* xxx. 1, *& ſeqq.*

BESIDES the ark, and mercy-seat, there was still in this most holy place the volume of the law, which *Moses* gave the *Levites* to deposit by the side of the ark[a]; whether on the in or out-side is not agreed, but most probably on the latter[b]. However, as to the book itself, we must not suppose, that it was the only copy, seeing it would not have been lawful for the high-priest to have fetched it out and in but on expiation-day; whereas the public reading of it was to be on the feast of tabernacles. We may therefore suppose, with the *Jews* (X), that there were several copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preserved to prevent the rest from being corrupted. Lastly, after the ark was brought back from the *Philistines*,

[a] Deut. xxxi. 9. 26. [b] Vide PRID. connect. part i. lib. iii.

they add, that *Moses* did always carry his own, and the priests the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies (15). *Abenezra* endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is said in *Joshua* of the distance that was to be kept *between the people and it* (the ark) (16). He pretends, that the pronoun *it* is in the plural in the original; and that the words should be translated, *Between you and them*, that is, the two arks (17). But, besides that his criticism has no foundation, but on the different reading of the *Maxorites*, and that grounded on the disputed authority of the points; we have elsewhere seen, that the plural is sometimes used to express the excellency of a thing: so that we see no reason to suppose two arks, from either of these arguments; and yet some Christians have given into that opinion (18).

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preserved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite so clear; namely, that, after the building of the temple, this last was taken out of the sanctuary, and deposited in the treasury of the temple; and that it was this volume which was found there by the high-priest *Hilkiah*, in the reign of *Josiah* (19). But if the latter be true, it is more likely, that it was taken out of the sanctuary, and reposited in some such private place, to prevent its undergoing the same fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of *Ammon* and *Manasses*, than that it was removed thence in *Solomon*'s time, without any necessity, or command from GOD.

(15) *Nachman, Kimchi, Zachut, & al. Vide Basnag. ubi sup.* (16) *Josh.* i. 4. (17) *Abenez. in Deut.* x. (18) *Goodw. & Hotting. ubi sup. Dissert. de tabernacul.* §. 13. (19) 2 *Kings* xxii. 8, *& seqq.* 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 14, *& seqq Vide Kimch. in loc. & Basnag. ubi sup.* c. 8.

they

they depoſited the little cheſt with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the ſide of it [c].

THE utenſils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incenſe. 2. The golden candleſtick. And, 3. The table of ſhew-bread.

1. THE altar of perfume is ſometimes called the golden altar, becauſe, though it was made all of ſhittim-wood, yet it was ſo well covered over with that metal, that it looked like a ſolid piece of gold. It is alſo called the inner altar, to diſtinguiſh it from that of burnt-offerings, which ſtood without the tabernacle. Its uſe was twofold, namely, to burn incenſe morning and night, as we hinted elſewhere, and to be ſprinkled with the blood of the ſacrifices, which were offered for ſins of ignorance committed either by particular prieſts, or by all the people in general [f]. It was one cubit ſquare, and two cubits high, ſo that the ſmoke had ſtill eight cubits to aſcend. Two bars of the ſame wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, ſerved to carry it about, like the ark; only theſe might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewiſe covered with gold. The main difficulty is how to underſtand what is meant by the top or roof of it [g], and how it could be ordered ſo as to

[c] 1 Sam. vi. & alib. [f] Vid. Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18.
[g] Exod. xxx. 3, in the margin.

(Y) It is ſcarce worth inquiring after the various forms interpreters have given to thoſe ornaments (18). What is worth obſerving to our *Engliſh* readers is, that the word קרן, *keren*, ſignifies either *an horn*, or *a ray of light*; from which, perhaps, as *Cunæus* obſerves, thoſe rays which ſhone about *Moſes*'s face may eaſily have been tranſformed into horns: ſo that theſe, on the corners of the altars, might, probably, be nothing elſe but ornaments reſembling, in ſome meaſure, the rays of the ſun. However, thoſe who think them to have been in ſhape like the horns of an ox or ram, may as probably gueſs right; ſince any of theſe forms might anſwer the purpoſes for which they ſeem intended; namely, in this ſmall one for the greater eaſe and ſteadineſs in moving and carrying it about; and in the great one for tying the victims to them, according to the alluſion of the pſalmiſt (19); and, perhaps, likewiſe, to hang the flagons of wine on, which uſually accompanied thoſe ſacrifices (20).

(18) *Villalpand. Arr. Montan. & al.* (19) *Pſ.* cxviii. 27. (20) *Vide Zachar.* ix. 15.

bear

bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning the wood through the gold that overlaid it (Z).

THE author of the second book of *Maccabees* tells us, that *Jeremiah*, seeing the captivity approaching, took this

(Z) This has induced St. *Jerom*, and others, to translate it *a grate*, through which the small coals and ashes fell to the bottom (21); but the construction of the altar is incompatible with it. *Josephus* calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the same inconvenience; unless we suppose it to have been of more than common thickness. The difficulty is still greater with respect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which, tho' made of the same wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intense heat, by reason of the great number of victims which were burnt constantly upon it. *Le Clerc* hath offered two ways of solving this difficulty, either by supposing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the shittim was the same with the *larix* of *Vitruvius*, which was an incombustible wood (22); and because he found the first solution to be insufficient, he published a short dissertation to prove the probability of the latter (23): but the misfortune is, that we have no sufficient testimony that any such wood did grow in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, or, indeed, in *Arabia*. We shall speak of the latter altar by and-by. As for this of incense, *Cunæus* seems to have found out the best expedient out of the *Jewish* rabbies, by supposing that the burning coals were not set upon the altar itself, but upon a censer like a chafing-dish: which conjecture he backs by a text or two, where such censers are commanded to be filled with coals, and set upon the altar (24). However, if the readers should scruple to admit of these, it is but supposing, that this golden top, or roof, with its crown or frame, was so fixed, as to be at some small distance above the altar itself, and the wood will be out of danger of being burnt, though it had not been overlaid with gold; because the heat naturally ascends. The situation of it is not clear in the text, which says, that it was to stand before the veil (25). *Josephus*, who is universally followed, places it between the candlestick and the table of shew-bread (26). We cannot contradict it, and yet we think, that if the candlestick were placed in the midst, which is the properest place for it, and the other two, which were near of the same form, height, and bigness, put on each side, and at a little distance between it and the sides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of symmetry.

(21) *Chald. paraphr. Fagius in loc.* (22) *Comm. in Exod. in loc.* (23) *Biblioth. ant. & mod. tom.* xii. *p.* 57, *& seqq.* (24) *Comp. Levit.* x. 1. xvi. 12. *Num.* xvi. 6, 7. (25) *Exod.* xxx. 6. (26) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *ad fin.*

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THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC.

altar and the ark of GOD to mount *Nebo*, and hid them in a cave there, and ſtopped the door ſo cloſe, that it could not afterwards be found [o]. The Talmudiſts give a different account of it, namely, that *Joſiah*, having been admoniſhed by ſome prophets, that all the precious veſſels of the ſanctuary would be carried away to *Babylon*, depoſited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, *Aaron*'s rod, and the breaſt-plate of *urim*, and this altar of incenſe in a ſubterranean place, which *Solomon*, from the ſame forecaſt, had cauſed to be built, with ſuch extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the *Jews*, till the coming of the MESSIAH. One thing, indeed, ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that if they had been carried to *Babylon*, with the reſt of the ſacred utenſils of the temple, they would have been alſo reſtored to them; but we find, on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old [p].

2. THE candleſtick was by far the richeſt piece in the whole ſanctuary, ſeeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the ſanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or ſolder [q]. Its baſe, or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, becauſe it probably reſembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which proceeded ſix branches, three on each ſide, and this laſt made the ſeventh in the middle. Theſe branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidiſtant; and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, ſhaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occaſion ſerved [r], and in them were put the oil, and the wick, or cotton. Theſe had their tongs, or ſnuffers, to draw the cotton in or out, and ſnuff-diſhes, to receive the ſparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All theſe were of pure gold alſo. It was the prieſt's buſineſs in waiting every evening, at the time of incenſe, to go in and light them, and about the ſame time in the morning to put them out, to clean and repleniſh them [s](Z).

3. THE

[o] Ch. ii. 1, & ſeqq. [p] Vid. BUXTORF de arc. c. 21, 22. R. JACKUT. PRID. conn. part. i. lib. iii. CUNÆ. BASNAG. & al. [q] Exod. xxv. 31, & ſeqq. [r] Comp. Exod. xxv. 37, with Num. iv. 9. [s] Comp. ver. 16, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3.

(Z) As to the height of it, *Moſes* has not mentioned any thing about it; ſo that, whilſt ſome have lowered it to the level of the altar of incenſe, which would have caſt but an imperfect

Table of shew-bread.

3. THE table of shew-bread. We have spoken of the bread elsewhere: as for the table on which it was set, it was made of the same wood, and covered with gold like the ark: it was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high: it had a golden border, or crown, which may be supposed to be a kind of rim round it, like that of our tea-tables [w]. It was also of pure gold, and might have an ogee, or some such ornament, about it (A).

4. THE

[w] Exod. xxv. 23, & seqq.

imperfect light, especially on the table of shew-bread, where the loaves stood one upon another; others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worse extreme, since it must not only have required a ladder, or steps, to have reached it, but, it being the half of the height of the place, the smoke of it would soon have sullied and spoiled the rich curtains over head: it is therefore more reasonable to suppose it of such an height, that a man might easily reach the top of it, that is, about six feet high. We are likewise left to guess at its shape, breadth, situation, and several other particulars; in which every commentator thinks he has hit better than his brethren (1); for which reason we shall follow them no longer in the dark. It may not, however, be amiss here, to say something of the oil that entertained these lamps; and this, the text tells us, was to be the purest virgin oil of olives, with which the land of *Canaan* abounded very much, as we have seen in the geography of it: and indeed, none but such would have been fit to burn in that place, where the furniture was so exquisitely rich. We shall only add, that, after the building of the temple, *Solomon*, instead of one, placed ten candlesticks in the holy place, all of the same metal, with their other appurtenances (2); but whether that of *Moses* was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain; the latter seems the more probable of the two, because the holy place here being considerably larger than that of the tabernacle, and all the vessels being made so accordingly, it is likely that the candlesticks did bear the same proportion; in which case the old one would not have been uniform with the rest. But whether it was new cast, or reposited in the treasury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

(A) *Moses* seems to intimate, in another verse, something like a second crown, or rim, though some take it to be the same with the former; but it is more likely that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them steady. To

(1) *Vide int. al. Joseph. ubi sup. Hieron. Arr. Mont. Villalpand. Cuz. Bosrag. Vatab. &c. al.* (2) 1 *Kings* vii. 49. 2 *Chron.* iv. 7.

the

4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utenſils, is the laſt thing we have to ſpeak of. The court was an oblong ſquare, 100 cubits long, and 50 broad, incloſed on all but the eaſt ſide, which had an opening of 20 cubits for the prieſts and *Levites*, and people, to go in and out with their offerings. This incloſure was not deſigned to conceal what was done in the court, ſince the curtains, that ſurrounded it, were made of a kind of net, or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. Theſe curtains, which *Moſes* therefore calls by a particular name (C), to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the tabernacle, whoſe uſe was of a different nature, were ſupported by four ſlights of pillars, probably of ſhittim-wood, with

Court of the tabernacle.

the upper rim were faſtened four gold rings, two on each ſide, through which the bars were put that ſerved for its carriage. On the top there were, beſides the two rows of ſhew-loaves, ſome pots, or chafing-diſhes, of gold, in which the incenſe uſed to be burnt, with ſeveral other ſmaller utenſils, which ſerved for inferior uſes in this holy place (3); but we ſhall not dwell on them, there being almoſt as many different opinions about the ſignifications of their names, their forms and uſes, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by *Solomon* (4). *Joſephus* tells us (5), that it was larger than the old one, probably to anſwer the largeneſs of the place. The author of the book of *Chronicles* adds, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide of the holy place, which ſerved to ſet all the other utenſils upon (6); and *Joſephus* ſays, that there were as many more of different makes and ſizes, as ſerved to hold 20,000 cups, and other veſſels of gold, and twice that number of ſilver ones (7).

(C) The word here uſed is קלע *kelagh*, which ſignifies either a ſling, or a net, or open work (8), probably becauſe ſlings, with which they ſlung their ſtones, had the bottom made of ſome ſuch kind of open net-work. For this reaſon, the *Chaldee* paraphraſt tranſlates it grate, or crib-work; in which he is followed by the generality of Chriſtian interpreters (9). Some rabbies add to it a flouriſhing of all ſorts of leaf and flower-work (10); but they all agree, that the ground was open and tranſparent; ſo that theſe hangings might, in ſome meaſure, reſemble a piece of point, or lace.

(3) *Exod.* xxv. 29, & *alib. paſſ.* (4) 1 *Kings* vii. 48, & *ſeqq.* (5) *Ant. lib.* viii. *c.* 2. (6) 2 *Chron.* iv. 8. (7) *Ubi ſup.* (8) *Vide Buxtorf. Thеſaur. & Arr. Montan. ſub voc.* קלע. (9) *R. Sal. Jarch. Vide Munſt. Jun. Oleaſt. & al.* (10) *Kimch. in rad. & al.*

braſs

braſs pedeſtals, or ſockets; and adorned with ſilver fillets, or rather chapiters, for ſuch they were [e] (A).

THUS the whole court had a circuit of 300 cubits Thoſe therefore who ſuppoſe that the curtain, which ſurrounded it, was one intire piece, ſeem not to conſider what a laborious task it would have been to the *Gerſhonites* to have folded or rolled it up; beſides, the text, ſpeaking all along of them in the plural number, ſhews that there were more than one or two [f]. However, though this court bore the ſame proportion with the tabernacle, and the four ſides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the centre of it. There was no neceſſity for the area on the weſt end to be of the ſame extent with that on the eaſt, becauſe we do not read of any conſiderable utenſils placed in it; whereas this latter had the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and ſeveral other things, of which we are going now to ſpeak; ſo that, though *Moſes* has not left us the dimenſions of either, this laſt is ſuppoſed to have been of equal length with its breadth, that is, fifty feet ſquare; and, indeed, leſs than that ſpace could hardly ſuffice for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utenſils that were uſed in it, ſince it was the only place in which all the victims were ſlain, and both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up (B).

THERE

[e] Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28. [f] Ibid. xxvii. ver. 9, 10, 12, & ſeqq.

(A) As for their height, as *Moſes* has ſaid nothing of it, authors have conjectured it variouſly, from ten to five cubits; but as the deſign of them was only to ſupport the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and not the view of the tabernacle, the laſt ſeems the moſt rational, it being the height that *Joſephus* aſſigns, as well as that of the curtains; only we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſilver chapiters did riſe above the curtain. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at their figure, only a ſquare one may reaſonably be ſuppoſed fitter both for carriage, and for holding the hangings tight, than a round one. They were fifty-ſix in number, twenty on each ſide, ten at the weſt, and ſix at the eaſt end, beſides thoſe which ſupported the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was of a fine ſky-blue, flouriſhed, and was made either to draw on either ſide, or to lift up; the text doth not ſay which, but the *Jews* believe the latter (11).

(B) For this reaſon it is diſputed, both among the *Jews* and Chriſtians, whether the people who brought the victims were ſuffered to enter in-

(11) *Exod.* xxvii. 9. *ad fin.*

to

THERE have been alſo various conjectures concerning the reaſon of its ſituation, and facing of the weſt, which we ſhall not dwell upon: the beſt we meet with from the *Jews* is, that it was done in oppoſition to the heathen, who worſhiped towards the riſing ſun. As for the myſtical interpretations of ſome Chriſtian divines, they are out of our preſent province.

THE altar of burnt-offerings was placed, as we have obſerved before, at the eaſt end of the court; and one may ſuppoſe it to have ſtood at ſuch a convenient diſtance from the tabernacle, that neither the ſmoke of its conſtant fire, nor that of the victims which were burned upon it, might damage its outward veil. This altar is alſo called the outward, to diſtinguiſh it from that of incenſe, which was within the ſanctuary. We have already taken notice, that it was made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with braſs. It was five cubits ſquare, and three cubits high; and becauſe it was portable, like the other, it had four braſs rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the prieſts ſhoulders. It had four horns at the four corners, of the ſame wood, and covered with the ſame metal, but whoſe ſhape is equally uncertain with thoſe of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be ſuppoſed as capacious as the bigneſs of the altar will admit, was hung, by four braſs rings, a croſs-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the aſhes fell. This was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compaſs of the altar [h]; but is variouſly underſtood, or rather fanſied, in order to ſave the wood from being conſumed

Altar of burnt-offerings.

[h] Exod. xxvii. 1, 5, & ſeqq.

to it, in order to lay their hands on the heads of the victims, and to ſtay the whole time of the ceremony, as the letter of the law ſeems to require; or, whether they were not met by the prieſts or *Levites* at the entrance into the court, and, having performed the ceremony of impoſition of hands and confeſſion of ſins there, did go to behold the remainder of it, from the openings of the incloſure. If the former be admitted, it muſt be owned, that they muſt have been very much crouded at ſome particular ſeaſons. We need not add, that the braſs ſtakes and cordages all round, within as well as without, and deſigned to ſecure both the court and the tabernacle from ſtorms and winds, took up a good deal of room; ſo that they muſt have had ſome regulation touching the number of perſons to be admitted at a time.

ſumed within the copper-work. We ſhall content ourſelves with giving our readers, in the margin, the moſt probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the *diſſertations upon the pentateuch* [i] (E).

It was on this altar that the ſacred fire, which deſcended from heaven at the conſecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be aſked how this could be done in their marches, when this and all other utenſils were wrapped up in ſeveral coverings, the uppermoſt of which was of badgers ſkins, without either burning thoſe coverings, or extinguiſhing the fire, we need not have recourſe

[i] SAURIN's diſcours ſur le pentat. diſc. liv.

(E) He ſuppoſes the cavity of the altar to have been about ſeven feet and an half wide, from ſide to ſide, and the ſhittim-wood to have been cover'd with braſs, within as well as without. The croſs-bar grate he ſuppoſes to have been a veſſel, made in the moſt convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was conſtantly ſupplied with freſh wood, and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the *carcob*, which we render the compaſs, or circuit, he thinks that it was another copper veſſel, whoſe form he leaves to the diſcretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the fleſh of the victims, which were to be conſumed upon, or in it. This veſſel being likewiſe ſuſpended by four braſs rings over the grate, at a convenient diſtance, was conſequently ſurrounded by the continual flames from below, and might conſume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both the *carcob* and the grate, being thus ſuſpended, might be eaſily taken on and off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or tranſported. Thus far our author; the reader may ſee his reaſons for theſe ſuppoſitions in the original; to which we may venture to add, that the whole might be ſo artificially contrived, that the fleſh being thus embraced on all ſides, by a fierce and conſtant fire, and this by the circumambient air, might concentre the heat to ſuch a degree, as to conſume every particle, and yet be intirely free from that offenſive ſmell which ſuch quantities of fleſh and fat muſt have neceſſarily cauſed. But this we ſubmit to our readers, and ſhall only add, that we have ſeen, both in *France* and *Holland*, ſuch kinds of hearths, made in the form of a chafing-diſh, which would conſume the moſt fetid, as well as the moſt odoriferous materials, without caſting either ſmoke or ſmell beyond the limits of its focus.

to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every-where elſe (G). We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the *carcob*, or veſſel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in ſuch a manner as to preſerve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occaſion required, as on the morning and evening ſacrifice.

The great laver.

THE brazen laver is the laſt conſiderable utenſil that was in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently ſituate between the caſt end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its ſhape and capaciouſneſs not being mentioned by *Moſes*, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its uſe was twofold. Firſt, it ſerved for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet, who were expreſly forbid, under ſevere penalties, to preſume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony [m]. Secondly, to waſh the entrails and legs of the victims [n]. Some *Jews* fanſy, that there was another reſervoir of water for this laſt uſe [o]; which is not improbable,

[m] Exod. xxx. 19, & ſeqq. [n] Vide Levit. xxii. 18, & ſeqq.
[o] Vide KIMCH. in loc.

(G) It is by the ſame miraculous power that they pretend it was preſerved againſt violent winds and rains, to which the altar was expoſed, by ſtanding in ſuch an open place; but we may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they took proper means to ſhelter it from both, ſuch as *Moſes* might leave to their diſcretion. We need not tell our readers how early this ſacred fire was in uſe among the *Chaldeans* and *Perſians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other nations. It was called, in the old *Perſic*, *Oriſmada*; which ſome critics pretend to be derived from the *Hebrew* words *urim eſh yah*, *light and fire of* GOD, or from *or eſh mem yah*, *light and fire from* GOD; and from thence infer, that they had this cuſtom from the *Jews* (1): but that is what we will not venture to warrant. As for the *Jewiſh* one, we read in the *Maccabees* (2), that, at the approach of *Nebuchadnezzar* towards *Jeruſalem*, the prophet *Jeremiah*, with ſome other prieſts, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well; and that, at the return from the captivity, *Nehemiah* ſent ſome of their grandchildren to the well, who brought him ſome dirty water inſtead of fire; but, upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame; which was kept afterwards till the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. This ſtory is likewiſe apocryphal, but the *Jews* believe it; only they compare this ſecond fire to a dog, whereas the firſt, they ſay, was like a lion (3).

(1) *Baſnag. ex Cunæo, tom.* ii. *lib.* i. *c.* 14. & *ſeqq.* ii. 1, & *ſeqq.* (2) 2 *Macc.* i. 19. (3) *R. Zacuth, ubi ſup.*

probable, not only as it was more decent, but because we find it so ordered in *Solomon*'s temple, where the brazen sea was for the sole washing of the priests, whilst there were ten other lavers besides for the washing of the victims [p]. If this was not the case here, we must suppose, that they only took the water out of the laver into some other vessels, to wash those entrails in; for it was not even lawful for a priest to wash his hands and feet in the same water. For this reason they suppose, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was set to run upon their feet first, and then upon their hands, and was received into a bason underneath [q]. This fountain was to be kept continually replenished with water; and this office belonged to the *Levites* [r], unless they made perhaps the *Nethinims* bring it to them to the entrance of the court (F).

To

[p] 2 Chron. iv. 6. [q] Mishn. ap. Arr. Montan. in loc. [r] Vide N. de Lyra in loc.

(F) *Moses* tells us in another chapter, that this brass laver and its foot were made of the looking-glasses of the women that came in crouds to the door of the tabernacle (3): which has given ground for various speculations; and some interpreters have even ventured to turn the brass there mentioned into steel (4), as if those antient mirrors had been made of no other metal. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals also, such as brass, tin, silver, and the like, and some with brass, mixed with tin or silver; the last of which, *Pliny* tells us (5), were the most esteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it; and that it should be rendered, he made the laver and its foot of a brass, like the looking-glasses of the women that croud about the door of the tabernacle; by which is meant, that he made them either of the same metal, or that he gave them the same degree of brightness and smoothness. And, if what an antient father tells us be true, of the *Egyptian* women (6), that they used to go into the temple with a looking-glass in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will still give us a greater light into the meaning of the *Hebrew* women wearing such an ornament when they came to the tabernacle. As for what is said of their repairing thither in crouds, it was no more than what they usually did, as appears from other places of Scripture (7).

Those who understand the original know, that it is far from improbable, that the ב

(3) *Exod.* xxxviii. 8. (4) *Vide Tremel. in loc.* (5) *Lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 9.
(6) *Cyril. Alexand. de adorat. in spirit. lib.* ii. *ap. Colm. sub voc. Mirar.*
(7) *Vide* 1 *Sam.* ii. 22, *& alib.*

5 both

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THE BRASEN LAVER.

To theſe we might add a multitude of other furniture ſubſervient to other uſes, ſuch as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, ſhovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, diſhes, and many more; all of which were either made of braſs, or of wood covered with it; but it is ſufficient to have named the moſt conſiderable of them. We ſhall only add, that the charge of all theſe was committed, the moſt ſacred ones to the prieſts, and the reſt to the *Levites*, whoſe buſineſs it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and ſkins, made for that purpoſe, whenever they removed (G).

THESE are the principal laws relating to the worſhip of GOD, or, as they are commonly called, of the firſt table; but, before we paſs to thoſe of the ſecond, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of thoſe which related to the proſelytes (H). There was an expreſs command of GOD, that,

beth may have ſlipped in here inſtead of the כ *caph*, by reaſon of their likeneſs; eſpecially if they remember, that the former is never uſed, that we can recollect, to expreſs the metal or matter of which a thing is made; ſo that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas the ב, which ſignifies *as, like unto, according to*, gives a good ſenſe to the phraſe.

(G) It is obſervable, however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavment or flooring, ſo much as for the tabernacle; and yet it is hardly credible, as was obſerved before, that its rich and ſacred utenſils ſhould ſtand on the bare ground. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that *Moſes* has barely mentioned all that was done before the ſetting up of the tabernacle. And, if we conſider their vaſt number and variety, the richneſs and curious workmanſhip of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finiſhed in, not much above five months (8), we ſhall have cauſe to wonder at their diſpatch, unleſs we ſuppoſe a vaſt number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from ſuppoſing, that *Moſes* might add many others, as he ſaw needful in proceſs of time; among which, this flooring might be one.

(H) The text diſtinguiſhes them only by the words גר, *ger*, a traveller or ſojourner, and נכר, *neker*, a ſtranger or alien. However, we may make a threefold diſtinction of them; namely, of ſuch as continued ſtill in their idolatry, and the religion of their fathers; ſuch as had renounced it to worſhip the only true GOD, but remained ſtill uncircumciſed, or bound themſelves, as the *Jews* pretend, only to the obſervation of the *Noachid* law; and, laſtly, thoſe who by circumciſion were bound to

(8) *Ita Judæi. Vide ſedar olam. Munſt. Cun. Uſſer ann. p.* 16, *&c.*

that, if any ſtranger was deſirous to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, he was firſt to be circumciſed; after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand ſolemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the *Iſraelites* [z]. Of this number was a great part of the mixed multitude which came with them out of *Egypt*, and of the conquered inhabitants of *Canaan*. And indeed the condition of thoſe who became circumciſed was ſo preferable to that of thoſe who continued in their old religion, that the number of the former increaſed very much; and this is ſuppoſed to have put the ſelfiſh *Jews* upon the diſtinction between proſelytes *of the gate*, and proſelytes *of righteouſneſs*, the former of which, continuing uncircumciſed, and being bound to obſerve only the precepts of *Noah*, were kept in a ſtate not many degrees better than ſlavery. We find no leſs than an hundred and fifty-three thouſand and upwards of this kind in *Solomon*'s time, who were all employed in the moſt ſervile and laborious works [a]. But becauſe this would have proved a moſt effectual way to have made them embrace the *Jewiſh* religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the *Jews* tell us, that they admitted few, if any, eſpecially in the happy reigns of *David* and *Solomon*, leſt they ſhould be induced to it only from worldly ends [b] (I).

MOSES

[z] Exod. xii. 48. Numb. ix. 14. [a] 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.
[b] MAIMON. Vide SELD. de ſynedr. BUXT. ſynagog. & alib.

obſerve the law of *Moſes*, and were thereby intitled to the ſame privileges with all the *Iſraelites*. It is true, they were not to ſuffer any of the firſt ſort to live among them; but it is plain by the ſequel, that they became extremely remiſs and negligent in this reſpect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The ſecond ſort were called גרי השער, *gare haſhabar*, ſtrangers of the gate, from the expreſſion often uſed in the pentateuch, *the ſtranger that is within thy gates*. But, when any of either ſort became circumciſed, they were then diſtinguiſhed by the name of גרי הברית, *gare haberith*, ſtrangers or proſelytes of the covenant, and גרי צדק, *gare zedek*, proſelytes of righteouſneſs.

(I) The *Talmud* compares thoſe proſelytes to the ruſt in iron, or ulcers in the body; and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admiſſion of them (37). For this reaſon they add, that they were refuſed three times; but, if they perſiſted in their deſire of being admitted, they were then to be circumciſed before

(37) *Vide Seld. de ſyned. lib.* ii. *c.* 2. *art.* 5.

two

Moses made likewiſe ſome difference between nation and nation, with reſpect to their admiſſion, into what he terms *the congregation of the* Lord [e]. The *Edomites* were received after the ſecond generation, becauſe they were brethren; and ſo were the *Egyptians*, becauſe *Iſrael* had been a ſtranger in *Egypt*. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as ſome underſtand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, becauſe, inſtead of receiving the *Iſraelites* with a brotherly hoſpitality, they hired *Balaam* to curſe them (K). Baſtards, and all illegitimate iſſue, were under the ſame excluſion with them (L). The *Amalekites*,

[e] Deut. xxiii. 1, & ſeqq.

two or three ſufficient witneſſes, to be baptized, in order to waſh away the filth of heatheniſm; and laſtly, to offer up the uſual ſacrifices for ſin, &c. after which they were received as ſervants of the God of *Iſrael* (38).

(K) The *Jews* obſerve, that *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf only in the maſculine, *Ammoni* and *Moabi*, a man *Ammonite* or *Moabite*, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon ſome extraordinary account. For *Ruth*, though a *Moabiteſs*, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to *Boaz*, the great grandfather of *David* (39). But we ſhall ſee in the next note, that this is not the only inſtance of their admitting perſons expreſly excluded by that lawgiver.

(L) The original word is ממזר, *mamzer*; by which the *Jews* generally underſtand, not only all kind of inceſtuous and adulterous iſſue, but likewiſe children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were *Canaanites*, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and the canoniſts, take it to ſignify only the ſon of a proſtitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, becauſe it is uſed only in this place, and in *Zechariah* (41); but in neither is explained by the context. What has induced the *Jews* to underſtand it of inceſtuous, and other unlawful iſſue, is, that the *mamzer* is mentioned juſt before, and put upon the ſame foot with the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who were born by inceſt (42); but if that were the caſe, how came the two ſons of *Judah*, *Pharez* and *Zarah*, whom he had by his daughter-in-law *Tamar* (43), not to be reputed ſpurious? If it be ſaid, he knew her not, yet it is plain

(38) *Vide Baſnag. ex Cunæo, tom.* ii. *lib.* i. *c.* 1. (39) *Vide Munſt. in Deut.* xxiii. 1, & *ſeqq.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *Cb.* ix. 6. (42) *Gen.* xix. 31, & *ſeqq. Vide ſup.* (43) *Gen.* xxxviii. 13, & *ſeqq.*

as well as eunuchs of all kinds, were totally excluded; the former, becauſe they were under the divine *anathema*[f]; and the latter, becauſe their condition was accounted a legal defect[g] (M). Thus much for the laws of the firſt table. *Laws*

[f] Exod. xvii. 14, & ſeqq. [g] Vide Levit. xxi. 20.

ſhe knew him; and the *Jews*, againſt whom we object this, pretend, that either in inceſt or adultery, though neither party be conſcious; as, when a woman, believing her huſband long ſince dead, marries another, or *vice verſa*; yet the iſſue of ſuch a marriage is *mamzer*, or ſpurious; ſo that, according to this canon, thoſe two, and their poſterity, ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain, they have not always been rejected, ſince *Jephthah*, who was both judge and general in *Iſrael*, was the ſon of a concubine (44). We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that theſe were particular caſes excepted, or, which is moſt probable, that *mamzer* ſignified ſomething different from either of theſe; perhaps, the children begot by an *Hebrew* upon a *Canaanitiſh*, or any idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from ſuch unlawful mixtures, by the conſideration, that the iſſue of them muſt be excluded from all the privileges of the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth, both civil and religious; but, whatever it meant at firſt, the *Jewiſh* canoniſts, according to their uſual rigidneſs, have extended it, not only to all illegitimate iſſue, but even to that, whoſe legitimacy is any ways doubtful (45).

(M) What is meant, by *not entering into the congregation of the* LORD, is not agreed; ſome underſtanding by it, their being denied admittance into the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth by circumciſion; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This laſt is the moſt probable, and moſt received among *Chriſtian* interpreters. The *Jews*, however, underſtand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the *Iſraelitiſh* women; for it was a received maxim among them, *that the children did follow the quality of the mother*. Every proſelyte of righteouſneſs was obliged to circumciſe all the males, and baptize all the females in his family, under the age of thirteen; but thoſe that were above that age, might chuſe whether they would ſubmit to it, or remain in their own religion. On the other hand, thoſe under thirteen could not be admitted to proſelytiſm, without the conſent, either of their parents, or, in caſe of their refuſal, that of two or three judges. In this caſe, their admiſſion was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no

(44) *Judg.* xi. 1. (45) *Vide Seld. ubi ſup. & de jur. nat & gent. lib.* v. c. 16. *& lib. de ſucceſſ. hon. l.* ii. *& alib. paſſ. Munſt. ubi ſup. & al. it. prac.* reg. 117.

longer

Laws of the ſecond table: or, concerning the Jewiſh *government, with the cuſtoms relating to it.*

THESE we ſhall mention in the ſame order as they are in the decalogue; and begin with thoſe which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural ſenſe. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reaſon of its being branched out into ſo many families, whom GOD nevertheleſs deſigned to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws; and the precepts of *Noah*, or rather the laws of nature, being, perhaps, partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their *Egyptian* thraldom; GOD was pleaſed to prevent all murmurings and oppoſition, which ſuch a change might cauſe in ſo untractable a people, by declaring, that himſelf would be their King, and appoint proper vicegerents from time to time, under whom the heads of families ſhould govern and adminiſter juſtice to thoſe under them, in exact conformity to his laws. *Moſes* was declared the firſt vicegerent, and accordingly it is ſaid, that he *gave a law*, or rather a body of laws, *and an inheritance, unto the congregation of* Jacob, *and was king in*, or *over*, *Jeſhurun*.

longer eſteemed as ſuch; inſomuch that they believed this kind of new converts to receive a new ſoul after baptiſm (1). Well might therefore our Saviour wonder, that *Nicodemus, who was a maſter in* Iſrael, ſhould heſitate at his diſcourſe concerning a new birth (2). We find ſeveral other regulations concerning the prerogatives of theſe proſelytes in the *Talmud*, and other *Jewiſh* writings, which we ſhall not dwell upon; but ſhall only take notice of a flagrant one, namely, *that their admiſſion did ſo totally cancel all former ties, either of blood or alliance, that even parents and their children might intermarry without committing inceſt.* And might it not be on this account that CHRIST condemns the *ſcribes and phariſees for compaſſing ſea and land to make a proſelyte, and leaving him ten times more a child of hell than themſelves* (3)? for in what other ſenſe they could be made worſe than that proud hypocritical ſect, is hardly poſſible to gueſs.

(1) *Vide Seld. ubi ſup. & de J. N. & G. & Jac. Alting. diſput. de proſelyt. R. Moſ. Kotz. R. Moſ. Ægypt. iſſur biath perek. Serrar. tribæreſ. lib.* ii. *c.* 2. *Druſ. de trib. ſect. Fag. in Exod.* xxii. 21, *& al. in Deut.* xxiii. 1. *Vide & præc. neg.* 113. *& ſeqq. Leo de Moden. pt.* v. *c.* 3. *Calm. ſub voc. Proſelyte, & al.* (2) *John* iii. 3, *& ſeqq.* (3) *Vide Matth.* xxiii. 15.

ſhurun, that is, *over* Iſrael (M), *when the heads of the people and the tribes of* Iſrael *were gathered together*[1]; that is, as we underſtand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families centred in one head. To him ſucceeded *Joſhua*, the judges, and laſtly the kings, but ſtill by God's appointment (N).

And

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 4 & 5.

(M) The word ישורון *jeſhurun* is derived from ישר *jaſhar*, to be righteous; which name is given them, not ſo much for their righteouſneſs, as for that of their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; or more likely, perhaps, on account of thoſe righteous laws which God himſelf had dictated unto them.

(N) Nothing evinces more the reaſonableneſs, or rather neceſſity, of this change of government, than their conſtant backſlidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedneſs at every interregnum, when their inferior rulers became ſo remiſs, that as often as we read that there was no judge among them, ſo often we find, that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes*, or that *they did evil in the ſight of* God (4): but, as every defection brought its puniſhment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But, inſtead of having recourſe to God by repentance, they bethought themſelves of that expedient of having a king, who ſhould be always ready at hand to defend them; and God, having condeſcended to their deſire, appointed *Saul* to be their monarch; and the *Jewiſh* commonwealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reaſon why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forſake them, though he reſented this their imprudent deſire of being governed by a king like other nations, gave them ſo few laws to enforce their obedience to him, whilſt he made ſome coercive ones to reſtrain him from oppreſſing them. The univerſal paſſiveneſs of thoſe nations, whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own, whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unneceſſary; and, on the other hand, the exceſſive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extremely dangerous, unleſs limited by wholſome reſtrictions. We need not a more lively inſtance of this early deſpotic power of kings, and of the people's baſe ſubmiſſion to it, than the horrid ſlaughter which *Saul*, their firſt king, made of eighty-five guiltleſs prieſts, and of all the innocent inhabitants of *Nob*, even to their very ſucking children, and all their cattle (5): and, if this had not been likewiſe the caſe of other nations, *Samuel* could not have

(4) *Vide Judg.* ii. 11, & *ſeqq.* xxi. 25. (5) 1 *Sam.* xxii. 18, 19.

given

AND what is very remarkable with reſpect to the latter is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the *Moſaic* laws, to enforce an obedience to them, except the command, *Honour thy father and thy mother* [m]; which alluded moſt likely to the patriarchal government; and an expreſs prohibition againſt curſing the rulers of the people [n]; whereas there are ſeveral very expreſs ones, to reſtrain them from abuſing their power, and oppreſſing their ſubjects. Of this nature are thoſe which exclude all ſtrangers from being raiſed to that dignity [o], that forbid a king of *Iſrael* to multiply horſes, wives (O), riches, to marry ſtrange women, and the like [p]; that oblige him to write a copy of GOD's law, to read and meditate upon, and to

[m] Exod. xx. 12, & alib. [n] Ibid. xxii. 28. [o] Deut. xvii. 14, 15. [p] Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

given ſo pathetic a liſt of the hardſhips they were to expect under an abſolute monarchy.

Maimon tells us, out of the laſt part of the *Miſhna*, that *Moſes* gave the *Iſraelites* three expreſs commands; namely, 1. To chuſe them a king: 2. To deſtroy *Amalek*: and, 3. To build a temple, after they were poſſeſſed of the land of *Canaan*. The ſame we find likewiſe injoined in the 114th, 115th, and 116th affirmative precepts of their oral law, according to which that rabbi obſerves, that they choſe *Saul* for their king before they declared war againſt the *Amalekites*. But, if this had been the caſe, there could have been no room for GOD's reſenting, and *Samuel*'s reproving them ſo ſeverely for it. *Maimon* doth indeed endeavour to wave this objection, by pretending, that what diſpleaſed GOD was their coming in a tumultuous and diſreſpectful manner to *Samuel*, and aſking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of a deſire of being like their neighbours; but this is neither agreeable to the text (6), nor to *Joſephus*, who imputes this deſire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of juſtice, through the baſeneſs and avarice of *Samuel*'s two ſons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (7).

(O) What the *Jews* underſtand by multiplying wives, is, that he ſhall not have above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than *David* had, who, they ſay, is recorded to have had but ſixteen; and, by multiplying horſes, they underſtand, having more than ſerved him and his retinue (8): but we ſhall ſhew, that, if there was any ſuch oral law, *Solomon* made very light of it in either caſe, even from the firſt year of his reign.

(6) *Vide* 1 *Sam.* viii. *paſſ. prac. neg.* 222, & *ſeqq.*

(7) *Ant. lib.* vi. c. 4.

(8) *Vide*

govern

govern himself by it, without deviating from it to the right or left [q]; that injoin him to make choice of persons of wisdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and such-like [r]. So that they had no other enforcement for the people's obedience and loyalty, than their free promise and oath to them; whilst they were tied to their just and equitable government, not only by their oath, but by the most strict and severe injunctions and threatnings from GOD.

HOWEVER, as they looked upon themselves as accountable to GOD only for the breach of these laws, so no kings were restrained by them, but such as feared him: as for the rest, it is plain from their history, that they made no scruple of transgressing them in instances of the highest nature; and that their power was so great, that none dared to controul them, or even reprove them, except such prophets as were commissioned by GOD for so doing. Their being anointed, at least in the beginning (P), by some celebrated prophets, and appointed sovereigns of a nation, which the Scripture stiles a royal priesthood [s], gave them a full power, not only in matters

[q] Deut. xvii. 18, & seqq. vide & præc. negat. 221, & seqq.
[r] Deut. xvi. 18, & seqq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & seqq.
[s] Exod. xix. 6, & alib.

(P) The *Talmudists* tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himself proclaimed king, without unction, especially in the family of *David*; and that the ceremony was only used when a younger son was preferred to the eldest, as in the case of *Solomon* (9). One thing is certain, that the custom of consecrating any thing to GOD, by this profusion of oil, is very antient, as appears from the instance of *Jacob*'s anointing the pillar of *Bethel* (10). How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impossible to guess; but it is plain, that it became in use, during the whole *Mosaic* dispensation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate service of GOD. Of the first kind, were the kings, priests, and prophets; and, of the second, all the sacred utensils of the tabernacle: all which are supposed, not without good grounds, to have been typical of CHRIST, who is emphatically called the Messiah, or Anointed, and of the spiritual unction, under the gospel.

(9) 1 *Kings* i. *pass.* (10) *Gen.* xxviii. 18, & *seqq.*

purely

Purely civil and military, but in eccleſiaſtical alſo (Q): and what profound reſpect was paid to the regal dignity, appears both from the ſubmiſſive language with which they were addreſſed [t], and the humble manner of approaching them; inſomuch that even queens and prophets did proſtrate themſelves with their faces to the ground before them, as *Nathan* and *Bathſheba* did to *David* [u]; though there is no doubt, but his ſon *Solomon* raiſed the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height (R).

Laws

[t] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & ſeqq. & ver. 40, & ſeqq. 2 Sam. xiv. paſſ. xxiv. 3, & alib. [u] 1 Kings i. 16, 23.

(Q) This is, indeed, denied by very many divines, who think, that they never exerciſed any authority in the latter, as kings of *Iſrael*, but as prophets, and inſpired perſons, ſuch as were *David* and *Solomon*. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformations and regulations which *Hezekiah*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Joſiah*, and others made, who were neither prophets, nor inſpired perſons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to conſult the oracle of *urim*; and, indeed, they were commanded ſo to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or ſanhedrin, over which they preſided, whenever they pleaſed to aſſiſt at it (10). Thus we find, that *David*, after he had been anointed king, even in *Saul*'s time, did conſult the divine oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his undertaking (11). They had likewiſe an abſolute power of life and death; and though, according to the law of *Moſes*, no man was to be capitally puniſhed, till he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at leaſt two or three witneſſes; yet we meet with frequent inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſole will of the prince. The ſame may be preſumed to have been, with reſpect to property, by the inſtances of *Mephiboſheth* and his ſervant *Ziba* (12), and others of the like nature. From that of *Naboth* (13) we may likewiſe conclude, that, in ſome caſes, the eſtates of perſons condemned devolved to the king: but, from the laws lately mentioned againſt oppreſſing the ſubjects, it appears rather to have been a tyrannical uſurpation, than a command, or even permiſſion, from God.

(R) The *Jews* affirm, that even the high-prieſt was obliged to ſtand before the king; whereas the latter only ſtood before the high-prieſt, when he was conſulting God by *urim* (14).

(10) *Maim. balak melakim, c.* 2. (11) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 7, & 8. *Vide Baſnag. ubi ſup.* (12) 2 *Sam.* xix. 29. (13) 1 *Kings* xxi. *paſſ.* (14) *Maim. ubi ſup.*

They

Laws and customs relating to judges, and courts of judicature.

Courts of judicature.

WE need not speak here of those judges, emphatically so called, who governed *Israel* from *Joshua* to *Saul*: these, being appointed, from time to time, by GOD himself, we find, were intirely governed by his laws, and, in doubtful cases, by his Spirit, with which they were endowed: they had the supreme authority, during their life, and differed in nothing from kings but in title, pomp, and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary: in all other cases their power was the same. They could make peace and war, summon the tribes to arms, consult GOD by *urim*, and the like. It is said, that they judged *Israel*, that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to administer ju-

They add, that he alone was allowed to sit in the court of the temple, even in the most sacred part of it, namely, that of the priests, provided he was of the lineage of *David*; whereas their senators were only allowed to sit in that which belonged to the people (15). The magnificence of their dress did not a little contribute to raise an awe in their subjects. It is true, that there is nothing prescribed concerning it, either in the *Mosaic* law, or any other inspired writer, and that we have no clear description of it in the sacred books; but it is plain, from *Jehoshaphat*'s going to fight against the *Syrians* in his royal robes, whilst *Ahab* changed his own for a common dress (16), that there was a manifest difference between them, if not in shape, at least in beauty and costliness, such as jewels about their crown, the purple mantle, and the like. *Josephus* tells us (17), that *Solomon* did usually go clad in white; but this was a colour common both to the priests and nobles: so that the difference must be in the richness, whether of the linen or silk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied, by the law, to any dress, we need not doubt but they followed the fashions of other countries, and were more sumptuously clad upon some particular occasions (18). The psalmist has likewise given us a beautiful description of the dress of queens (19), which was still richer than that of kings; but we shall not here inlarge upon it.

(15) *Maimon balak beth habkir.* (16) 1 *Kings* xxii. 30. (17) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (18) *Vid.* 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 8. 1 *Kings* xxii. 10. 30. *Joseph. ant. l.* vi. *c.* 10, *& alib. Rasc. & al.* (19) *Psal.* xlv.

slice;

ſtice[f]; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier reſort, or by way of conſulting them in doubtful caſes, is not eaſy to determine (R).

BUT, beſides theſe, *Moſes*, and, after him, thoſe who were at the head of the *Iſraelitiſh* commonwealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magiſtrates in all cities, to adminiſter juſtice to the people in every tribe. Theſe were to be men of wiſdom and probity, well verſed in the law of *Moſes*, free from covetouſneſs and partiality, ſuch as would protect the innocent, the fatherleſs and widow, the helpleſs and ſtranger, and puniſh the guilty and wrong-doer [g]. We find, likewiſe, ſeveral denunciations againſt thoſe who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be bribed to act contrary to the ſtrict laws of juſtice; but as they were appointed by the kings, ſo did their virtue riſe and fall, according to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of theſe. We may ſay more: *Samuel* was himſelf a moſt upright judge; and yet his two ſons, who acted under him, proved moſt unrighteous. *David* was likewiſe a pious monarch; and yet, had there not crept a great

[f] Vid. Judges iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & ſeq. & alib. [g] Exod. xxiii. 8, & ſeq. Deut. xvi. 18, & ſeq. xvii. 2, & ſeq. xix. paſſ. xxiv. 16, & ſeq. xxv. 1, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. Ezek. xliv. 24. præc. affirm. 97. 100.

(R) The latter, however, ſeems moſt probable, from the command of *Moſes*, that *In all doubtful caſes, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not eaſily determine, they ſhould apply themſelves to the prieſts, and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whoſe judgment they ſhould ſubmit, under pain of death* (59). The *Jews*, indeed, pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or ſanhedrin (60), which they pretend to have ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of *Moſes*. But we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, that the council, which *Moſes* appointed, laſted only during the lives of thoſe elders; and that this ſanhedrin was a new inſtitution, of a much later date. So that, in all doubtful and diſputed caſes, no perſons could be more proper to be applied to, than theſe judges, who were indued both with the ſpirit of GOD, and the ſupreme authority; ſince even this latter was thought ſufficient afterwards, in the time of their kings; as appears, from very many inſtances, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61).

(59) *Deut.* xvii. 8, *& ſeq.* (60) *Præc. affirm.* 3. (61) 2 *Sam.* xiv. *paſſ.* 1 *Kings* iii. 16, *& ſeq.* 2 *Kings* viii. 3, *& alib. paſſ.*

deal

deal of corruption into the courts of judicature, his ſon *Abſalom* could have had no pretence for wiſhing that he had been a judge, that he might do juſtice to every one that applied to him [h].

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, and became, in time, very conſiderable; but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each, whether their power was equal, or ſome ſubordinate to others, cannot be gathered from Scripture (S). In the flouriſhing reigns of *David* and *Solomon* they increaſed very much [i]; and, in proceſs of time, became ſo corrupted, that the prophets were obliged, from time to time, to exclaim againſt them. One of them, having been ſent to *Jehoſhaphat*, to denounce GOD's heavy judgment againſt *Iſrael* for thoſe abuſes, wrought ſo upon that good king, that he immediately ſet about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, ſome of whom were of the tribe of *Levi*, and charging them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predeceſſors: he likewiſe appointed two tribunals for the city of *Jeruſalem*, the one conſiſting, chiefly, of prieſts and *Levites*, for matters of religion; and the other, which was moſtly made up of the heads of families, for matters of ſtate. In this condition they are ſuppoſed to have continued till the captivity, 'bating that, as the princes became more and more wicked, ſo did the judges under them, till GOD was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can ſay, upon that article, with any tolerable cer-

[h] 2 Sam. xv. 2, & ſeq. [i] Vid. 1 Chron. xxiii. & ſeq. paſſ.

(S) We read, indeed, that *Moſes*, during their abode in the wilderneſs, appointed rulers over thouſands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens (62); and theſe were, in all likelihood, ſubordinate to one another: but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of *Canaan*, doth not appear. However, we may ſuppoſe, that theſe courts conſiſted, at firſt, but of very few perſons; and that every thing was tranſacted in them with the utmoſt plainneſs and ſimplicity: neither were there many kinds of offices or dignities, ſince we read but of four ſorts of officers, even in *Joſhua*'s time; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers (63). It is impoſſible to determine what their officers were; only the laſt are ſuppoſed to have been a kind of beadles, or executioners.

(62) *Exod.* xviii. 24, & *ſeq.* (63) *Joſh.* xxiv. 1.

tainty;

tainty (T); and thus much we know concerning thoſe tribunals, that they took cognizance of all civil and criminal caſes,

(T) As for what *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts* add concerning magiſtrates, and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another, and as we are not ſure, but even the former doth rather deſcribe them as they were after, than before the captivity; we ſhall chuſe to ſubjoin them, in as few words as we can.

Beſides the grand council of ſeventy, mentioned above, to which, they pretend, all other tribunals, throughout the land, were ſubordinate; the *Talmudiſts* tell us, there were two other courts, one conſiſting of three, and the other of three-and-twenty judges; and theſe, they ſay, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to ſome; or families, according to others. The firſt of theſe courts were only choſen *pro re nata*, one by each party, and the third by the other two: their cognizance extended no farther than to ſmall matters, ſuch as ſervants wages, petty larcenies, reſtitution, and the like: neither could they inflict a heavier puniſhment than whipping. That of twenty-three was allowed to judge of all capital cauſes, and to condemn criminals to death: and if there aroſe any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority; for which reaſon, they ſay, their number was to be odd: but in caſes of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-prieſt was to be conſulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution: a crier was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die for; to the end that, if any perſon knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a ſecond, and, if occaſion offered, a third hearing. The ſame indulgence was to be allowed him if he complained of being unjuſtly condemned, whilſt he went to the place of execution; in which caſe, he was to chuſe two wiſe men to plead for him, and, if poſſible, to obtain a reverſion of the ſentence: but if in neither caſe he could prove himſelf innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witneſſes: for it is here to be obſerved, that, if the crime was ſuch as deſerved hanging, the criminal was firſt to be ſtoned to death, and then hanged. But, before execution, he was to be exhorted to confeſs his crime, and to pray that his death might atone both for it, and for all his other ſins; which if he did, they gave him then a doſe of wine mixed with myrrh, or frankincenſe, to ſtupefy him; after which, he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in caſes of idolatry, blaſphemy, and the like, they ſtayed till about an hour before ſunſet, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoiſted him up till juſt before ſunſet, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows;

or

cases, even where the offence was of a religious nature; such as idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, sacrilege, and the like:

or tree, were buried with him (65). They except, however, out of the cognizance of these courts of twenty-three, all cases, whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-priest, to a whole tribe, and to false prophets; which, they pretend, were only to be tried by the grand council (66). To this a learned author thinks that expostulation of *Christ* to allude (67), *O* Jerusalem! — *thou that killest the prophets* (68). We own, indeed, this to have been the case of the sanhedrin, in our Saviour's time, and even some time before, but not before the captivity; but how, or by what court or judges, these extraordinary cases were to be tried, is impossible to say; unless we suppose, that it was done by a general assembly of the whole nation, or, at least, of the heads of them; as we find it in several instances (69).

We shall, however, conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty-three judges, according to the *Jewish* doctors; because it had a near resemblance, not only to that of the sanhedrin, but, also, to those of other polite nations. They sat in the form of an halfmoon; in the centre of it was the president, whom they call נשיא, *nassi*, or *prince*; having the אב בית דין, *ab beth din*, or *father of the senate*, at his right-hand: the rest sat on each side, according to their seniority, or merit. At each end was a clerk, or secretary, who took the depositions in writing; some add a third, whose office was, to gather the votes of the court: at the feet of the judges sat their disciples, in three rows, or forms, whose business was, to observe every thing that was said or done; and these were chosen to succeed those on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age, or any other impediment. The accused person was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be easily seen by all; and the witnesses stood fronting him; these were to be diligently examined, and their character inquired into; and, if any flaw was found in it, they were set aside: but if any was found to have given false evidence, the *talion* law was his portion (70); that is, he was condemned to the same punishment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוטרים, *soterim*, that is, the *officers*, or *executioners*, were also to attend the court constantly, with rods, and leathern scourges, in their hands, to execute the sentence of the judges: the accused person was

(65) *Vid. præc. off.* 97, 98, & *seq. ad* 111. (66) *Vid. Mishnah, tract.* סנהדרין, *c.* 1. (67) *Cun. rep. Heb. l.* i. *c.* 12. (68) *Luke* xiii. 34. (69) *Vid. Josh.* xxii. 11, & *seq. Judg.* xx. 1, & *seq.* xxi. *Joseph. Vid. & Mishn. ubi sup. Maimon in loc. & alib. Mos Kotz, Selden de Synedr. Goodwin's Mos. & Aar. l.* v. *c.* 3, & *seq. Lamy, Calm. dissert. sur la police des Hebreux, & al.* (70) *Deut.* xix. 18, 19.

likewise

like: for which reaſon the prieſts and *Levites* were appointed to aſſiſt, if not to preſide in them. The next in authority to the magiſtrates, were natural parents; and theſe were to be honoured and obeyed in a moſt particular manner [m] (U). St. *Paul* obſerves, that this is the firſt command

[m] Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib.

likewiſe allowed a counſellor to plead for him, who was called בעל-ריב, *babal-rib, the maſter of the proceſs*; and he ſtood on his right-hand, and pleaded for him. Many expreſſions there are, in the pſalms, in the prophets, and other places of the Old Teſtament, that ſeem ſo plainly to allude to one or other of theſe judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in uſe long before the captivity. After a full hearing, the votes were gathered and examined; and, according to them, the perſon was either abſolved, or condemned, in words to this purpoſe: *Thou*, Simeon, *art innocent*; *thou*, Judah, *art guilty*: and if the latter, and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioner's hands, and led to execution; but if the crime was ſuch as only deſerved whipping, it was forthwith performed, before the whole court (73).

(U) The *Talmudiſts* obſerve, that the law lays a greater ſtreſs upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God; becauſe we are only injoined to honour the latter with our ſubſtance (74); whereas we are bound to honour the former, whether we have any ſubſtance or not; and to work, in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the *Egyptians* ſeem to have been ſtrangers, if what *Herodotus* ſays of them be true, that the ſons were not bound to maintain their parents, unleſs they were willing; but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76). It likewiſe excelled that of the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other polite people, in that it included both parents; whereas theſe only, or, at moſt, principally, the father. This appears by the *Perſian* law mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, by the *Roman* digeſts, and inſtitutions mentioned by *Epictetus*, *Simplicius*, *Philo de legatione*, and others (77). We ſhall obſerve farther, that the words of the promiſe annexed to this command run thus in the original: *That they may prolong thy days*, and ſo on. From which the generality of *Jewiſh* interpreters conclude the word *they* to relate to the father and mother ſo honoured; namely, that they might prolong, by their prayers and bleſ-

(73) *Vid. de Lis Miſhn. tract. ſanhedr. c.* 5. *Maim. M. Kotz, & al. ſup. citat. Vid. & præc. affirm. ſup. citat. Simeon. Vid. præc. affirm.* 112, & 113. *Carlet, harm. of N. and P. laws, c.* 6.

(74) *Prov.* iii. 9.

(75) *Rab.*

(76) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 25. *Vid.*

(77) *Idem ibid.*

command with a promise [n]; and the punishment of disobedient and wicked children was no less severe. It was death for any to curse or strike their parents [o], or even to continue in a stubborn disobedience to their commands. In this last case, they had power to inflict any punishment but death upon them; and, if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuse them before the judges, who, upon full proof, were obliged to condemn them to death [p], without mercy or delay. And, now we are upon the subject of punishments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of those which were either appointed by the *Mosaic* law, or made use of at the prince's will, against obnoxious persons, before the captivity.

Punishments.

Of the first kind were the smaller sort of punishments; which were either, 1. Fines by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and the like. 2. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for a wrong. 3. The *talion* law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe*, &c. Lastly, whipping; and this last was not to exceed forty lashes [q]. The capital punishments were of four kinds; namely, stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling [r]. 1. Stoning was the most usual; and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the kind, this was always understood to be meant by it * (W). The crimes, which deserved this

[n] Eph. vi. 2. [o] Exod. xxi. 15. 17. Levit. xx. 9. [p] Deut. xxi. 18, & seq. [q] Ibid. xxv. 3. [r] Ex. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. 1 Kings xxi. 13. * Vid. Deut. xvii. 7.

sings, the life of their dutiful children. The words are, indeed, capable of either sense; but, if the *Jews* had taken them in this last in our Saviour's time, they would not have met with so severe a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(W) Some modern *Jews* rather think, that it was strangling, because it was an easier death; and that, in cases where the particular kind is not expressed, the most favourable is to be chosen (78). But it is more probable, from the case of adultery, that stoning was the punishment understood: for it is said, in *Ezekiel* (79), *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers*, &c. And two verses after, *They shall stone thee with stones* —— And it is plain, that the *Jews* understood it in that sense in our Saviour's time, by what they said to him when they brought the adulteress before him (80).

(78) *Vid. R. Salom. in Exod.* xxi. 16. (79) *Ch.* xxvi. 38. 40. (80) *John* viii. 5.

death,

death, were all kind of inceſt, ſodomy, beſtiality, raviſhing a betrothed virgin, or her conſenting to be defiled by another man; blaſpheming, ſabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, inticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's ſeed to *Moloch*, and ſome others of the like nature. For ſome of theſe laſt, the criminal was likewiſe to be hanged, after he had been ſtoned to death, as we have ſeen in a former note; where we have alſo hinted ſomething concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city, as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderneſs: here, after he had confeſſed his fault, the witneſſes came and laid their hands upon his head, and ſaid aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the firſt ſtone; and the reſt of the ſpectators helped to diſpatch him * (W). This, however, muſt be underſtood of regular caſes; for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to ſtone the criminal, ſuch as a blaſphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the ſpot, without further trial. But theſe ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the ſpecious title of *judgment of zeal*, founded upon the action of *Phineas* †, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

2. BURNING. This puniſhment was uſed before *Moſes*, as appears by *Judah*'s condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames [w]. Some interpreters, indeed, think, that he meant no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or ſtigmatized her for her incontinency, but without any proof, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. The *Moſaic* law condemned the daughters of prieſts to be burnt for incontinency [x]; and *Achan* was condemned to be ſtoned and burnt for ſacrilege [y]. Theſe are the only two places where that puniſhment is mentioned. The *Jews* tell us, alſo, of ſome

* Deut. xvii. 7. † Num. xxv. 6, & ſeq. [w] Gen. xxxviii. 24. [x] Levit. xxi. 9. [y] Joſh. vii. 28.

(W) The *Talmudiſts* mention another kind of ſtoning, by precipitating a man from ſome conſiderable eminence, at leaſt of the height of two men. One of the witneſſes tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down; and, if he did not die by the fall, they threw ſtones upon him till he was dead. The *Moſaic* law doth not, indeed, mention this kind of puniſhment; but we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (81).

(81) *Luke* iv. 29.

other crimes which were punished with it, particularly some kinds of incest [z]. They add, that it was twofold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat.

3. BEHEADING. This, the *Jewish* doctors say, was a punishment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry: but we find nothing like it to have been practised before the captivity, in a judicial way (X).

BUT

[z] Vid. Mos. KOTZ, in tract. sanhedr. c. 1. GOODWIN's Mos. and Aar. l. v. c. 7. sect. 13.

(X) It is true, indeed, that *Abimelech*, one of *Gideon*'s sons, caused seventy of his brothers to be beheaded upon one stone at *Ophra* (82); that the men of *Samaria* sent the heads of the same number of *Ahab*'s sons to the new king of *Israel* (83); and that forty-two of *Ahaziah*'s brethren were put to death, probably, in the same way, by the same *Jehu*'s orders (84): but it is plain, that none of these were done in a judicial way. We find, likewise, instances of persons being put to death by the sword: thus *Samuel* killed the king of *Amalek* (85); in the same manner *David* ordered the messenger of *Saul*'s death to be slain (86); and *Adonijah*, *Joab*, and *Shimei*, were killed by *Solomon*'s order, one of them at the very foot of the altar (87).

4. Strangling. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the *Talmudists* reckon six sorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Those that struck their parents. 2. Menstealers. 3. The priests that refused to conform to the determination of the court. 4. False prophets, or those who prophesied in the name of false gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed; and, 6. He that had criminal conversation with a priest's daughter. These were executed as follows: they were immerged in dung up to the knees; two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twisted it till they were quite suffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themselves, and on the same day, together with the instruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out, as much as possible, the remembrance of it (88).

To these we may add some foreign punishments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings: such were those which *David* caused to be inflicted on the *Ammonites* (89), and that which *Manasseh* put the prophet *Isaiah* to, whom he

(82) *Judg.* ix. 5. (83) 2 *Kings* x. 7. (84) *Ibid. ver.* 13, & *seq.* (85) 1 *Sam.* xv. 33. (86) 2 *Sam.* i. 15. (87) 1 *Kings* ii. 25. 30, & 40. (88) *Tract. sanhedr. ubi sup.* (89) 2 *Sam.* xii. *ult.*

BUT the moſt dreadful of all their puniſhments, though not a capital one, was excommunication, eſpecially that which they called *ſhematta* (Y), anſwering to the *Syrian maran-*

Excommunication.

is ſuppoſed, by ſeveral antient fathers (90), to have cauſed to be ſawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden ſaw, from the words of the apoſtle (91), *Some were ſawn aſunder.* The difficulty here is about the wooden ſaw, how it could be fit for ſuch a purpoſe: but, allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preſerved, we need but ſuppoſe the expreſſion to be an *Hebraiſm*, that is, a wooden ſaw, for a ſaw with which wood uſed to be ſawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expreſſion of cutting in two, and cutting aſunder, is, indeed, frequent in the Old Teſtament, and in the apocryphal book of *Suſanna*. We omit ſome other puniſhments of the like nature, which would only fill our readers with horror: as for that of crucifixion, ſuch as *Chriſt* ſuffered, though ſome have fanſied it to be implied in the words of *Deuteronomy* (92), *If a man be hanged on a tree, his body ſhall not remain all night on it*, &c. yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a *Jewiſh*, but a *Roman* puniſhment, and ſo foreign to our purpoſe.

(Y) The *Jews* reckon three kinds, or, rather, degrees of excommunication. The firſt they call נדוי, *niddui*, from נדה, *nadah*, *to ſeparate*, or *put from one*: ſo that this word was indifferently uſed to expreſs thoſe that were ſeparated for any uncleanneſs, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication (93). The time of its laſting was limited to 30 days; and yet the delinquent could either ſhorten it, by doing penance; or lengthen it, by ſtubbornneſs, even to the end of his life, if he perſiſted in it. In this laſt caſe, they refuſed to circumciſe his children; and, if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a ſtone to be thrown into his coffin, or bier, to ſhew that he deſerved to have been ſtoned.

The ſecond degree they called חרם, *cherem*, *anathema*; and this, they pretend, was more ſevere than the *niddui*, becauſe it excluded the perſon from the ſynagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we ſhall ſhew, in the ſequel, that this word ſignified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or deſtruction (94). And our learned *Selden* has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the leſſer and the greater; and that the terms, *niddui*, *cherem*, and *ſhematta*, were uſed indifferently (95).

The laſt, however, according

(90) *Juſtin. Mart. dialog. cont. Tryph. Orig. ex lib. apocr. Hieron. in Iſa.* & *al.* (91) *Heb.* xi. 37. (92) *Deut.* xxi. 22. (93) *Vid. int. al. Ezek.* xviii. 6. (94) *Vid. Levit.* xxvii. 29. *Joſh.* vii. 11, & *ſeq.* (95) *De ſynedr. vet. Heb. l.* i. c. 7, & 8.

maran-atta used by St. *Paul*[h], which signifies, in both tongues, *the Lord comes*, or *is at hand*. *Enoch*, the seventh from *Adam*, is supposed the author of it, because St. *Jude* quotes that saying of his, *Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment*; and so on[i]: which must have been, at least, owing to some tradition among the *Jews* (Z).

[h] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. [i] Ver. 14.

to them, was this, שמחה, *shematta*, which, they pretend, was proclaimed by the sound of 400 trumpets, as, they say, it was done at the cursing of *Meroz* by *Deborah*. A person, so excommunicated, was never to be received again into the congregation; and some pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reason, they derive the word from שם, *sham*, *there*; and מתה, *mattah*, *death*: to which the expression of St. *John* is supposed to allude, *There is a sin unto death*; that is, according to them, a sin that deserves to be devoted to death (96). But all this is forced; and that which derives it from שם, *the name*, and אתא, *comes*, or *is at hand*; seems to us the most rational, and answers to the *Syriac maran-atta*, which bears the same sense. As for the crimes to which these excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of absolving these that had incurred them, the reader may consult *Selden* and *Buxtorf* in the places above-quoted, or the learned *J. Jam. Hottinger* (97), and others.

(Z) However, these fetch the original of it both from those frequent expressions in the *Mosaic* writings, *That soul shall be cut off from* Israel; *and thou shalt put away evil from the midst of thee*: and, more particularly, from the words in *Deborah*'s song, *Curse ye* Meroz, *said the angel of the Lord*; *curse ye, bitterly the inhabitants of it* (98). But, without inquiring into the validity of these subtil etymologies, we find a more express form of it in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* (99), who excommunicated all those that refused to repudiate their strange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The same account of it we find in *Josephus*, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated person were to be confiscated to the holy treasury (100). It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt but they had precedents and laws for it before that time: for it is said, that it was performed in a legal way, and pursuant to the laws of God.

(96) 1 *John* v. 16. *Vid. Bertram, de polit. Jud. c.* 2. *theol. de pœnitent. p.* 49, *& seq.* (97) *Diss. hist.* (98) *Judg.* v. 23. (99) *Ezra* x. 7, *& seq. Nehem.* xiii. 25. (100) *Ant. l.* xi. *c.* 5.

Laws againſt murder.

MOSES tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murder could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer [p], whatever might be the puniſhment of it before that time. Under the law, GOD ſeems to expreſs a much greater abhorrence againſt it: he not only forbad it in the decalogue [q], but appointed avengers to puniſh the guilty perſon where-ever they found him [r], and permitted him to be torn from the moſt venerable ſanctuaries to condign puniſhment [s], as was lately hinted; and expreſly forbad both the avenger and judges to make any compoſition, or to accept of any other recompence for the crime [t]; and theſe laws extended equally to *Iſraelites*, and to the ſtrangers that dwelt amongſt them [u] (A). We may alſo add another inſtitution, extremely proper to inſpire the people with an uncommon horror againſt wilful murder; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows: As ſoon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was neareſt to it, and to ſummon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring an heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley, and there ſtrike her head off: theſe, and the prieſts, were then to waſh their hands over her, and to profeſs, that their hands had not ſhed this blood, neither their eyes ſeen it done; *Murder.*

[p] Gen. ix. 6. See vol. i. p. 259. [q] Exod. xx. 13. xxi. 12. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & alib. [r] Num. xxxv. 19. [s] Exod. xxi. 14. [t] Num. xxxv. 31, 32. [u] Levit. xxiv. 22.

(A) The only caſes, therefore, in which one man might lawfully kill another, were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a manſlayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother *Iſraelite*; and, laſtly, an infant might likewiſe be deſtroyed to preſerve the life of the mother, but not *vice verſa*. To theſe the *Jews* add that which they call the *right of zeal*, hinted under the laſt head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a perſon who was caught in any abominable fact; ſuch as blaſpheming, offering his ſeed to *Moloch*, and the like, and to kill him upon the ſpot. Thus the *Levites* went out, and killed three thouſand of the worſhipers of the golden calf; and *Phineas* puniſhed an abominable whoredom with death.

after which, they were to pray to GOD not to lay it to their charge [w] (B).

Laws against adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of sexes. The trial of adultery, or waters of jealousy; concerning marriage and levirate.

Against adultery. 1. IT will scarcely be thought needful to inquire how far the words, *Thou shalt not commit adultery* [x], excluded all other carnal gratifications which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (C). It is sufficient to say, that incest, rape, sodomy, and bestiality, are forbid by other express laws, under pain of death, as well as

[w] Deut. xxi. 1, & seq.

[x] Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18.

(B) One may see, by all this solemn ceremony, and by all the above-mentioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. It was for this very reason, also, that God gave them several laws, whose only tendency was, to divert them from cruelty: such were those that forbad them to seeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk; to kill the dam and her young, both in one day; to catch the old birds and their brood together; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn; to refuse to assist a neighbour's, or even an enemy's beast, that sunk under its burden; and many more of the like nature, all highly proper to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and good-nature, which the slaughter they were going to make of so many nations, justly doomed to it for their wickedness, might otherwise have been apt to extinguish in them.

(C) This is, indeed, the received opinion of many *Jews* and *Christians*, who, by the word נאף, *naph*, understand all kind of illicit coition, and unnatural lusts (1). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that some of the antients, on both sides, understood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly, we find, by *Philo* and *Tertullian*, that some of the *Greek* copies placed this law against adultery before that against murder in the decalogue; and these two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to describe the great hurt it doth to human society; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, because forbidden before murder (2). However, it is certain, that *Moses* has no-where given such a weighty reason against that, as he doth against this, when he says, *For in the image of God created he man* (3).

(1) *Vid. Abenezr. in Exod.* xx. & *comment. ser. om. in lx.* (2) *Tertul. de pudicit. Vid. Carlton. concord. c.* 7. (3) Gen. ix. 6.

adultery.

adultery [y]. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in ſome caſes, yet was it forbid by ſeveral laws [z]: the difference was, that any woman who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwiſe, was to be ſtoned [a]; whereas, if a man defloured a virgin, he was to pay her father fifty ſhekels of ſilver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life [b]. Adultery was puniſhable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman; but we cannot affirm the puniſhment of a married man to have been the ſame, who committed adultery with an unmarried woman: for, beſides that the crime was not alike, with reſpect to ſociety, it is plain, that *Moſes* was forced to indulge them, in ſome other particulars, as unjuſtifiable as this; ſuch as polygamy, divorce, and the like; which are juſtly condemned in the goſpel.

HOWEVER, with reſpect to the wives, as there was a neceſſity, that they ſhould be kept under ſtricter ties, to prevent ſtrange mixtures in families; ſo, in order to deter them from all unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as, perhaps, to prevent thoſe that were innocent from being unjuſtly ſuſpected and ill-treated by their jealous huſbands, *Moſes* was commanded to appoint the waters of jealouſy, with the promiſe of a conſtant miracle, by which the guilty ſhould be puniſhed in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent cleared with applauſe. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner [c]:

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a miſtruſt of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this caſe; namely, a cake made of barley-meal, without oil or incenſe, and to put it into the hands of the prieſt: at the ſame time he brought his wife alſo, and declared what grounds he had for ſuſpecting her: the prieſt then took the accuſed woman before the LORD, either to the tabernacle, or temple, uncovered her head (D), and put

Waters of jealouſy.

[y] Vid. Levit. xviii. paſſ. Ibid. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xxii. 22, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. [a] Deut. xxii. 20, 21. [b] Ibid. ver. 28, 29. [c] Num. v. 24, & ſeq.

(D) The *Jews* underſtand by it, ſhaving her hair, or, at leaſt, cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to her breaſt, and tied them with a packthread: others ſay, that her cloaths were exchang'd for a black ſuit, in token of mourning; and, in this manner, ſhe was expoſed to public view.

put the offering into her hand, whilſt himſelf took ſome holy water, impregnated with wormwood, or ſome ſuch bitter herbs, into which he put ſome of the duſt of the floor, or pavement, together with the words of the curſe written at full length, to this effect: That, if ſhe had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, thoſe waters ſhould ſwell and burſt her belly, and rot her thigh; but, if ſhe was innocent, they ſhould have no power to hurt her. Theſe words he firſt read to her aloud, and, if ſhe perſiſted to go on with the trial, ſhe anſwered, *Amen*. He was then to blot out the words of the curſe in the bitter water, they being, according to the *Jews*, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be eaſily waſhed away; after which, he gave her the water to drink, whilſt he took the offering, or cake of jealouſy, off her hand, and waved it to the LORD, and burnt part of it upon the altar: the conſequence was, that, if ſhe was guilty, the water did burſt her belly, and rot her thigh, and ſhe died, ſoon after her drinking it; but, if ſhe was innocent, ſhe not only came off unhurt, but, as a token and reward of her continence, ſhe became more healthy and fruitful; and the huſband was to take her home, and cheriſh her the more, for having given him ſuch an eminent proof of her chaſtity (E).

For

view. Theſe circumſtances, they tell us, had ſomething ſo dreadful to the *Jewiſh* women, eſpecially the chaſte ones, that they ſtudied nothing more, than to keep themſelves free from any ſuſpicion, which might expoſe them to that, which they eſteemed worſe than death. For this reaſon, they did not ſuffer a woman to be brought to this trial upon every ſlight ſuſpicion: the huſband was to bring ſome proofs, that he had forewarned her, more than once or twice, againſt being ſeen in ſuch a man's company as he was jealous of; notwithſtanding which, they had been found together in private, or in ſome remote place, at leaſt, as long a time as a man might boil an egg, and eat it (4).

(E) This is all that we find in the *Moſaic* law. The *Talmudiſts* have added ſeveral other circumſtances relating to this ceremony, which we ſhould be loth to warrant, both becauſe, by their own confeſſion, it had been diſuſed ſeveral centuries, before their time, ſince which adultery became more frequent; and becauſe neither the canonical, nor apocryphal books, or, indeed, any of their writings that we know of, afford us one ſingle inſtance of its ever having been uſed before that time, whereby one might gueſs where they had them.

Thus they affirm, that, if

(4) *Vid. Munſt. in Num.* v.

So

For aught appears, therefore, this ceremony might be inſtituted only *in terrorem*, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the huſbands from too lightly ſuſpecting them of a breach of it; eſpecially, if another circumſtance, which the *Jews* tell us, be true, or was believed to be ſo; that theſe waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty ſoever, if the huſband had likewiſe been guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws of wedlock [d]. Whether the *Iſraelites* had ſeen any the like cuſtom in *Egypt*, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have ſomething among them in imitation of it, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almoſt every country, ſince, had a kind of trial, or ordeal, not only for caſes of incontinency, but almoſt for every crime.

3. MARRIAGE. We find but few laws concerning this inſtitution, beſides thoſe which we have mentioned under the laſt article againſt adultery (F). *Moſes* contented *Marriage.*

[d] SELD. de ſynedr. & uxor. Heb. BUXTORF. MUNST. in Num. v. BASNAG. rep. Heb. l. i. c. 12. CALM. ſub voc. Adult. & al. mult. poſt. rabbin.

ſhe was guilty, ſhe had no ſooner drank the water, than ſhe began to look pale and ghaſtly, her eyes ſwelled out of her head, and ſhe loſt the uſe of them: her belly likewiſe ſwelled ſo viſibly, that they made all the haſte imaginable to convey her away, leſt ſhe ſhould defile the place by her death. They add, what is ſtill more remarkable, that the man, who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very inſtant, and much in the ſame manner, how diſtant ſoever from her, and ignorant of what was done. Authors diſagree about the time when this miraculous ceremony was ſet aſide; ſome affirming, that it was diſuſed after the captivity; and others, that it continued till about an hundred years before the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. All own, however, that the reaſon of its being ſet aſide was, that adulteries became not only more frequent, which, conſequently, would have kept the prieſts and judges continually employed; but were, likewiſe, more public; ſo that the trial of clandeſtine or doubtful ones became uſeleſs, when men committed them ſo publicly, that all the world was appriſed of them (5).

(F) Though the *Moſaic* law doth no-where oblige men to marry, yet the *Jews* have always looked upon it as an indiſpenſable duty, implied in the words, *Increaſe and multiply* (6). So that a man, who did not marry

(5) *Vid. Seld Buxt. Murſt. Lamy, Cun. Baſnag. & al. ſup. citat.* (6) *Gen.* i. 28. ix. 1.

tented himself with restraining the *Israelites* from marrying within certain degrees of consanguinity, which had, till then, been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations, with whom they lived. This was the reason which *Abraham* gave for chusing a wife for *Isaac* from his own kindred [e], and his descendents, for following his example [f]; but which was now intirely ceased, by their being so exceedingly multiplied. These are therefore the degrees which that lawgiver forbad, as incestuous, under pain of death: 1. To marry one's own father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 3. The brother or sister of one's father or mother. 4. A grandson or granddaughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A son or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or sisters, by which the *Jews* understood those only by the mother's side; because they looked upon this consanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief, that the mother contributed most to the generation of the child †. 8. A brother or sister-in-law. 9. The husband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and son, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other [g]. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they seem rather to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs (F).

The

[e] Gen. xxiv. 3, & seq. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1, & alib. † Vid. Phil. de spec. leg. Clem. Alex. strom. ii.
[g] Levit. xviii. 6, & seq.

marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted accessory to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married. They had a proverb in the *Talmud*, *Who is he that prostitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man?* For this reason, they used to marry them as soon as they came of age, which, with them, was at twelve; but, if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it, be parted from their husbands, if they did not like them.

(F) Thus he forbids the first-born to be disinherited out of favour or affection to another wife: as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other; in such a case, it was not lawful for him to transfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the first-born (7). This is in imitation of *Abraham*, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to *Isaac* (8). The only difference here is, that *Moses*

(7) *Deut.* xxi. 15, & *seq.* (8) *Gen.* xxv. 5, 6.

orders

THE ſame thing may be ſaid of that law which is called the *levirate*, which obliged a man, whoſe brother died without iſſue, to marry his widow, and to raiſe up ſeed to his brother [n]; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in *Judah*'s time [o]. However, *Moſes* doth here leave it, in ſome meaſure, to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law, or not; and, in caſe of a refuſal, the widow could only ſummon him before the judges of the place, where, if he perſiſted, ſhe untied his ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, and ſaid, *Thus ſhall it be done unto the man that refuſes to build up his brother's houſe, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whoſe ſhoe was unlooſed (G). In this number we may alſo Levirate.

[n] Deut. xxv. 5, & ſeq. [o] Vid. Gen. xxxviii. 6, & ſeq.

orders but a double portion to the eldeſt (9). Herein is alſo a ſecond law, tacitly implied, at leaſt, for a man to have two wives: to which he adds a third; namely, that, upon the marriage of a ſecond wife, a man ſhall ſtill be bound to continue to the former her food, raiment, and the duty of marriage (10). This laſt is alſo conformable to what *Laban* exacted of *Jacob*, when he married the ſecond ſiſter after the firſt (11).

The *Jews* did not content themſelves with this ſmall allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of *David* and *Solomon*, and many others: but it muſt be obſerved, that they made a diſtinction between the wives of the firſt rank, and thoſe of the ſecond. The firſt they called נשים, *naſhim*, and the others פילגשים, *pilgaſhim*; which laſt, though moſt verſions render by the word *concubines*, *harlots*, and *proſtitutes*, yet, in none of thoſe places of Scripture where that word occurs, which are about 36, is any ſuch ſiniſter ſenſe implied. However, there is a twofold difference between theſe and wives of the firſt rank (12): firſt, with reſpect to the manner of taking them; namely, the latter with the uſual ceremonies, and the former without; and, ſecondly, with reſpect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing *Maimon* (13) tells us, from the *Talmud*, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred; and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and ſtrength ſufficient for them all.

(G) From the words here uſed by *Moſes*, *If brethren dwell together* (14), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for ſuch as dwelt

(9) *Deut.* xxi. 17. (10) *Exod.* xxi. 10. (11) *Gen.* xxxi. 50.
(12) *Conf.* 1 *Kings* xi. 3. & 2 *Chron.* xi. 21. (13) *Hilak iſhoth*, c. 14.
(14) *Deut.* xxv. 5.

ſtill

alſo add another law, which obliged the huſband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the *Jews* termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity P (G).

FROM theſe, and ſuch-like inſtances, we may likewiſe conclude, what was their way of courtſhip, or, rather, of contracting and celebrating their marriages. The former was tranſacted by the parents or relations, on both ſides; and, when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride; preſents were exchanged on all ſides, the contract ſigned before witneſſes, and, after conſummation, the bride tarried ſtill ſome time with her relations,

P Vid. MAIM. in iſhoth, c. 3. ſect. 1.

ſtill in their father's houſe; which ſeems to have been the caſe of *Judah*'s three ſons, mentioned above. Accordingly, the rabbies have underſtood this law in a very reſtrained ſenſe, both in this and ſome other particulars: ſuch as that the eldeſt only, of the ſurvivors, was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married: in which caſe, they pretend that it was left to his option. But if we look into the antient practices, in the times of the judges, we ſhall find, that *Boaz*, who was neither brother, nor neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, did yet think himſelf obliged to marry *Ruth*, upon the neareſt kinſman's refuſing to do it (15): from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther; and that, where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the neareſt relation in courſe. However, it is plain, from the caſe which the *Sadducees* put to our Saviour, about the ſeven brethren that had had the ſame woman ſucceſſively (16), that this law was not underſtood in that limited ſenſe which the *Talmudiſts* have ſince underſtood it in.

(G) Thus *Abraham* ſent his ſteward with a conſiderable quantity of riches to preſent his future daughter-in-law and her relations (17): *Jacob* purchaſed his two wives at the price of fourteen years ſervitude (18); and when *Hamor* came to aſk his daughter for his ſon *Shechem*, he bid him raiſe the price of her dowry as high as he pleaſed (19). *David* likewiſe modeſtly confeſſing his inability to pay a dowry anſwerable to *Saul*'s daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the *Philiſtines*; and the prophet *Hoſea* bought a wife for fifteen pieces of ſilver, and a ſmall quantity of barley (20): ſo that a man might be truly ſaid to have purchaſed, as well as to marry a wife.

(15) *Ruth* iv. *paſſ.* (16) *Mat.* xxii. 24, & *ſeq.* (17) *Gen.* xxiv. *paſſ.* (18) *Ibid.* xxix. 18, & *ſeq.* (19) *Ibid.* xxxiv. 12, & *ſeq.* (20) 1 *Sam.* xviii. 22, & *ſeq.* *Hoſ.* iii. 2.

how long, or how ſhort, we cannot exactly ſay †; after which, ſhe was ſent away to her huſband's habitation, with ſinging and dances, at the ſound of ſeveral inſtruments. This laſt was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it [t]. It was likewiſe cuſtomary with them to contract theſe marriages, whilſt their children were very young, and this was called eſpouſing; after which, both parties continued with their parents till they were of age to conſummate. As for the daughters, whether they were eſpouſed, or not, they were kept very ſtrict, and out of ſight, by the *Iſraelites*; though this cuſtom ſeems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of *Jacob*'s daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no ſcruple to ſend theirs to feed and water their flocks, as we find was done by *Laban*'s ſiſter and daughters, as well as by thoſe of *Jethro* among the *Midianites* [u]. From this privacy with which the unmarried damſels were kept, they came to be called *Almahs*, which ſignifies *hidden*, or *concealed* (H). There was likewiſe

† See Gen. xxiv. 55, & ſeq. ONKELOS, R. SOLOM. & MUNSTER, in loc. [t] Mat. xxv. 1, & ſeq. [u] Vid. Gen. xxiv. 13, & ſeq. xxix. 9. Exod. ii. 16.

(H) From the word עלם, *alam*, or, rather, *ghalam*, *to hide*. To this ſeems to allude that ſaying of *Agur* (21), if rightly tranſlated —— *The way of the man*, בעלמה, *behalmah*: that is (not *with*, as our verſion hath it, but), *in the maid*, or *virgin*. And here we beg leave to obſerve, that an anonymous *Engliſh* author took upon him, under the name of the late Monſ. *Le Clerc*, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obſcene (22); whereas, our verſion being the only one we know of that renders it *with a maid*, the objection could flow but from an *Engliſh* pen: and we may venture to add, one that had but a ſuperficial knowlege of the original, which is not only capable of, but doth manifeſtly carry a much ſublimer ſenſe. We hope, therefore, the reader will not think amiſs, if we take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the text, and its divine author, by ſetting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface, in the four or five firſt verſes of this chapter, will eaſily own, that ſuch lofty expreſſions could only be deſigned to uſher in ſome ſublime myſtery: but who can find any ſuch in theſe words, whether we read them *in* or *with the maid?* that is, whether we underſtand them of *coition*, or *generation?* Beſides, where is there either the analogy or climax implied in the

(21) *Prov.* xxxi. 19. (22) *Letters concerning inſpiration.*

beginning

wise another law which forbad heiresses to marry out of their own tribe [w], from which the rest were exempted; but a man was left to his liberty to marry, not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with nations that used circumcision [x]; such as the *Midianites*, *Ishmaelites*, *Edomites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians* (I).

THESE

[w] Num. xxxvi. pass. [x] Compare Deut. vii. 3. & xxiii. 7, 8.

beginning of the verse? *There are three things too hard for me, yea, four*, or, rather, a fourth, *which I cannot comprehend*. What analogy doth the *way of a man*, whether *in* or *with a maid*, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ship in the midst of the sea, *&c.*? or wherein is the former harder to be understood than the latter? But if we understand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words seem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or, as the word גבר, *gebber*, imports, the *mighty man in a virgin*, continuing still such, will appear most fitly compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, *&c.* which leave no trace behind; and, at the same time, be most justly esteemed the hardest, of all the rest, to be accounted for. This text may therefore justly be looked upon as parallel to that of *Jeremiah* xxxi. 22.—*The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman shall incompass* gebber, *a man, or the mighty man.*

(I) Accordingly we find, that *Moses* married a *Midianite*; *Boaz* a *Moabite* (23); *Maachah*, *Absalom*'s mother, was the daughter of *Talmai*, king of *Geshur* (24); *Amasa* was the son of *Jether*, an *Ishmaelite*, by *Abigail*, *David*'s sister (25); and *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, married *Pharaoh*'s daughter (26). Whenever, therefore, we find him and other kings blam'd for marrying strange women, we must understand it of those nations that were idolatrous and uncircumcised.

This law seems also founded upon what the subtil sons of *Jacob* said to the *Shechemites*; *It is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumcised* (27). However, this must be understood of such only as were admitted into the *Jewish* religion: as for those that were not so, they were not so much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them, except in the case of an *Hebrew* soldier's having taken a *gentile* captive, to whom *Moses* indulg'd the liberty of enjoying her once, before the marriage was confirmed: this, at least, seems to be the sense of the

(23) *Ruth* iv. (24) 2 *Sam.* iii. 3. 1 *Chron.* iii. 2. (25) 1 *Chron.* ii. 17, & *seq.* (26) 1 *Kings* iii. 1. (27) *Gen.* xxxiv. 14.

words;

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, *Moſes* has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from Scripture, and the reſt from the rabbies. We do not find, that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony; ſuch as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of ſacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a prieſt: only from the examples of *Iſaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Boaz* with *Ruth*, and of *Tobias* with *Sarah*, we may conclude, that the parents, and the reſt of the company, did pray for the proſperity of the new-married couple. Theſe nuptials were accompanied with feaſting and mirth, which laſted a whole week. Thus *Samſon*'s wedding is ſaid to have laſted ſeven days [c]; and *Tobias* was deſired, by his father-in-law, that his might laſt twice that ſpace [d]; probably, becauſe they were not likely to ſee one another after that time (K).

THEIR

[c] Judg. xiv. 17. [d] Tobit viii. 19, 20.

words (28); becauſe, if he did not like her, he might put her away; only he was to give her liberty, as a recompence for her virginity. A maid-ſervant, tho' converted to *Judaiſm*, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilſt her ſervitude continued; but, if her redemption was paid, or ſhe was manumitted, ſhe might become a wife (29). If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage ſeems to have been neither in force, nor abſolutely void; becauſe, in caſes of unchaſtity, ſhe was not to be put to death, as the free women were, but only whipt (30).

(K) What ſplendor did uſually accompany theſe feaſts, where their circumſtances wou'd admit of it, we may conclude, from that beautiful compariſon of the pſalmiſt, of the glory of a riſing-ſun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber (31). He likewiſe deſcribes, in another pſalm, the richneſs of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the ſolemnity, in moſt elegant terms (32). The paranymph, or friend of the bridegroom, and the bride-maids, are likewiſe mentioned here, and in the *Canticles*. Beſides theſe, the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that aſſiſted during the whole feaſt. *Samſon* is ſaid to have had thirty at his wedding (33). However, we muſt not ſuppoſe both ſexes to have aſſiſted promiſcuouſly; the cuſtom of eaſtern countries did not allow of it: and it is much more likely, that they had ſeparate tables, apartments, and diverſions: theſe laſt were ſing-

(28) *Deut.* xxi. 10, & *ſeq.* (29) *Sekd. jus nat. & gent. l.* v. *c.* 17. *Vid. Joſ. ant. l.* iv. *c.* 8. *Carleton's concord. part* i. *c.* 7. (30) *Levit.* xx. (31) *Pſal.* xix. 5. (32) *Pſal.* xlv. *paſſ. Vid. & Iſa.* lxi. 10. (33) *Judg.* xiv. 11.

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge, or incumbrance, on them, conſidering their ſimple way of living: the domeſtic affairs were their province, whilſt that of the huſband was the buſineſs of the fields and vineyards. Dreſſing of victuals, the care of children, ſpinning, carding, weaving, and the like, are often mentioned in the ſacred books as the occupation of women [m]; whilſt their huſbands choſe the more laborious works. However, at the worſt, *Moſes* had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of,

Divorce. 4. DIVORCE, which was permitted to the *Jews* for the hardneſs of their hearts, as our Saviour obſerves [n]; neither do we find, that it had ever been practiſed by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations.

[m] Vid. int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [n] Mat. xix. 8.

ing, dancing, playing upon muſical inſtruments among the women, and ſome kind of manly exerciſes among the men. To theſe we may add the cuſtom of propounding riddles, and aſſigning ſome ſort of reward to thoſe that expounded them, as we find it was done at *Samſon*'s nuptials (34), and which, the *Talmudiſts* tell us, was uſually practiſed upon ſuch and the like feſtivals (35). They add, that both the bride and bridegroom uſed to wear a crown during the whole ſolemnity, until the deſtruction of the laſt temple; but that, thenceforth, ſuch an ornament was ſet aſide, in memory of that cataſtrophe (36). We read, indeed, of a nuptial crown made for *Solomon*, and preſented to him by his mother (37); but nothing of the like ornament for the bride. As for the other particular ceremonies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them but that of the *Talmudiſts*, we ſhall not trouble our readers with them.

(T) The *Jews* pretend, that *Abraham* divorced *Hagar*; and *Moſes*, either *Zipporah*, or *Tarbis*, the princeſs of *Ethiopia*: and that this was the reaſon of the quarrel which he had with *Aaron* and *Miriam* (38); and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date, but that it was lawful upon many other accounts, beſides that of adultery. But, as to *Hagar*, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her inſolence, it is plain, firſt, that ſhe was no wife, but a bond-woman, ſubſtitute to *Sarah*; and, ſecondly, that her expulſion was not properly a divorce, becauſe ſhe was received again after the firſt fault; and that, at the ſecond,

(34) *Judg.* xiv. 12. (35) *Pirke aboth.* (36) *Ibid. Vide Seld. ux. Heb. l.* ii. *c.* 15. *Buxtorf. ſynag. & al.* (37) *Cant.* iii. *ver. ult.* (38) *Targ. Onkel. & Hieroſ. & rabbin. mult. in Num.* xii. 1, *& ſeq.*

it

tions. The words of the law, or, rather, permiſſion, run thus o; "When a man hath taken a wife, and married "her, and it come to paſs that ſhe finds no favour in his "eyes, becauſe he has found in her ſome uncleanneſs (U); "then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give "it into her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe. And "when ſhe is departed ——— ſhe may go and be an-"other man's wife; and if her ſecond huſband hate her, "and write her a bill of divorce ——— or if he chance to "die ——— her former huſband ſhall not take her again "to be his wife, after ſhe is defiled; for that is an abo-"mination to the LORD.———" The queſtion is here, What is meant by the words, *if he find any uncleanneſs, turpitude*, or *nakedneſs, in her?* We have ſeen in the laſt note, how the *Jews* are divided in their opinion about it: the *Chriſtians* are no leſs ſo; ſome confining it to adultery, and others to all enormous crimes, ſuch as idolatry, apoſtaſy, and the like; which the Scriptures often call fornication, and is the word made uſe of by our Saviour for

o Deut. xxiv. 1, & ſeq.

it was her ſon's behaviour, and not her own, that ſent her away (18): and as to the caſe of *Ziphorah* and *Tarbis*, they are mere fictions, as we may have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel. So that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of *Moſes*; but afterwards they became ſo frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the *Jews* with it (19); and *Solomon* doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman, as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(U) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous *Hillel* has found out a way to evade it, in order to make divorce lawful, even upon the ſlighteſt fault; ſuch as ſpoiling his meat in cooking; or, according to *Akkiba*, another of the ſame looſe principles, if he finds another that pleaſes him better, or is more handſome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If ſhe do not find favour in his ſight; and, 2. If he find in her any uncleanneſs. But the more virtuous ſchool of his co-rival *Shammai* juſtly condemns ſuch a perverſe reading, though he confines this caſe of turpitude, which *Moſes* aſſigns as the ground of the huſband's diſlike, to the caſe of unchaſtity; whereas that of *Hillel* extends it to all that he may diſlike in her (21). This laſt has been moſt followed by the *Jews*, and ſufficiently condemned by *Chriſt* (22).

(18) *Conf. Gen.* xvi. 1, & *ſeq.* & xxi. 9, & *ſeq.* (19) *Mic* ii. 9. *Malach.* ii. 14, & *ſeq.* (20) *Vide Mifn. c.* 9. §. 10. *Seld. ux. Heb. l.* iii. *c.* 18, & 20. (21) *Vide gloſſ. Barteno*, הלכת בית הילל. (22) *Mat.* v. 32, & *alib.*

adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of these cases to be meant by the words of *Moses*; because, as these were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce against those that were to be put to death. We rather think, therefore, that it meant some involuntary uncleanness, whether natural, or contracted, which rendered her loathsome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial intercourse; which *Christ* therefore discommends in the gospel, not only because it was become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occasion [P]; but, also, to assure the people, that the marriage-knot was not to be dissolved upon any pretence, except that of infidelity (W).

Laws

[P] Vide Josephi. ant. l. iv. c. 8, & lib. de vit. sua ad fin. & Philo. de special. legib. præc. 6, & 7.

(W) We may add, that the words (being ערות דבר, *barvath-dabar*, and not דבר ערות, *debar-barvath*; which last only doth signify *the case of turpitude*) may be more properly rendered, *for any turpitude or immodesty of words, discourse, or even behaviour*. So that this indulgence might have been designed to deter the wanton sort of wives from such immodest speeches or behaviour as might be apt to disgust a sober husband; and to inspire them with such chaste deportment, as could alone preserve a true conjugal affection. According to this sense, also, our Saviour's reflection will be very just; that it was their indocible temper that extorted such an indulgence from *Moses*, which was manifestly contrary to the original design and institution of marriage.

One thing which shews that the nuptial breach was not thought the ground of a divorcement in *David*'s time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate those concubines, or wives of the second rank, whom his son *Absalom* had publicly debauched; but contented himself with shutting them up for life (23); and that the *Levite* did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after she had played the harlot, and forsaken him; but went to seek and bring her home again (24). The same may be said of *Samson*, who went and demanded his wife, after she had been given to another man (25). To this we may add, that we do not find any instances, through the whole Old Testament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this, or any other account, except those who put away the strange women they had brought with them from the captivity (26). However that be, it is plain, the *Jews* have

(23) 2 Sam. xx. 3. (24) Judg. xix. 1, & seq. 2 Sam. iii. 13, & seq.
(25) Judg. xv. 1, & seq. (26) Ezra x. pass. Nehem. xiii. 23, & seq.

understood

Laws againſt theft.

UNDER this head we ſhall include not only thoſe which are againſt taking away another man's property, whether privately, or by open force; but, alſo, againſt every act of fraud and injuſtice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. 1. As to theft, it muſt be obſerved, that the *Jews* underſtood the words in the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal* [w], of menſtealing; and thought that the other ſort of theft was implied in the laſt precept, *Thou ſhalt not covet*: but we ſhall include them under the ſame head. *Theft.*

[w] Exod. xx. 15.

underſtood it in another, and more lax ſenſe. The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: *Such a day, month, and year, I, ſuch an one, of ſuch a place, upon or near ſuch a river, do, of my own free conſent and choice, repudiate thee, ſuch an one, my late wife, baniſh thee from me, and reſtore thee to thy own liberty; and thou mayeſt, henceforth, go whither, and marry whom thou wilt: and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulſion, according to the law of* Moſes *and* Iſrael. *Signed by two witneſſes*; and delivered in the preſence of as many, at leaſt (27). From this time the wife was as much at her liberty, as if ſhe had been a widow; only, in both caſes, ſhe was obliged to ſtay, at leaſt, 90 days, before ſhe was married to another, leſt ſhe ſhould prove pregnant by the laſt.

Touching the controverſy, Whether women might likewiſe divorce their husbands, upon the ſame grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only ſay, that we do not find any ſuch indulgence granted to them by *Moſes*, unleſs in the caſe of a virgin betrothed by her parents before ſhe was twelve years of age, who might then refuſe to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reaſon than that ſhe did not like the perſon deſigned for her. But this cannot be called a divorcement, becauſe there is no marriage in the caſe. *Joſephus* therefore thinks, that a divorce was ſo far from being permitted to women, that, if the huſband forſook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till ſhe had firſt obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that *Salome*, ſiſter to *Herod the Great*, was the firſt who took upon her to repudiate her huſband, whoſe example was ſoon followed by others, mentioned by the ſame author (28).

(27) *Vid. Moſ. Kotz, ſol.* 133. *& Mſ. Ægypt. part.* ii. *fol.* 59. *Seld. Burt. & Goodw. ubi ſup.*

(28) *Ant. l.* xv. *c.* 11. xviii. 7. xx. 15, *& in vit. ſua.*

THE ſtealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of *Moſes* (Y); and whether the ſtolen perſons had been ſold, or were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the thief, he was to be put to death [x]. All other theft was puniſhed by reſtitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature of the theft; only the man, that broke into an houſe in the night to rob, might be with impunity killed, though not in the day-time [y]. He that ſtole an ox, was to reſtore five oxen; if a ſheep, or a goat, four ſheep, or four goats [z]; but if he had neither killed nor ſold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one [a]. In caſe the thief had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the proſecutor, if he was an *Iſraelite*, to ſell him, but not if he was a proſelyte of any kind; neither could the former ſell him to any but to an *Iſraelite*. If he had a wife and children, they might likewiſe be ſold with him, till ſatisfaction was made to the offended; at leaſt it ſeems to have been ſo underſtood, and practiſed, by the *Jews*, in caſes of debt, though *Moſes* mentions none here but the thief (Z).

WHEN

[x] Exod. xxi. 16. [y] Ibid. xxii. 2. [z] Ibid. ver. 1. [a] Ibid. ver. 4.

(Y) The *Jews*, however, confine it to the ſtealing of an *Iſraelite*, and not without ſome ground; becauſe *Moſes*, in another place (29), expreſſes it, *If a man be found ſtealing any of his brethren, of the children of* Iſrael; which exception the *Targum* of *Onkelos* (30), and the *Septuagint*, have added, alſo, to the text in *Exodus*. *Abenezra* doth even underſtand it of children that cannot ſpeak. As for the ſtealing of ſtrangers, the offender was not to be put to death, according to them, but only to make reſtitution.

(Z) This may be gathered from the words of the prophet *Eliſha* (31) to the widow; and from the parable in the goſpel, where the creditor commands the wife and children, as well as the inſolvent debtor, to be ſold, and payment to be made (32). As ſoon as a ſufficient equivalent had been made by ſervitude, they were to be reſtored to their freedom again, tho' by another law (33): but if the thief was unmarried, and his maſter gave him a wife during the time of his ſervitude, the children that he had by her were his maſter's property. On this law they engrafted another, agreeing to ſhorten a married man's ſervitude, on condition he begat a certain number of ſlaves, for the benefit of his

(29) *Deut.* xxiv. 7. (30) *In Exod.* xxi. 16. (31) 2 *Kings* iv. 1
(32) *Mat.* xviii. 25. (33) *Exod.* xxi. 3.

creditor,

WHEN a man was ſuſpected of theft, and the proſecutor had not ſufficient proof againſt him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him, and thoſe whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they could be afterwards proved forſworn, they were put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The ſame law reached, alſo, to the receiver or concealer of ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch [h]; for ſo they underſtood the words, *He ſhall bear his iniquity* (A). All kind of uſury, creditor, upon ſome woman whom his maſter gave him; with this pretended proviſo, however, that he ſhould not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due. In caſes of petty larcenies the laws ſeem ſtill more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous, according to that of *Solomon, A thief is not deſpiſed that ſtealeth to ſatisfy his hunger; but if he be found, he ſhall reſtore ſeven-fold, he ſhall give all the ſubſtance of his houſe* (34): where the word *ſeven-fold* means only more or leſs, according to the theft, as far as his whole ſubſtance would reach. It is plain, however, that the law of *Moſes* was far enough from countenancing ſuch kind of theft, ſince it allowed a man, in caſes of extreme want, to ſell himſelf to ſome maſter for any term of years, even to that of the *jubilee* (35). He was even permitted to ſell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer ſhould marry her, or, if he did not, that ſhe ſhould be redeemed by the higheſt bidder that would (36).

(A) All theſe kind of matters were to be tried before the judges of the place where the fact was done; and it was left to them, in many caſes, to appoint the fines and puniſhments of the offender, according to the nature and circumſtances of the fact: only the *Jews* add, that if the thief came and accuſed himſelf, and reſtored the ſtolen goods, he was not to have any further puniſhment; becauſe, ſay they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himſelf (37). *Moſes* gave them, alſo, many other wholſome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time; ſuch as cattle, houſhold-goods, garments, and the like; in caſe they came to be loſt, or damaged (38); which we ſhall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that, in all caſes where any ſatisfaction was made, the perſon wronged, or his next heir, was the only perſon intitled to it: but if he died without heirs, then the prieſt might claim it as his due.

[h] Levit. v. 1.

(34) *Prov.* vi. 30, 31. (35) *Levit.* xxv. 39, 40. (36) *Exod.* xxi. 7, *& ſeq.* (37) *Vide Maim. tract. genubab, l.* 1. *ex. Exod.* xxii. 9. (38) *Exod.* xxii. 7, *& ſeq.*

Usury. usury, whether of money, grain, apparel, &c. was likewise forbid by the law of *Moses*, in more places than one, from one *Israelite* to another; in which cases, the usurer might be compelled, by the judges, to refund the ill-gotten wealth. They were commanded, on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to support and assist him with such things as he needed, without proposing to themselves any other advantage, by so doing, than the blessing of GOD attending it [n]: but of strangers, that is, of the *gentiles*, they were permitted to take some usury [o]; yet so as not to oppress them by too great extortion, or, indeed, in any other way: for, in such cases, the stranger is put upon the same foot with the fatherless and the widow, whose protector GOD every-where declares himself, with very severe threatenings, against those who were wanting in kindness and hospitality towards them [p] (B).

All kind of oppression.

Laws

[n] Exod. xxii. 25, & seq. Levit. xxv. 36, & seq. Deut. xxiii. 19. [o] Ibid. ver. 20. [p] Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & seq. & alib.

He likewise forbad not only the use of false weights and measures (39), but, also, all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandising, and all other dealings between man and man (40). Even in bargains the rule was, that, if the price was above one sixth part more or less than the true value of the thing sold, the party wrong'd might make the other refund the overplus.

(B) Oppressing of servants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining their wages, though but one night (41); denying them necessary food and respite (42); private mischiefs, such as misleading the blind, or even another's cattle (43); removing of land-marks (44); digging of pits and leaving them uncovered (45); and many more of the like nature; were likewise reckoned enormous crimes: which, if found out, were cognisable by the judges, who were impowered to cause suitable satisfaction to be made; if not, there were terrible curses denounced against the transgressors by GOD, from whose all-seeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whose justice they could not escape unpunished. Taking things in pledge from the indigent, of which they stood in constant need; such as their garments, bed-cloaths, the nether or upper mill-stone, and the like; was no less forbidden.

(39) *Deut.* xxv. 13, *& seq.* (40) *Levit.* xix. 11. xxv. 14, *& alib.*
(41) *Ibid.* xix. 13. *Deut.* xxiv. 14, 15. (42) *Ibid.* v. 14. xxv. 4.
(43) *Levit.* xix. 14. (44) *Deut.* xix. 14. (45) *Exod.* xxi. 33.

The

Laws againſt falſe witneſs.

THE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour* [y]. *Falſe witneſs.* Wherein we ſhall only obſerve, that the word which our verſions render *ſpeak*, ſignifies, according to the original, to anſwer to an interrogation, ſuch as the judges exacted from perſons ſummoned to give evidence in any caſes that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the teſtimony of two or three witneſſes, eſpecially in capital caſes, a ſingle one not being ſufficient to condemn any man [z] (C).

Laws againſt coveting another's property.

THE tenth precept of the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, wife,* &c [a]. is juſtly eſteemed, by the *Jewiſh* doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the ſecond table; and he that obſerves this, is in no danger of breaking the reſt. Whether

[y] Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. [z] Deut. xvii. 6.
[a] Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21.

The perſon ſo oppreſſed might appeal to the judge, and he cauſe them to be reſtored: but we do not find, that any other puniſhment was ordain'd againſt the delinquent (46). We omit ſeveral other laws of the ſame nature, which the reader may ſee among their negative precepts (47).

(C) To deter men, therefore, as much as poſſible, from giving falſe evidence, the law condemned a falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment which he would have inflicted on the innocent (48); and if examined upon oath, and proved forſworn, he was to be put to death, as was hinted before, let the caſe in queſtion be what it would. It required, beſides, of the judges, that they ſhould be very ſtrict in examining the witneſſes (49), their character, and the nature of the evidence; in order to prevent, as far as poſſible, the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent condemned. The *Talmudiſts* have collected ſeveral laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie diſperſed in the writings of *Moſes*, and added ſeveral very judicious expoſitions, for which we ſhall refer the reader to the authors themſelves (50).

(46) *Deut.* xxiv. 10. 17, & *ſeq.* (47) *Vid. præc.* 150, *ad* 196, & *alib. paſſ.* (48) *Deut.* xix. 15, 16, & *ſeq.* (49) *Ibid. ver.* 18. (50) *Tract. ſanhedr. Maim. in eund. præc. neg.* 194, *ad* 218.

the

the antient *Jews* understood it in that strict and refined sense which the gospel doth, or only of such overt acts as tended to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not easy to determine. The *Talmudists*, however, condemn by it the very desire formed and indulged in the heart, though it doth not proceed to action[e].

An abridgment of some other mixed laws relating to food, raiment, planting, sowing, decency, and cleanness; and of such diseases as excluded men from common society.

Against eating of blood.

1. OF all the food prohibited by the *Mosaic* law, blood may be reckoned in the first place, that prohibition being as old as the deluge[f]: for GOD, having, immediately after it, given *Noah* the liberty of eating the flesh of animals, as is most generally supposed[g], forbad, at the same time, under very severe threatenings, the eating not only the blood itself, but the flesh, also, mixed with it; that is, of any animal, either strangled, or killed by any other way than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (D). Accordingly, we find it no less expressly forbidden by *Moses*, in several places, not only to the *Israelites*, but to the strangers that lived among them[h], even under pain of death.

[e] Vid. præc. neg. 158. [f] Gen. ix. 4, & seq. [g] Vid. sup. vol. i. p. 259. [h] Levit. xvii. 10, & seq. Deut. xii. 23, & seq.

(D) The reason given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and design of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowlegement that our privilege for killing, and eating the flesh of those living creatures, is not derived to us from the law of nature, which seems rather to be against it, but from an express permission from the author of nature. And this seems to be the reason why it was not only enforced by the *Mosaic* law, but, also, retained by the gospel, and injoined to its proselytes from *Gentilism* (51). This law, we are told, by a modern traveller (52), is still strictly observed by some eastern churches, not, as our author says, by virtue of the law of *Moses*, but of the apostolic canon, which has been kept, ever since, by the eastern, and, for several ages, by the western church; and confirmed, by several councils, from time to time.

(51) *Vide* Acts xv. 28. (52) *Ludolf. hist. Æthiop. l.* iii. *c.* 1. *num.* 51.

GOD

God ſeems even to put it on the level with ſacrificing one's ſeed to *Moloch*, when he threatens to *ſet his face againſt him that tranſgreſſes* in either caſe; which expreſſion is not uſed in any other prohibition: only, under this typical diſpenſation, God is pleaſed to give a new reaſon for this interdiction; namely, that it is the blood (which is alſo the life) of the victim, that makes atonement for ſin [h]; purſuant to which, the tabernacle, with all its utenſils, was at firſt purified with it; the covenant between God and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there could be no remiſſion for ſin [i]; all which the apoſtle fitly applies to that of Christ under the goſpel [k].

Next to the blood, was forbidden likewiſe the fleſh of a conſiderable number of beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This diſtinction, however, of clean and unclean, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have its origin from the *Moſaic* law, and to have been uſed proleptically, when the divine hiſtorian mentions it even before the flood [l]: but we ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid on that ſubject in another place *; neither ſhall we enter into a nice ſcrutiny about thoſe animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious to the learned *Bochart*'s elaborate treatiſe on that ſubject [m], and mention only the general rule which *Moſes* has given to diſtinguiſh the clean from the unclean [n], which the reader may ſee in the following note (D). *Unclean meats.*

Raiment.

[h] Levit. xvii. 11. [i] Heb. ix. 22, & alib. paſſ.
[k] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeqq. [l] Gen. vii. 2. * Sup. vol. i. p. 239.
[m] Hierozoic. paſſ. [n] Levit, xi. 1, & ſeqq.

(D) Of beaſts, whatever did both chew the cud, and divide the hoof, was to be reckoned clean; and whatever did not both theſe, as the ſwine, which divideth the hoof, but doth not chew the cud, or the camel, hare, rabbet, which chew the cud, and do not part the hoof, was forbidden, as unclean. Of fowl, all carnivorous birds, ſuch as the eagle, vultur, and the like; all that had four feet, and yet flew, as the bat. Of fiſhes, all that had fins and ſcales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of inſects, all that had wings to raiſe itſelf from the earth might be eaten; but whatever did only crawl on the earth, was unclean. Laſtly, the fat of the clean beaſts was forbidden, not becauſe it was unclean, much leſs becauſe it is hard of digeſtion; which is the reaſon ſome authors give for this, and

Raiment. RAIMENT. *Moſes* has left no poſitive laws relating to dreſs, except that which belonged to the prieſts, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of GOD[r]. As to thoſe of the negative kind, the two moſt conſiderable are, thoſe which forbid the promiſcuous habit of both ſexes[s], and the weaving of two different ſtuffs, ſuch as linen and woolen, in the ſame garment[t]; the firſt is ſuppoſed to have been deſigned to prevent the ſhameful abuſes which might attend ſuch unnatural diſguiſes, and the ſecond to prevent unnatural and dangerous intermixtures, confuſion, &c. (E).

BUT

[r] Numb. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii. 12. [s] Ibid. ver. 5.
[t] Ibid. ver. 11.

and blood, and ſwines, and other fleſh, being alſo forbid. ſeeing their laborious life and healthy conſtitution made them more capable to digeſt them, than many among ours, and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat of them all, without any inconvenience. But the reaſon is given in the text, namely, becauſe in all ſacrifices, the fat was to be burnt upon the altar, as appertaining unto GOD (1). The fleſh of beaſts torn in pieces, or that died of themſelves, was likewiſe forbidden (2). All that needs to be further added, with reſpect to unclean animals is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcaſes was; inſomuch that even the veſſels and liquors, into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away; the veſſels, whatever they were, muſt be purified, and the perſon who touched them was to waſh himſelf, and be unclean until evening. A well, however, a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it. but only the perſon who took the unclean creature out of them (3).

(E) To the ſame purpoſe are thoſe which relate to ſowing divers ſeeds, or planting divers kind of trees in the ſame field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of cattle, ſuch as an ox and an aſs (4). Cleanneſs and decency, though ſo neceſſary in hot climes, that there needs hardly any law to enforce them, are yet injoined by *Moſes* under ſevere penalties, as well as the neglect of thoſe proper ceremonies, which he had injoined to thoſe who had laboured under any defilement, in order to their purification. We have already ſpoken of this

(1) *Vide Levit.* iii. 14, *& ſeqq.* (2) *Exod.* xxii. 31. *Levit.* xvii. 15.
(3) *Ibid.* xi. 32, *& ſeqq.* (4) *Deut.* xxii. 9, *& ſeqq.*

latter

But, of all the diſeaſes mentioned in the laſt note, the leproſy was reckoned the moſt defiling (F); for which reaſon *Leproſy.*

latter under another head, and ſhall only mention the chief of the former: they were ſuch as forbid all matrimonial commerce for one certain time after child-birth; during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakneſs of that kind; in men, nocturnal pollutions, running ſores, ulcers, gonorrheas, and ſuch-like; whatever was touched by any perſon ſo defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utenſil, was alſo to be deemed unclean, and to defile thoſe that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both ſexes likewiſe, the touching of a dead body, carcaſe, or any unclean thing, had the ſame effect.

(F) *Moſes* diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of leproſy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houſes. The firſt of theſe is a cuticular diſeaſe, not unlike an inveterate itch or ſcurvy, which occaſions a violent itching pain; and whether cauſed by ſome prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corroſive vitrioline ſalts (though the former ſeems the moſt probable), will in time corrode the fleſh, even to the bone. We ſhall not diſguſt our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that diſtemper (42); nor with what ſome phyſicians have wrote concerning it; but only obſerve, that it is of a much more corroſive and dangerous nature in hot climates than in cold ones. They obſerve three kinds, or rather degrees of it. The firſt of theſe, namely, whilſt it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be eaſily cured: the ſecond, when it has communicated itſelf to the blood, cannot be maſtered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and phyſic: the laſt, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itſelf, and corroded the ſolid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, Monſieur *Tournefort*, who had ſeen it in the *Levant*, thinks it rather a kind of venereal diſeaſe; and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the ſame method. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leproſy muſt have been ſufficiently known by the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, ſince *Moſes* ſpeaks both of the diſeaſe and its marks, as of things which were plain and obvious.

The leproſy of the garments is ſuppoſed to have been owing to ſome defect in the management of the wool, ſkins, and ſtuffs, of which they were made; thoſe manufactures being then very imperfect. The heat of the climate, and perhaps many other things, might contribute ſtill more towards it. *Moſes* has likewiſe deſcribed the marks of this kind of leproſy: they were ſpots, either of a reddiſh or greeniſh hue,

(42) *Vide Levit.* xiii. *per tot.*

which

reason those, who were infected with it, were forced to live separate from the rest, till they were cured; monarchs themselves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the instance of king *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, as he is called in the *Chronicles*, who, having too far intruded into the priestly office [w], was smitten with an incurable leprosy, deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And, indeed, one kind of it was of so infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be used to prevent its spreading; insomuch that even those that died of it were buried separately from the rest [x]; as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eye-sore, than an infectious disease (G).

And

[w] Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5. & 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, & seqq. [x] Ib. ver. ult.

which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woolen, or of skins. In these cases they were to be brought to the priests, and according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be washed and cleaned, or the spots to be cut out, and the rest declared clean and wholsome. This garment-leprosy is likewise supposed to be a kind of worm, which breeds in those stuffs, occasioned by the oils, grease, and other ingredients used in the dressing of them.

The same may be said of the leprosy of houses; in the morter and stones of which, another sort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected; there were some others besides, which were a kind of rust or scurf, that spread itself along the walls. In all these cases, the priests were directed to shut the house up for a week; and it is probable, they made some kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it; else we cannot see how the bare shuting it up could contribute to the cure. If, upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean; if not, they caused them to be scraped off everywhere, and the house to be shut up another seven days; and if that did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demolished, and such materials of it only to be preserved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in some other place (43).

(G) The priests were the proper judges both of the disease and of the cure; concerning which *Moses* gave them several plain directions, though

(43) *Levit.* xiii. 47, *& seqq.* & xiv. *per tot. Vide journal des Scavants, ann.* 1668. *Calmet, dissert. prefix. at the head of his comment. on Levit.*

AND here we ſhall beg leave to mention a ſtory which *Manetho*, and ſeveral other heathen writers after him [d], have advanced, with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, againſt the *Jews*; and which, though every one of them tells in his own way, doth, in the main, amount to this: that the land of *Egypt* being grievouſly infected with the leproſy, king *Bochorus* was adviſed by the oracle to ſend all the lepers into a deſert place, where they might periſh with want. This was accordingly done; and the lepers being come to the deſolate place, *Moſes* obſerved, by tracing the footſteps of a wild aſs, a ſpot, where they might dig for water to refreſh their thirſt; which they being revived with, choſe him for their guide, and were by him

[d] MANETH. ap. Joſeph. cont. Apion. TACIT. JUST. ex Trog. PLUTARCH. & al.

we find not that he preſcribed any remedy againſt it, becauſe, as the *Jews* think, it was an immediate judgment from GOD(43). The ſame they affirm alſo of the leproſy of houſes and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the *Iſraelites*, and to the land of *Judea* (44); becauſe GOD had promiſed to them, that whilſt they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houſes, and garments, ſhould be preſerved from that diſeaſe; but, when they proved ſtubborn and rebellious, he would ſend it as a puniſhment upon them (45).

When the prieſt had pronounced a man infected with leproſy, he was not only ſecluded from the ſociety of clean perſons, but obliged to go bareheaded, with his cloaths rent, and his upper lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting others by his breath. But one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they had places in which they lived together, and made a kind of community among themſelves. Accordingly, we read of four of them that went together out of ſome quarter of *Samaria* into the *Aſſyrian* camp, when the famine raged in the city (46); and of ten in the goſpel, who applied themſelves in a body to CHRIST to be healed by him (47). Perſons, garments, and houſes, being cured of this diſtemper, were to be further purified by the prieſt. We have already ſpoken of the ſacrifices which were to be offered upon this occaſion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies, which were injoined by *Moſes*, we ſhall refer our reader to the two aforequoted chapters of *Leviticus*, where he may ſee a full account of them.

(43) *It. rabbin. ſcr. omn. & Theodor. quæſt.* 12. *in Levit.* (44) *Mel. Geruns. Racanat. Abr. Sephorad. & al.* (45) *Vide Marſh. in Levit.* xiii. 1 *ſeq.* (46) 2 *Kings* vii. 3, 8. (47) *Luke* xvii. 12.

conducted,

conducted, and settled in *Canaan*, in the space of seven days; in memory of which, he ordered the seventh day to be a day of rest, and forbad the eating of swines flesh, because that creature is very subject to the leprosy. They add, that in memory of their kind benefactor, the ass that saved their lives, he commanded an ass's head to be set up, and worshiped in their temple. This story, which is false and ridiculous in every particular, is sufficiently confuted by *Josephus*; and the care which *Moses* took, with respect to this distemper, sufficiently shews, that, at least, the far greater part of the *Israelites* were free from it at their coming out of *Egypt*; else it would have been impossible to have segregated them from the rest, and to have forced these laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of those who were free from it (H).

II. *Of the customs, learning, arts, and trade of the* Jews.

Ceremonies at circumcision. THEIR customs, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greatest part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we shall have the less to say here, especially considering the barrenness of the subject, for want of books and authors, of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered, concerning their customs at weddings and festivals: we shall now say something of those that were used at births, and feasts; to which we shall add a short account of some of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worship; of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies used at burials. It may be remembered, that circumcision was not injoined by the *Mosaic* law, but by virtue of the express

(H) This body of laws, out of which we have omitted a considerable number of less moment, besides several others, which we have avoided repeating here, because they will be occasionally mentioned in other places, is not only secured by a clause, which expressly forbids the adding or diminishing any thing from it (48); but their obedience to them is likewise enforced by the most cogent promises and threatenings, interspersed through the whole, besides a strict charge, injoining the *Levites* to instruct the people, and parents their children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

(48) *Deut.* iv. 2. xii. 32.

command

command given to *Abraham*. But neither hath ordained any thing, either with reſpect to the perſon by whom, nor with what inſtrument, nor in what manner the ceremony was to be performed; but only, that the foreskin ſhould be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himſelf, or to have ſome other perſon, whether a prieſt, ſurgeon, or any expert friend to do it for him. And, in this laſt caſe, it was always looked upon as a high compliment to be choſen to that office. The inſtrument was generally a knife, or razor, made of ſome kind of ſtone, as being leſs dangerous than thoſe of ſteel; the uſe of which they might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who opened the bodies with them, which were to be embalmed [f]. They were not obliged to carry the child to the ſynagogue, much leſs to the temple, but had him circumciſed at home. Here the father, or ſome friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilſt the operator took the prepuce, either with one hand, or with pincers made for that purpoſe, and with the other cut off the foreſkin, whilſt another held a porringer filled with ſand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood. He then applied his mouth to the place, and, having ſucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and ſpit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw ſome ſtyptic powder upon the wound, and dreſſed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were uſed upon ſuch occaſions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we ſhall have occaſion to mention it under another article; to which they added, no doubt, ſome prayers and bleſſings. At preſent, the operator, having dreſſed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing theſe words of the prophet, *Live in thy blood* [g], repeats the cxxviiith pſalm, and wiſhes his parents joy, and that they may thus aſſiſt at his wedding [h]. But how old theſe cuſtoms are, we cannot warrant: all that can be added is, that this ceremony was uſually accompanied with great rejoicing and feaſting; and it was at that time that the child uſed to be named by the parents, in the preſence of the com-

[f] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 86. [g] Ezek. xvi. 6. [h] De his vide Fag. in Deut. x. Mos. Kotz, in tract. de circumciſ. fol. 115. Maim. tract. circumciſ. c. 1, & 2. Buxtorf. ſyn. Jud. c. 4, & alib. Quandt. de cultris circumciſ. Hebr.

pany [i] (A). These names, how harsh soever they may sound in our ears, were generally significant of something relating to the parents, or the child, or to some other circumstances of time (B).

THEIR

[i] Luke i. 59.

(A) The *Jews* did afterwards add several other superstitious customs, such as placing three stools, one for the circumciser, the second for the person that held the child, and the third for *Elijah*, who, they say, assisted invisibly at the ceremony (49); writing the words *Adam* and *Eve*, *Lillith*, *be gone hence*, upon pieces of parchment, and sticking them to the four walls of the room, as also the names of three friendly angels, to preserve the child from the power of *Lillith*, who, according to them, was *Adam*'s first wife; and, being parted from him, used to vent her spleen against women in child-birth, and new-born children, especially males (50). They had likelikewise taken it into their heads to circumcise children after their death, if they had not been so before, in order to avoid the curse pronounced against those that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon *Moses* at the inn (51); but they content themselves now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave, with the body. But these the wiser sort among them have long since disused, as ridiculous and superstitious. The custom of godfathers, or, as they call them, בעל ברית, *babal-berith*, master of the convent, has been of antient use (52); his office was to hold the child, during the operation. They think, that *Uriah* the high-priest, and *Zechariah*, the son of *Jeberchiah*, stood godfathers to *Isaiah*'s son *Maher-shallal-hashbash* (53). As for the operation, *Maimon* (54) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumcised servant, or a woman, *&c.* in the absence of a man, unless she be a gentile; though, even if such an one should perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated.

(B) The devouter part used to join the names of GOD, *Jah* and *El*, to that of the child; thus, *Abijah* signifies GOD my father, and *Zechariah*, the memorial of the LORD: *Uzziel* and *Daniel*, the strength or judgment of GOD. Some had a quite different meaning, as *Ishboshetb*, the man of shame; *Mephiboshetb*, shame of the mouth. Others were taken from living creatures: *Tzipor*, a bird; *Rachel*, a sheep; *Chamor*, an ass; *Nachash*, a serpent; *Tamar*, a palm-tree; and the like: and *Eli*'s daugh-

(49) *Vide Christ. Cast. in Malach.* iv. (50) *Vide Leo. de Mod. pt.* iv. *c.* 8. (51) *Exod.* iv. 24. (52) *Vide Elia. Tishbit. in* סנרק. (53) *Vide Jun. & Tremel. in Isai.* viii. (54) *Tract.* מילה, *p.* 114.

THEIR feaſtings (if we except thoſe that were commanded or permitted by the law, or uſed at births, marriages, and ſuch-like occaſions) were neither many nor ſumptuous, becauſe theſe came ſo often about, and laſted ſo long, that they could hardly have time for more. As for the cuſtoms and ceremonies uſed at them, we ſhall only pick out ſuch as bear an analogy with any paſſages in the goſpel (C).

THESE firſt ceremonies being over, the maſter of the houſe began to crave a bleſſing, if there was no ſtranger, nor any perſon of a ſuperior rank [q]; for, in this caſe, he complimented him with that office (D). He then took a cup full of wine, and, having bleſſed the creator of the vine, *Bleſſing.*

[q] Vide 1 Sam. ix. 13.

ter-in-law called her ſon *Icabod, where is the glory?* when ſhe heard, that the ark was taken by the *Philiſtines* (55).

As for daughters, as they were not circumciſed, ſo there was no other ceremony uſed, that we can find, than giving them a name, unleſs it were, that when the mother was purified, the prieſts did beſtow a bleſſing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is uſed to this day (†).

(C) Theſe were the ſaluting of the gueſts, waſhing their feet, anointing with oil, the grace or bleſſing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and dimiſſing the company. The firſt ſalutation was performed to ſuperiors, by bowing down to the ground, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did to their heavenly gueſts (56), or by a kiſs or embrace to a familiar. In the two former inſtances, we have likewiſe a form of invitation, and the ceremony of waſhing the feet, which *Joſeph* ordered alſo to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in *Egypt* (57); and thus *Abigail*, in her great modeſty, anſwered *David*'s ſervants, who came to propoſe marriage from him, "Let the handmaid of "my lord the king be a ſer-"vant to waſh the feet of the "king's ſervants (58);" and to this cuſtom, no doubt, the pſalmiſt alludes, when he calls *Moab* his waſh-pot (59). As for the ceremony of anointing the head, though it was common in all the eaſt, yet we find no inſtance of it before in the goſpel (60), except in that alluſion of the pſalmiſt (61), *Thou haſt prepared a table for me——thou haſt anointed my head with oil.*

(D) This was not to be refuſed upon any pretence; for they believed, that he, who

(55) 1 *Sam.* iv. 21. (†) *Leo de Modern. cærem. Jud. pt.* iv. *c.* 8. *Godwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib.* vi. *c.* 1. (56) *Gen.* xviii. 2. xix. 1. (57) *Gen.* xliii. 24. (58) 1 *Sam.* xxv. 41. (59) *Pſ.* cviii. 9. (60) *Matt.* xxvi. 7. *Luke* vii. 46. (61) *Pſ.* xxiii. 5.

vine, he ſipped a little of it, and gave it to the next perſon, till it had gone round. This was called the ברכת היין, *birkath hajajin*, the bleſſing of the wine. Our Saviour is obſerved by St. *Luke* to have begun with it, and diſtributed it among the twelve, at his laſt ſupper[r]. From thence he paſſed to the bleſſing and breaking of the bread, and diſtributing it to the gueſts. This is what CHRIST likewiſe did to the apoſtles, and it was called the bleſſing of the bread[s]. As ſoon as they had done eating, the ſame perſon, who had craved the bleſſing, was obliged to give thanks, in which all the reſt joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called the bleſſing of plenty. Our Saviour is ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the ſacrament in this laſt cup[t] (E). However, it is likely, that ſome of theſe laſt ceremonies were only uſed at ſome of their grand feſtivals, eſpecially that or the paſſover; though the firſt was ſeldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their cuſtom was to ſit at meat, or lie down, is a controverſy of more nicety than moment. However, to us, the former ſeems moſt probable, at leaſt, before the captivity. We read, that *Joſeph* made his

[r] Luke xxii. 17. [s] Vide DRUS. in Nov. Teſt. pt. ult. & GOODW. ubi ſup. lib. iii. c. 2. §. 15. [t] Vide FAG. in præc. Hebr.

refuſed to crave a bleſſing, ſhortened his own days. But the maſter of the houſe was allowed, by way of civility, to ſet even an inferior to perform that office (62).

(E) In this cup of thankſgiving they bleſſed GOD, 1. For their preſent refreſhment. 2. For their deliverance out of *Egypt*. 3. For the covenant of circumciſion. And, 4. For the law given by *Moſes*. After this they prayed, that GOD would be merciful, 1. To his people *Iſrael*. 2. To his *Jeruſalem*. 3. To his *Sion*, the reſidence of his majeſty. 4. To the kingdom of *David*. 5. That he would ſend the prophet *Elijah*. And, 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the *Meſſiah*. The ceremony ended with a pſalm proper to the occaſion. They have added, ſince, ſeveral other niceties, not worth mentioning (63). It is plain, however, that ſome of theſe ceremonies were added ſince the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to ſay, how many of the others were in uſe before that time; but we hope the affinity they bear to ſome of the goſpel inſtitutions, will be apology ſufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(62) *Joſ. Karo. Maklıan baruk. n.* 201.

(63) *Vide Seb. Munſt. in Matt.* xxvi.

brethren

brethren ſit down to eat with him [u]; and *David* ſaid to *Jonathan*, *To-morrow* —— *I ſhould ſit*, or, as the original has it, *ſitting*, *I ſhould ſit down at meat with the king* [x]; though we own, that, in our Saviour's time, the cuſtom was altered into that of lying down (F). *Sitting down.*

THEIR high-places were of two ſorts, either thoſe where they only worſhiped the true GOD, by burning incenſe, and offering ſacrifices to him; or ſuch in which they ſerved ſtrange gods, and committed the moſt horrid wickedneſs in their worſhip. Both theſe became ſo common and univerſal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilſt many others, though otherwiſe commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed (G). *High-places.*

BESIDES

[u] Gen. xliii. 33.

[x] 1 Sam. xx. 5.

(F) The verb is יָשַׁב, *jaſhab*, which is always uſed for ſitting, whether at meat, on a throne, or the like; and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expreſſed by that of שָׁכַב, *ſhacab*. As to their tables, they ſeem to have been of a round, or oval figure, becauſe it is often joined to the verb סָבַב, *ſavaſ*, to ſurround, to ſit, or ſtand round. Thus it is ſaid by *Samuel* (64) לֹא נָסֹב, *we will not ſit down*, or rather, *round, till he come*: and the pſalmiſt ſays, *thy children ſhall be like olive-branches round about thy table* (65). We do not pretend, indeed, that this argument is altogether concluſive, ſeeing the word סָבִיב, *ſaviſ*, *round about*, is made uſe of by *Moſes*, where he ſpeaks of a ſquare table; as when he commands the prieſts to ſprinkle the blood of the victim round about the altar, though it was of a ſquare form (66).

The command of pulling off their ſhoes or ſandals ſeems implied in that of eating the paſſover with them on. We ſhall only add, that, upon theſe and all ſuch occaſions, hoſpitality and liberality had been ſo ſtrongly recommended to them by their lawgiver, and enforced by the examples of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and other patriarchs, and the many bleſſings attending it, that they became very conſpicuous for it, ſeldom or never failing, at ſuch times eſpecially, to make the *Levites*, the fatherleſs, widows, and ſtrangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feaſt, or ſending them ſome portions of their good chear.

(G) The firſt of theſe, tho' leſs criminal, and ſeemingly countenanced by the examples of *Samuel*, *David*, *Eliſha*, and other inſpired perſons, were nevertheleſs expreſly forbidden by GOD, unleſs it were

(64) 1 *Sam.* xvi. 11. 6, *Segq.* & *Exod.* xxvii. *paſſ.*

(65) *Pſ.* cxxviii. 3.

(66) *Conf. Levit.* i.

Divinations.

BESIDES these abominable idolatries, or rather, in consequence of them, they gave themselves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practised among the heathen, though as expresly and distinctly forbid by the law of *Moses*, as the former. These were of various kinds. *Moses* expresses them in the terms following [b], *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the fire, or that useth divinations, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (H).

GAMES

[b] Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

done by his own command: but as to the last, it is certain, nothing could be more expresly forbid, or more severely threatened, we may say, punished; notwithstanding which, *Joshua* had been scarcely dead above twenty years, ere they began to relapse into it (67). This defection began about the times of *Othniel* and *Ehud*, and increased so fast, and spread so wide, that it would be endless to enumerate their false deities, and the places dedicated to their worship, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practised in them. But our design is not to dwell upon this subject, having already spoken of it in the histories of those nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be sufficient to observe upon the whole, that they adopted the false gods of all those nations, in the midst of whom they lived, and set up altars and idols to them upon every hill and *high-places* from which they came to be called by that name; that the sun, moon, and stars were of the number of their gods, and that, as the rites of those false deities became more and more shameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themselves to set up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become useless in that hellish commerce, finding out a way of prostituting themselves, as it were, at second hand, by furnishing the infamous votaries with all kind of conveniences (68). *Solomon* is justly branded in Scripture for having brought this evil to its greatest height, by the multitude of his strange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till *Josiah*'s reign, that is, about 369 years after (69).

(H) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the most inhuman of all, was that of passing their children through the fire. This rite seems to

(67) *Vide Judges* iii. 5, *& seqq.* (68) *Ezek.* xiii. 17, *& seqq. & alib.*
(69) 1 *Kings* iii. 2, *& seqq.* xi. 1, *& seqq.* xiv. 23, 24, *& alib. pass.*

have

GAMES may, for aught appears, be ſaid to have been the only cuſtom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours; at leaſt, which they did not introduce

have been peculiar to *Moloch*, who is therefore alſo called ענמלך, *anamalech*, from ענה, *anah*, to anſwer, becauſe he gave anſwers to all thoſe who conſulted him by this rite, either by his prieſts, or by dreams (70). We ſhall not attempt to deſcribe thoſe various kinds of divination, either from the text, or from commentators, but only obſerve in general, that the chief of them were performed firſt, by conſulting the ſtars, clouds, ſigns, tokens, and the like. This ſeems the meaning of the word מנחש, *menacheſh* here, which is nevertheleſs ſometimes uſed in a good ſenſe. Thus *Laban* ſays to *Jacob*, נחשתי, *nachaſhti*, I have obſerved or experienced, that GOD has bleſſed me for thy ſake (71). *Joſeph* makes uſe of the ſame verb, ſpeaking of his divining-cup (72); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of ſo favourable a ſenſe. However, as the word נחש ſignifies properly a ſerpent, *Bochart* has alſo given us an account of ſeveral divinations that were performed by means of thoſe creatures (73). 2. Another way was by familiar ſpirits, which the *Hebrew* calls אובות, *oboth*, ſuch as the witch of *Endor* is ſaid to have had. 3. דורש אל המתים, *Interrogating the dead*, which the *Septuagint* render ἐπερωτῶν τὺς νεκρές. This is what the ſame witch did for *Saul*, from which one would be apt to conclude theſe two to be much the ſame. 4. The מכשף *mekaſheph* may be properly enough rendered, by *legerdemain*, one who deceives the ſight, and impoſes upon the beholders; ſuch are reaſonably ſuppoſed, thoſe whom *Pharaoh* ſet againſt *Moſes* (74), who are there called מכשפים *makſhaphim*, and are ſaid to have imitated ſome of his wonders בלהטיהם *Belahatehem*, which word ſeems derived from להט, which ſignifies a flame, or the glittering of a ſpear or lance, becauſe it dazzles the ſight. The *Septuagint*, however, have tranſlated it φαρμακὰς, *apothecaries*, and the *Latins*, *veneſica*, *poiſoner*. 5. The חובר, *chover*, may alſo be properly rendered a *mutterer*, from חבר, *chavar*, to gather, couple, or aſſociate, becauſe he ſpeaks with his lips joined (75), and is therefore rendered רשין by *Onkelos*. To theſe the prophets have added ſome few others, ſuch as conſulting by *teraphims*, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beaſts (76), by ſtocks and ſtaves (77), and ſuch-like; ſeveral of which were even forbid under pain of death. But ſuch was their invincible itch

(70) *Vide Maim. & Abarban. in leg.* 170. (71) *Gen.* xxx. 27. (72) *Ibid.* xliv. 5, 15. (73) *Hierozoic. lib.* i. *c.* 3. *pt.* 1. (74) *Exod.* vii. 11, *& alib. paſſ.* (75) *Beker. monde enchanté.* (76) *Ezek.* xxi. 21. (77) *Hoſ.* iv. 12.

duce into their commonwealth. They had not so much as a name for them, but what doth properly signify, to laugh [e], play [f], toy [g], and such-like innocent amusements. Even *Solomon* himself, who had imitated, or rather outdone the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himself in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the sons of men [h], some of which were near of kin to these, as his singers and musicians of both sexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard, or of the theatre; neither do the Scriptures any-where speak of them (I).

[e] Vide Gen. xviii. 12, & alib. pass. [f] Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. [g] Gen. xxvi. 8. [h] Ecclesiast. ii. 8.

of prying into futurity, that they left none of them untried: at least the prophets do generally upbraid them with resorting to those who practised them.

(I) If we may believe the *Talmudists*, and other *Jewish* commentators, all kinds of games, spectacles, *&c.* were not only forbid, but abhorred by all good *Israelites*, by reason of the mischiefs which had befallen those who had ventured to be present at those of their neighbouring nations. The *Talmud* utterly condemns being present at any theatrical representations (71): they give several reasons, which we shall omit, because they are not over-modest; and R. *Simeon Ben-paki* is there affirmed to have rendered the first words of the first psalm, *Blessed is the man who hath not set his foot in a theatre*, &c. It seems rather, that their solemn festivals served them instead of all such kind of spectacles and diversions; and indeed, if we consider the frequency and magnificence of them, especially, after the building of the temple, we shall not wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all we meet with in the writings of the antient fathers, such as *Tertullian* (72) and St. *Cyprian*, both in his second epistle to *Donatus*, and in his book *de spectaculis*, if that piece be really his, which is somewhat doubtful, by reason of the difference of stile; all agree in this, that the *Israelites* never admitted any such games among them. It even appears from Mr. *Selden*, that games of hazard, such as dice, tables, and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that resulted from a contract, which depended upon chance. The same they likewise affirmed of such who made a gain of exposing beasts or fowls to fight one with another (73).

(71) *Tract.* עבורה זרה, *fol.* 18. (72) *Lib. de spectac. & apolog.* c. 38. (73) *Jus nat. & nat. lib.* vi. c. 11.

THEIR

THEIR diverſions ſeem to have conſiſted chiefly in eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic. At leaſt they are thoſe which good old *Barzillai* ſeems to bewail his incapacity for [l]; and for the exceſs of which they were often blamed by the prophets [m]. The Scriptures do often expreſs the ſimplicity of their happy lives, by ſitting, and eating and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree. But even theſe diverſions could not be very frequent, unleſs it were upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions as we have mentioned before, or at their ſheep-ſhearing, harveſt, and vintage; becauſe they would elſe have had but little time to have minded their country affairs. Whether they uſed hunting, fowling, fiſhing, and ſuch-like, we will not pretend to ſay; but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, *&c.* *Diverſions.*

THEIR diet, except on feſtivals, ſeems to have been very plain. *Boaz*, a mighty man, complimented *Ruth* with *drinking of the ſame water, eating of the ſame bread, and dipping her morſel in the vinegar with him* [n]. Even the preſent of victuals which were brought to *David* and his men, whilſt he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly ſeveral kinds of pulſe, ſome parched corn, bread, and flour, ſome dried raiſins and figs, honey, butter, cheeſe, oil, and a few fatted beaſts [o]. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, ſome in ovens, ſome upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, ſome with, and ſome without oil; they often uſed parched corn inſtead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciouſneſs [p], and the fleece of the flocks, and the milk of the goats, were thought by the wiſe man ſufficient for food and raiment, both for the maſter and his family [q]. *Diet.*

HIGH titles were unknown among them, unleſs thoſe which implied ſome office, ſuch as general, treaſurer, recorder, and the like. They valued themſelves more upon their genealogies, which is the reaſon why one man's name had five or ſix of his anceſtors, and ſometimes more, tacked to it. Some regard was likewiſe had to the diſtinction of tribes or families: as for inſtance; to thoſe of the prieſts and *Levites*, upon a religious account; to that of *Judah*, by reaſon of the ſceptre being promiſed to *Titles.*

[l] 2 Sam. xix. 35. [m] Iſai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 5, & ſeqq. [n] Ruth ii. 9, 14. [o] 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28, 29, & alib. [p] Vide Pſ. xix. 10, & alib. paſſ. [q] Prov. xxvii. 26, 27.

it; and to that of *Ephraim*, out of reſpect to *Joſeph*'s memory. The ſame reſpect was likewiſe paid in every tribe to thoſe who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general; and next to theſe, old men, of what tribe or branch ſoever, were had in great veneration (K).

Diſeaſes rare among them.

THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulneſs of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vaſt number of thoſe diſeaſes, which have been ſince uſhered into the world by luxury and ſloth. It is for this reaſon that we read of ſo few, if any diſeaſes among them, much leſs of phyſicians, except ſuch as are now known by the name of ſurgeons, whom the antient *Greeks*, as well as the *Hebrews*, called phyſicians, or healers. Thus the *Moſaic* law condemned the man who wounded another, to pay, amongſt other things, the ſalary of the phyſician (L).

(K) The name of old man, or elder, as our verſion renders it, ſeems all along to imply ſomething of dignity in the *Moſaic* writings; and their experience and gravity ſeem to have intitled them to be the proper perſons to take cogniſance, and to judge, of all important matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the reſpect of the younger ſort upon that account. But this reſpect did not conſiſt in giving to them, or indeed to any man, how great ſoever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a ſubmiſſive approach and behaviour, and in a reſpectful phraſe peculiar to the *Hebrew*; in which, though the ſecond perſon was always uſed even to a prince, yet the ſpeaker always expreſſed himſelf in the third, with the addition of ſervant or handmaid: *Let thy ſervant ſpeak a word*, inſtead of, *Let me ſpeak —— behold thy ſervant* or *handmaid*, for, *here am I*. The women, whether becauſe they were more baſhful and timorous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were ſtill more remarkable for the modeſt turn of their expreſſions, and the humbleneſs of their behaviour (1).

(L) Such were thoſe whom king *Aſah* is blamed for his too great confidence in, when he laboured with a diſtemper in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whoſe ſkill extended no further than outward applications; for we read nothing, in the ſacred books, of purges, ſweats, vomits, diet-drinks, and other ſuch evacuating medicines, tho' often of plaiſters, ointments, bandages, and ſuch-like. This ſeems indeed the reaſon of their living ſo long, as well as of their being ſo healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

(1) *Vide Ruth* ii. 13. 1 *Sam.* i. 15, 16. xxv. 23, & *ſeqq.* & *alib.*

THEIR

Mourning.

THEIR mourning was, for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortunes, either public or private; and was expreſſed in both caſes much after the ſame manner; not with ſuch formalities as are uſed among us, which hardly reach beyond the outſide; but by ſuch as expreſſed all the tokens of inward grief, or at leaſt would be apt to cauſe a real one in thoſe, who were oblig'd to go through ſuch a ſeries of mournful ceremonies. The firſt ſallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, ſmiting their breaſts, tearing their hair and beards, putting aſhes and dirt upon their heads, inſtead of perfumes (which were quite laid aſide all the time of mourning), going barefoot, putting on ſackcloth next the ſkin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like[r] (M).

Funerals.

THEIR funeral ceremonies were no leſs mournful. As ſoon as a perſon was dead, all the near relations came to the houſe in their mourning habit, and

[r] 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & ſeqq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17.

(M) The neighbouring nations had ſtill more violent ways of expreſſing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and ſcarifying themſelves; but theſe were expreſly forbid by the law of *Moſes* (2). As ſoon as theſe firſt fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloaths for others that were ſtreighter, coarſer, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper garment, to hide their tears; they faſted till ſunſet, and then contented themſelves with the plaineſt diet; kept a profound ſilence, which they never broke, but to utter ſome groans or complaints, or at moſt ſome doleful lamentation (3). Some did even chuſe to lie in the aſhes, or on a dunghil, and to avoid the ſight of any light. This mourning was longer or ſhorter, according to the occaſion; and when it happened for the death of a conſiderable perſon, even a whole month, as was done for *Moſes* and *Aaron* (4); but when it was for an ordinary perſon, or near relation, it laſted but about a week. In public mourning, the people were wont to get up to the top of their houſes, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at leaſt it ſeems probable, that there was ſome ſoch cuſtom, by what the prophet ſays, ſpeaking to *Jeruſalem*, *What aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the houſe-tops?* and ſo on (5): and, ſpeaking elſewhere of the *Moabites*, he ſays (6), *On the tops of their houſes, and in their ſtreets, every one ſhall howl and weep abundantly.*

(2) *Levit.* xix. 28. *Deut.* xiv. 1. *Vide Fag. in loc.* (3) 2 *Sam* i. 17. & *ſeqq.* (4) *Numb.* xx. *ult.* *Deut.* xxxiv. 8. (5) *Iſai.* xxii. 1. (6) *Ibid.* xv. 3.

ſat

ſat down upon the ground, with a mournful ſilence, whilſt another part of the houſe echoed with the voices of mourners, and the ſounds of inſtruments ſuitable to the occaſion, and hired for the purpoſe [b] (N). Theſe laſted till the funeral was over, when the neareſt relations reſumed their melancholy poſture, and continued in it all the time of the mourning, eating, ſitting, and lying upon the ground, and never ſpeaking to any, unleſs ſpoken to (O).

In the mean time, there were proper perſons appointed to make ready the corpſe for the burial. It was looked upon as a duty incumbent on the neareſt relation preſent, to cloſe the eyes of the deceaſed. This cuſtom is taken from God's promiſe to *Jacob*, that his ſon *Joſeph* ſhould perform that office to him [c]. If the perſon was of a conſiderable rank, they

[b] Jerem. ix. 17. [c] Gen. xlvi. 4.

(N) As to the muſical inſtruments, we have no inſtance of their being uſed upon theſe occaſions in the Old Teſtament; only we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (7); and the *Talmudiſts* aſſure us, that it was not only an antient cuſtom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the pooreſt huſband could have no leſs than two of them for his wife (8). Theſe inſtruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, *flutes ſerve either for a bride, or for the dead* (9). As for the hired ſingers, their office was to ſing ſome mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepeſt ſorrow. One of them is elegantly compriſed in few words by one of their rabbies, *Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead; for he is at reſt, and we in tears* (10).

(O) Their very food was unclean, and defiled by thoſe that eat of it (11). They neither made their beds, waſhed themſelves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abſtained from every thing that could yield them any delight. They made, indeed, a kind of banquet for the reſt of the mourners, called by the prophets the *bread of men*, and *wine* or *cup of conſolation* (12); but even then their tables were covered with wooden or common earthen platters and trenchers; and, for the ſame reaſon, they were not allowed to drink above ten glaſſes of wine at it; namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, leſt any ſhould get drunk, and betray any token of mirth (13).

(7) *Matt.* ix. 23. (8) *Miſhn. tr.* כתובות, *c.* 4. *Gemar. Babyl. in eod. titul.* (9) *Tract.* בבא מציעא, *c.* 6. (10) *Bar. Abbin. ap. Hott. in Goodw. lib.* vi. *c.* 5. *note* 12. (11) *Vide Hoſ.* ix. 4. (12) *Ezek.* xxiv. 17. *Jerem.* xvi. 7. (13) *Intr. El. Abel. c.* 4.

embalmed

embalmed him; if otherwiſe, they contented themſelves with waſhing him (P). Sometimes they added a mixture of ſweet drugs and ſpices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This laſt is what we find was done at the funeral of *Aſah*, king of *Judah*, whoſe corpſe, the text ſays, was laid upon a ſtately bed, which he had cauſed to be filled with coſtly perfumes made with great art, and with which they made a very great burning for him [d] (Q). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince; but common to the kings of *Judah*, and as ſuch, promiſed by the prophet to *Zedekiah* [e], and refuſed unto *Jehoram* [f] (R).

THEY

[d] 2 Chron. xvi. ult. [e] Jerem. xxxiv. 5. [f] 2 Chron. xxi. 19.

(P) This ceremony of waſhing was at leaſt practiſed in our Saviour's time (14); but how long before, is not eaſy to gueſs. The *Jews* indeed think it both antient and neceſſary; and add, that it was no ſooner performed, but they immediately ſtopped the main emunctories of the body, that no defilement might iſſue forth (15). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in ſpices, it is inferred from what is ſaid of *Joſeph*, that — ויחנטוהו, *vajicantuhu* (16), the verb חנט ſignifying, according to the *Talmudiſts*, to anoint with a mixture made up of ſpices, and other ſweet drugs. This, we find, was done to our Saviour (17); and *Maimon* mentions it as a conſtant practice uſed among the *Jews* (18).

(Q) From theſe places, and another ſtill more obſcure in *Amos*, ſome have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead had been adopted by the *Jews* (19). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any inſtance we can meet with in their hiſtory, countenance ſuch an opinion, which all the Jewiſh doctors diſown; affirming, that nothing was burned at thoſe funeral obſequies, but the ſweet perfumes above-mentioned. We may add, that *Joſiah*'s burning the bones of the prieſts of *Baalim* upon their idolatrous altars (20) implies, at leaſt, a kind of abhorrence againſt ſuch a practice, unleſs when it was done by way of puniſhment.

(R) How they dreſſed the corpſe, or how they conveyed it to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning theſe, or any other circumſtances relating to funerals: it is probable, that cuſtom, and the circumſtances of perſons, made them more or leſs ſumptuous. The accom-

(14) *Acts* ix. 37. (15) *Maim. in tract.* אבל, *c.* 4. (16) *Gen.* l. ver. ult. (17) *John* xix. 40. (18) *Ubi ſup.* (19) *Ch.* vi. 10. (20) 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 5.

panying

Sepulcre. THEY had such an extreme abhorrence against having their own, or their friends bodies exposed after death, that they denied sepulture to none but such as were guilty of self-murder, and not even to these, but till after sunset. They had burying-places for strangers, and for such as were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make sure of a sepulcre for their posterity, and several express threatenings in the sacred writings, made them esteem it as a severe curse from GOD, to be deprived of burial [i], and a blessing to be interred among their ancestors. For this reason, those who had inherited a burying-place, were extremely careful of preserving it to their posterity; and those who had not,

[i] Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19. Eccles. vi. 3, & alib.

panying the corpse to the burying-place was rather an office of civility, than obligation; and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance, assisted at it, but even those, who met the procession, thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the priests were not to be present at it, unless it were a very near relation, as we have seen elsewhere. The funeral of *Abner*, one of *David*'s generals (21), doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's servants, with *Joab* at their head, were commanded to march before the corpse in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with sackcloth, whilst himself followed the bier to *Hebron*, *Abner*'s burying-place. As soon as they were come to it, the king himself made a funeral oration in his praise, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilst they were depositing the body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far spent, when they buried that great general, because, when, upon their return home, *David* was intreated by his servants to take some refreshment, he answered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the sun was down (22). It appears from the examples of *Tobit*, and of the *Maccabees*, that they used moreover to lay some kind of victuals over the sepulcres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the soul of the deceased, for whom they used also to offer sacrifices, that they might be absolved from their sins, and be at peace (23). But these, especially the last, seem rather to have been works of supererogation, being no-where commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books; and, in all likelihood, never practised till after the captivity.

(21) 2 *Sam.* iii. 32, *& seqq.* (22) *Ibid. ver.* 35. (23) *Vide*
Tobit iv. 17. *& vide Eccles.* xxx. 18. 2 *Maccab.* xii. 42, *& seqq.*

were

were no leſs ſolicitous to provide one for themſelves and their families: and, as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, ſo they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, ſo they could but ſecure the poſſeſſion of it (S).

THOSE

(S) We do not read, indeed, of any epitaphs, or monumental inſcriptions, being uſed among them: yet we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that every family, at leaſt, ſet ſome particular mark upon their burying-place; they were even under an obligation to diſtinguiſh them from other places, by ſome peculiar mark, that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was ſomething ſtill more particular to diſtinguiſh the graves of eminent perſons, as we may infer from the inſtance of the man of GOD, who had foretold the deſtruction of the altar of *Bethel*, and whoſe grave was known by ſome inſcription, or mark, above 300 years after, when *Joſiah* was fulfilling his prediction (23).

The ſepulcres of the kings of *Judah* were in that part of *Jeruſalem* where the temple ſtood (24). *Ezekiel* ſeems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he ſays, that the LORD's holy hill ſhould be no more defiled by the carcaſes of their kings (25). All his deſcendents are ſaid to have been buried in the ſame place, except *Manaſſeh*, who was buried in the garden of *Uzziah*, adjoining to his own houſe (26). Whether the ſepulcre of *David* was built, or only begun by him, and finiſhed by *Solomon*, or any of his ſucceſſors, is not certain; but it is to be ſeen at this day, without the walls of the preſent *Jeruſalem*, though ſome think it more likely, that it ſtood at firſt within the walls of the old. It is a moſt ſtately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that antient city. We refer our reader to the deſcription of that ſurpriſing fabric given in a former ſection (27).

A late modern Jewiſh traveller (28) has added ſeveral other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not inſert, nor give credit to. However, it was in this place that, *Joſephus* tells us (29), *Solomon* laid up an immenſe treaſure, which was not diſcovered, or at leaſt broken in upon, till thirteen hundred years after; when, the city being ſtreightly beſieged by *Antiochus*, *Hyrcan* the high-prieſt had recourſe to the tomb, and drew three thouſand talents out, and bought off his enemy

(23) *Comp.* 1 *Kings* xiii. 1, *& ſeqq. &* 2 *Kings* xxiii. 17. (24) 1 *Kings* ii. 10. xi. 43, *& alib. paſſ.* (25) *Ch.* xliii. 7, 9. (26) 2 *Kings* xxi. 18, 26. (27) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 446. (28) *Benj. Tudel, & al.* (29) *Ant. lib.* vii. *c.* 12.

with

THOSE sepulcres were, in all likelihood, more or less sumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were, however, curious to have them, if possible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in such a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the *Talmud* [q] (which probably took them from the form of the antient ones, that were built before the captivity), six cubits long, four in breadth, and seven in height. Round these there were likewise to be little niches or cells for the reposiing of the dead bodies, to the number of eight, according to some; or thirteen, according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large stone, which they called *gallal*, from the rolling it upon the cave. This stone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that passengers might see it at a distance; and the same was done at least to those monuments which were erected for considerable persons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing the hypocritical *Pharisees* to them [r], sufficiently shews; and if those that are still extant, under the names of the tombs of *Abraham*, *Rachel*, *Absalom*, *Elisha*, and others, mentioned in a former section [s], be really theirs, which is much to be questioned, it must have required no small pains and cost to keep them so long in repair.

Houses. FROM these houses of the dead, we now pass to those of the living: and here we observe, in the first place, that they were plain, low, and flat, suitable to the cli-

q Tract. bava batra, c. vi. 2. Vide gloss. BARTEN. ad tract. mohed katon, c. i.

r Matt. xxiii. 27.

s See vol. ii. p. 444, & seqq.

with a good part of it. He adds, that *Herod* did likewise find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treasure; but that neither he, nor any one else, could ever discover the bones of *David*, his tomb being so artfully contrived, and so deep in the ground, as to elude the most curious search. Something like this, Mr. *Jay* has given us in his polyglot, out of an antient *Arabic* MS. but, whether either of these had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition, they do not tell us. The burying-places of the kings of *Israel*, after *Jeroboam*'s revolt, were in *Samaria*; but we cannot suppose them to have equalled those of *Judah*, both because they were inferior to them in riches, and because the crown never staid in one family above three or four generations.

mate,

mate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the ſame ſtile: chimneys, ſaſhes, and caſements, were needleſs, where they were forced to ſtudy coolneſs and freſhneſs; for the ſame reaſon tapeſtry was of no uſe but upon the floor, to ſit, eat, or ſleep upon; and if they uſed any bed-curtains, they were made of ſome fine gauſe, to keep off gnats and other inſects, whence comes the name of canopy. Their beds ſeem to have been at ſome conſiderable height from the ground, from their common phraſe of climbing up to them [a] (T).

As to the largeneſs of their houſes, and number of their apartments, we may ſuppoſe them to have been anſwerable to the richneſs and numerouſneſs of the family. The women had their ſeparate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eaſtern nations, and for ſe-

Apartment for women.

[a] Pſ. cxxxii. 3. 2 Kings i. 16.

(T) The prophet *Amos*, c. vi. 4. upbraids the effeminate with lying upon beds of *ivory*, and upon their ſoft couches; and the harlot in the *Proverbs*, vii. 16. ſpeaks of the fine furniture and perfumes with which ſhe has decked her own: and, no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by *Solomon*'s wives, and was imitated by the ſofter; but it is plain, that lying hard muſt have been more ſuitable to the heat of the country, as well as the ſimplicity of their forefathers, and, upon both accounts, preferred by the wiſer ſort. If we might gueſs at the reſt of their furniture, by that which the *Shunammite* put into the prophet's chamber, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they did not value themſelves upon the richneſs or ſuperfluity of it. And we may here obſerve in general, that there is more frequent mention made, in the ſacred books, of veſſels of wood and earth, than of thoſe of more coſtly materials.

From the prophet's chamber and furniture above-mentioned, we beg leave to make two remarks: the firſt is, that bedchambers were raiſed at ſome diſtance from the ground, becauſe they are called by a name that implies an *aſcent*, and might be as properly rendered *an upper room*. Perhaps the reaſon of their being thus raiſed was, to avoid the dampneſs of the earth. The other is, that though they did not turn ſo much of the night into day, as we do, yet they made uſe of artificial light, which was that of an oil-lamp; and this had more or fewer branches, according to the work that was done by it. Thus *Solomon*'s houſewife is repreſented, in the *Proverbs*, riſing whilſt it is yet dark, and diſtributing her work among her ſervants; where there is alſo a beautiful deſcription of a well-regulated family.

gal infirmities, which fecluded them from the reſt of the family for a time; during which, none muſt make uſe of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utenſils. All the females of an houſe were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the pooreſt ſort were not exempted, though it could not fail of putting ſuch to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as ſome others, they were likewiſe forced to have places for bathing in every houſe. Their laborious life, the heat and drineſs of the country, made waſhing likewiſe neceſſary: and, as it is apt to dry the ſkin too much, they uſed to anoint themſelves, either with oil, or with ſome other ointments more or leſs coſtly, according to their circumſtances, but generally perfumed.

Baths.

Their arts and trades.

THE arts, in which the *Iſraelites* did chiefly diſtinguiſh themſelves, were thoſe of war, huſbandry, poetry, and muſic. The firſt of theſe was, in a manner, natural to them. We ſhall not venture to ſay how much they, eſpecially *Moſes* their leader, had learned of it in *Egypt*; but whoever obſerves the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and ſuch-like, of which we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak in another place, muſt allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in the military art, as any of their neighbours (V).

(V) We need not remind our reader here, in how ſhort a time, not above ſix years, they conquered the greateſt part of *Canaan*, in ſpite of all the natural and artificial ſtrength of that country, and the united oppoſition of its warlike inhabitants. Neither was it poſſible for them to forget it at any time afterwards, becauſe they were continually engaged in ſome war or other with their neighbours, from the days of *Joſhua* to the reign of *Solomon*; inſomuch that it is recorded in one place, as a kind of wonder, that the land had reſt forty years (1). A late author (2) has moreover been at the pains to prove the antient *Jews* to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many inſtances of their proweſs, mentioned in holy writ, but likewiſe from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of thoſe books, which manifeſtly ſhew them to have been very well verſed in the military art. We ſhall refer our readers to the author himſelf for thoſe curious remarks, and only obſerve here, that the writers, from whom he took them, were neither given to

(1) *Judg.* v. *ult.* (2) *Folard, diſſert. ſur la tactique des Hebreux.*

flattery,

As to their generals, whether judges, princes, or the officers, who acted under them, their warlike deeds will be mentioned in their proper place, in the ſequel of this hiſtory; and, as to the people, tho' their courage wanted often to be ſupported by art, yet we may ſay, that their men were all trained up to war, at leaſt till *David*'s reign, for we do not read of any regular troops before that time. Till then, as ſoon as their rulers had reſolved upon a war, whether offenſive or defenſive, the ſummons were ſent to every tribe; upon which, all fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms, and with proviſion for a month: here a certain number was drawn out according to the preſent exigence, and the reſt ſent back; and as ſoon as they had atchieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home[u] (W).

THEIR arms were, like thoſe of other antient nations, either offenſive or defenſive; the former were ſwords, ſpears, javelins, bows and arrows, and ſlings. Their ſwords were ſhort, crooked, broad, and ſharp, which they girded upon their thigh[z]; we read alſo of two-edged ſwords[a]; as for their javelins, they ſeem rather to have been a *Arms.*

[u] 1 Sam. xi. paſſ. xiii. 2, & alib. [z] Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Pſ. xlv. 3. Jud. iii. 16. [a] Pſ. cxlix. 6.

flattery, nor partial fondneſs for their own nation, but related theſe facts with the candour and ſimplicity which became inſpired penmen.

(W) This happened very often on the ſame day on which they ſet out; the country being ſmall, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to ſally out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the ſame, or at moſt on the next night. It was eaſy for their army to be ſubſiſted, when their greateſt marches did not exceed two or three days journey. The whole people of *Iſrael* may therefore be looked upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from *Joſhua* to *Saul*, were either appointed over them by GOD, as *Othniel*, *Gideon*, *Samſon* (3), and others, or choſen by the people, as *Jephtha* (4), or by treachery and cruelty, as *Abimelech* (5). Theſe, however, eſpecially the two laſt, were obeyed by thoſe only who had choſen them; which occaſioned ſuch commotions, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of having a king, to prevent all further diſputes, and to be ready upon all occaſions againſt their enemies.

(3) *Judg.* iii. vi. & xv. *paſſ.* ix. *paſſ.* (4) *Ibid.* xi. 6, & *ſeqq.* (5) *Ibid.*

kind of ſhort pikes, ſuch as that which *Saul* threw at *David* [b]. They were likewiſe very expert at the ſling, as appears from *David*'s killing of *Goliah*; and from what is recorded of the inhabitants of *Gibeah*, *viz.* that they hit within an hair's breadth [c] (X).

THEIR defenſive arms were, the helmet, ſhield, breaſt-plate, coat of mail, and target: ſome wore even greaves upon their legs. We find a deſcription of a complete armour in that of *Goliah* [f]; but it is probable, that all theſe were more common among their neighbours, than among the *Iſraelites*, at leaſt before *David*'s reign; for we find, that, in *Deborah*'s time, there were found neither ſhield nor ſpear among the forty thouſand that fought againſt *Siſera* [g] (Y).

[b] 1 Sam. xviii. 11. [c] Judg. xx. 16. [f] 1 Sam. xvii. 5, & ſeqq. [g] Judg. v. 8.

(X) The expreſſion often uſed, *gird every man his ſword*, and even by *David* in his fugitive ſtate (6), when he was expoſed to continual dangers, ſhews the cuſtom of wearing of ſwords at any time, but that of action, not to have been known, even to the *Jewiſh* warriors. *Saul* is the only perſon who is obſerved to have had his javelin or ſpear always about him (7); and this, perhaps, not till his ſuſpicion and rage againſt *David* made him think himſelf unſafe without it.

(Y) This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only ſtripped of all their old weapons, but hindered from making new ones; inſomuch that the text tells us, that, on the day of battle, there were neither ſword nor ſpear found among *Saul*'s army, except thoſe which himſelf and his ſon *Jonathan* had (8). This, indeed, is very ſurpriſing, conſidering that the preceding chapter mentions one ſingle victory, which that new monarch had obtained over the *Ammonites*, in which they might have furniſhed themſelves with the arms of the ſlain, and of thoſe who fled; to ſay nothing of the impoſſibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unleſs they had had a conſiderable quantity of their own. So that, unleſs we ſuppoſe that there is an accidental tranſpoſition of the chapters and facts, or that the expreſſion there uſed imports no more, than that there was not the quantity of them which the army required, we ſhall be at a loſs to gueſs how the *Philiſtines* could, in ſo ſhort a time, ſtrip them of all their arms.

(6) 1 *Sam.* xxv. 13. (7) *Ibid.* xviii. 10. xxvi. 7. (8) *Vide ibid.* xiii. 19, & *ſeqq.*

How-

HOWEVER, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had recovered their liberty under *David* and *Solomon*; and, in proceſs of time, *Uzziah* is ſaid to have provided a ſufficient quantity of all theſe kinds, to furniſh his army with, tho' it conſiſted of upwards of three hundred thouſand men [k]. Theſe arms were commonly made of braſs, ſometimes alſo of iron, ſteel, and other materials [l] (Z).

[k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14.

[l] Vide CALM. diſſert. ſur la milic. des Hebr.

(Z) Some interpreters, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, think, that the coat of mail, which *Saul* died in, was made of ſome kind of linen, ſo woven as to be impenetrable (9). They render the words, which the young *Amalekite* makes *Saul* to ſay, *I am intangled in this coat of linen* (10), inſtead of *anguiſh and terror is come upon me*, as ours and other verſions have it. The truth is, the word שבץ *ſhebetz*, here in queſtion, doth properly ſignify a ſling, or a kind of net-work, ſuch as the curtains of the court of the tabernacle were made of; and the ſame word is uſed by the pſalmiſt, when he ſpeaks of the queen's veſture (11).

We may obſerve here alſo, that the original has no leſs than four different names for what ours and other verſions render a *ſhield*, namely מגן, *magen*, צנה, *zimah*, סוחרה, *ſucherah*, and כדון, *kiddon*; but whether they all ſignified the ſame kind of defenſive weapon, and only diſtinguiſhed their various ſhapes, and the materials they were made of, or otherwiſe, we dare not ſay.

Job ſpeaks of weapons of iron, and bows of braſs (12); and this laſt is mentioned by the pſalmiſt (13); tho' our verſion tranſlates it bows of ſteel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewiſe of ſhields of gold, and of braſs; but theſe can only be ſuppoſed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of ſome light ſort of wood; elſe they muſt have been rather a burden than an help to thoſe that wore them. From the prophet's expreſſion of anointing the ſhield (14), ſome authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather, or raw hides (15); but thoſe that were covered with braſs might want oiling, as much to keep them bright, as thoſe of leather, if any ſuch there were, to preſerve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of ſkirmiſhing, than cloſe and regular engagements, we find that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the uſe of thoſe weapons, which hurt at a diſtance, ſuch as were the bow, the ſling, and the javelin.

(9) *Rabb. Levi, Murſt. & al. in* 2 *Sam.* i. 9. *Calm. ſub. voc. Armes. Buxtorf. ſub voc.* שבץ. (10) 2 *Sam. ibid.* (11) *Pſ.* xlv. 13. (12) *Job* xx. 24. (13) *Pſ.* xviii. 34. (14) *Iſai.* xxi. 5. (15) *Calm. & Folard. ubi ſup.*

In ſo mountainous a country, cavalry could be of no great ſervice; and therefore in the more early times they did not incumber themſelves with any. *Abſalom* was the firſt we read of, that made uſe of them in his revolt againſt *David* [q]; but his ill ſucceſs and loſs of the battle ſhews, that they were of no other ſervice to him, than to facilitate his flight [r]. *Solomon* did, indeed, ſend for a conſiderable number of horſes from *Egypt*, with a proportionable number of chariots [s]; but ſome think, that he did it rather for grandeur than uſe; and indeed the expence did ſo far outweigh their ſervice, that his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with hiring them of the *Egyptians*, upon any exigence; inſomuch that *Rabſhakeh* made their want of them a pretence for taunting king *Hezekiah*, that, if he ſhould lend him two thouſand horſes, none of his ſubjects were capable of riding them [t]. From all which it appears, that the *Iſraelites* did not much regard either chariots or horſes (A).

Chariots.

The text calls them chariots of iron; becauſe their poles, wheels, and axles, *&c.* were armed with ſharp ſithes. We are told, that they hindered, at firſt, the tribe of *Judah* from conquering thoſe cities that were in the plains [u], becauſe they do moſt execution there. Beſides the terror they were apt to ſtrike into the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and ſometimes of

[q] 2 Sam. xv. 1. [r] Ibid. xviii. 9, & ſeqq. [s] 1 Kings x. 26, & ſeqq. 2 Chron. i. 14. [t] 2 Kings xviii. 23. [u] Judges i. 19.

(A) And yet, as to the former, it is certain, they had not only ſeen them in *Egypt*, where they were in great plenty; but that the *Canaanites*, againſt whom they were at continual wars, brought an almoſt incredible number of them into the field. *Siſera*, we read, had nine hundred of them in his army (16); but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that thoſe which the *Philiſtines* made uſe of againſt *Saul* are ſaid to have amounted to about thirty thouſand (17): a prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept ſome error into the text; and ſuch as one would ſcarce think their ſcanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed ſmall, being juſt fit to contain one or two men at moſt; ſome of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horſes (18).

(16) *Judges* iv. 3, 13. *Stewech. in Veget. de re militar.* (17) 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5. (18) *Vide*

putting

putting the adverſary to a total rout; ſo that there was no way of preventing it, but by either ſtopping their career, by killing the horſes before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a paſſage to them. It is likely the *Iſraelites* became very well ſkilled in both, ſeeing they ſo often engaged them, and ſtill came off with victory, without oppoſing the ſame kind of deſtructive engines.

Standing army.

We hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before *Saul*'s time; and he is mentioned to have had but few ſtanding troops, ſcarce an handful, in compariſon to that prodigious number which *David* raiſed them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thouſand (B), beſides the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, who were ſtrangers kept in that monarch's pay [z].

[z] 1 Chron. xviii. ver. ult., xxvii. paſſ.

(B) The book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that he had 24000, which came regularly upon duty every month throughout the year, under their reſpective officers (19); which, being therefore multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

All theſe were not only continued on foot by his ſon *Solomon*, but an addition was made to thoſe forces, of a prodigious number of horſes and chariots; inſomuch that he is recorded to have had forty thouſand ſtalls for his chariot-horſes, beſides twelve thouſand horſes for his cavalry, or lifeguard (20); and fourteen hundred chariots of war. It is certain alſo, that the hiſtory of his ſucceſſors doth frequently mention ſuch numerous armies, as would ſcarce be credited in a profane author. Such were thoſe of *Abijah* king of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the new king of *Iſrael*; the former of which conſiſted of four hundred thouſand men, and the latter of double that number (21), and of which five hundred thouſand were killed on the ſpot, by the army of *Judah* (22). Such was alſo that of his ſon *Aſa*, which conſiſted of almoſt ſix hundred thouſand, with which he diſcomfited that of *Zerah* king of *Ethiopia*, which conſiſted of a million of men (23). But the greateſt ſtanding army we read of, of any of the *Jewiſh* kings, was that of *Jehoſhaphat*, which is ſaid to have amounted to eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, beſides thoſe which he kept in his gariſons throughout the kingdom (24). To theſe we may add, that *Uzziah* introduced in *Jeruſalem* a new invention of engines, which, being ſet up upon the walls and towers, caſt arrows, other offenſive weapons, and great ſtones, to a conſiderable diſtance (25).

(19) 1 *Chron.* xxvii. paſſ. (20) 1 *Kings* iv. 26. *Ibid.* x. 26. (21) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 3. (22) *Ibid. ver.* 17. (23) *Ibid.* xiv. 8, & *ſeqq.* (24) *Ibid.* xvii. 14, & *ſeqq.* (25) *Ibid.* xxvi. 15.

Art of war.

We find nothing in the sacred books that can give us an idea of their forming such numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment from some scripture-phrases, such as *joining in battle*, *setting the battle in array*, *engaging army against army*, and the like; or from their exact and regular division, 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of these into thousands or regiments; 3. Into hundreds or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into threes; every one having a proper officer set over them; but, above all, from their admirable method of marching and encamping, of which we shall speak in another place; we may venture to affirm, that they observed no less regularity in their order of battle, in their onsets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military motions (C).

We read that *David* entertained a considerable number of those troops, who are said to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aspect, and swift of foot [h]. The *Jews* add, that they placed behind the ranks some of the stoutest subalterns, armed with sithes and axes, to cut in pieces those that offered to give ground; but we are still to seek how they disposed of their cavalry, after it became in use among them (D).

Their

[h] 1 Chron. xii. 2, & seqq.

(C) If we may believe the *Jewish* authors, they ranged their army into one single line of a considerable depth, sometimes between twenty or thirty deep. On the front of these they placed their light-armed men, that is, their most expert archers, spearmen, and slingers, who began the onset with a warlike shout, and with sending thick showers of arrows and stones upon their enemy's front, in order to cause terror and confusion, and stop the rushing in of their chariots, by wounding both the horse and the driver. This is indeed probable enough, seeing that method was common to all the *Asiatic* nations.

(D) Probably after the manner of the *Egyptians*, from whom they had it; that is, in large squadrons of six or eight hundred horse, placed on the two wings (26). One thing is certain, that whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy, but endeavoured at once to open themselves a quick passage thro' it, as the surest way to gain the victory: and this is the reason why we find them so seldom discomfited, and so often victorious over their enemies, tho'

(26) *Vide Folard, ubi sup.*

superior

THEIR wars were of two kinds, either ſuch as GOD had obliged them to, as thoſe againſt the *Amalekites*, and the ſeven nations of *Canaan*, or ſuch as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occaſion, whether offenſive or defenſive. The *Moſaic* law had left theſe to their diſcretion; ſo that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any juſt grounds. We have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offenſive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refuſal of which was interpreted as a declaration of war [n]: when it was reſolved upon for the recovery of any loſt territories, they generally made a demand of them; and, when they were attacked by enemies, they likewiſe ſent to expoſtulate with them [o] (E). *Wars.*

[n] Deut. xx. 10, & ſeqq.

[o] Judges xi. 12, & ſeqq.

ſuperior to them in this and many other reſpects.

The method of attacking the enemy in ſeparate bodies was as antient, we find, as *Abraham*, who divided his little army of 318 domeſtics, and diſcomfited that of the four confederate kings (27). It was afterwards followed by *Abimelech* againſt the *Shechemites* (28), and by *Saul* againſt the *Ammonites* at *Jabeſh-Gilead* (29), with good ſucceſs. We ſhall paſs by ſome other warlike cuſtoms which they had in common with other nations, ſuch as the uſe of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their uſual harangues before they entered into action, and ſome others which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel.

(E) However, this was not always the caſe, and a war was ſometimes reſolved upon, without any viſible ground; and the chartel ſent in theſe few words, *Let us look one another in the face*; and returned in terms equivalent (30). The challenge of the king of *Aſſyria* to that of *Judah* was ſtill more haughty; *Thy ſilver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou haſt, are mine* (31); the text obſerves in both caſes, that theſe proud meſſages proved fatal to thoſe who ſent them. It was the conſtant cuſtom of the *Hebrew* kings to command their armies in perſon, if they were able; and the people were ſo uſed to it, that, when *Ahab* was mortally wounded by the *Syrians*, ſome of his ſervants were forced to ſupport him in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and, as ſoon as it was diſcovered by the bloodineſs of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his hoſt, to diſmiſs every man to his city or country; though *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, his confederate in that war, did likewiſe command there in perſon (32).

(27) *Gen.* xiv. 13, & *ſeqq.* (28) *Judg.* ix. 34. (29) 1 *Sam.* xi. 11. (30) 2 *Kings* xiv. 8, (31) 1 *Kings* xx. 2, & *ſeqq.* (32) 1 *Kings* xxii. 34, & *ſeqq.*

IN

In the beginning of the *Jewish* monarchy, their kings used to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at least, we do not read of any horses or chariots used by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their rise from those alliances which the kings both of *Israel* and *Judah* were often forced to make with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and other nations, and which put them under a necessity of appearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur answerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head or general of the army (A). 2. The princes, or generals of each tribe. 3. The commanders of thousands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. 8. Their scribes or mustermasters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms under their districts. 9. lastly, Their *soterim*, or inspectors, or, as others think, a kind of provosts or ministers to inflict punishments on all delinquents.

Alliances.

Officers.

The *Mosaic* law was certainly the best calculated to make a people happy, by obliging every man to live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and free from the danger of being totally ruined, from the temptation of becoming excessively rich, or from too great desire after change and novelty (B).

Every

(A) This officer was called שר צבא, *sar tzaba*, or prince of the host, such as *Abner* was, under *Saul* (30), *Joab* under *David* (31), and *Benaiah* under *Solomon* (32).

(B) Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard; and could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the sword and bow, as occasion required; but preferred still a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is what their lawgiver enforced, not only by the example of the old patriarchs, but much more by the blessings which were promised to their obedience; these were to be neither gold, silver, nor precious stones, stately houses, or sumptuous furniture, but the former and latter rain, regular seasons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increase of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their soil, proved such powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is scarce any known people that gave themselves more intirely and universally to it, than the *Jews*. Accordingly, from the most opulent families of the tribe of *Judah*, to the most indigent of that of *Benjamin*, from the oldest to the youngest,

(30) 2 *Sam.* ii. 8. (31) *Ibid.* xxiv. 2. (32) 1 *Kings* ii. 35.

EVERY one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had aſſigned to his anceſtors at its firſt diſtribution, and to maintain himſelf and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony, which he could not change or alienate, without injury to his children, and diſgrace to himſelf. The judges and kings themſelves conformed to the ſame cuſtom, and encourag'd it in others: the only difference between them and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds (B).

WHOEVER conſiders the ſmall extent of *Canaan*, and the multitude of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain ſuch incredible numbers, though cultivated with all the care and induſtry they were capable of, eſpecially conſidering that it was to reſt every ſeventh year; and yet it is plain, that it more than ſufficed them, ſeeing they exported great quantities of corn, oil, honey, and other proviſions, to the city of *Tyre*, and other countries, of all which we have already ſpoken at the entrance of this chapter[t]. To all theſe we may add the multitude of cattle, which

[t] See vol. ii. p. 380, & ſeqq.

we find them either plowing or ſowing, or reaping, at the threſhing-floor, or feeding their numerous herds; at leaſt till *Solomon* introduced commerce and luxury, and, with it, a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations.

(B) Thus *David*, though he heaped up immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, yet, in the liſt of his riches, mention is made of his arable and paſture-grounds, of his ſtorehouſes for corn, wine, and oil, of his plantations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, ſheep, and aſſes (33). His ſon *Solomon* not only multiplied them, in proportion to the great conſumption which the vaſt number of his wives, concubines, and ſervants, required; but tells us likewiſe what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegancy of them (34); where it is to be obſerved, that his fine gardens and orchards were chiefly ſtored with ſuch fruit-trees, plants, and herbs, as were more for uſe than ſhew. How he commends the diligence of the huſbandman, and expoſes the ſtupidity of the ſlothful, every chapter almoſt of his proverbs is a witneſs (35); however he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were built upon the moſt ſolid reaſon, and trueſt policy.

(33) 1 *Chron.* xxvii. 25, & *ſeqq.* *int. al.* c. vi. 6, & *ſeqq.* (34) *Eccleſ.* ii. 5, & *ſeqq.* (35) *Vide*

they

they bred themselves, and had from other neighbouring countries. For we have seen before, that *Mesha*, king of *Moab*, paid a yearly tribute to *Ahab* king of *Israel*, of an hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams, with their wool [x]. *Jehoshaphat* drew likewise a constant supply of small cattle from the *Arabians* [y]; from which we may conclude, that all those nations, that were tributary to the *Jews*, paid their tribute in such commodities as their country abounded most with, whether for food or raiment.

Trades and manufactures.

AFTER what has been observed here, of their agriculture, we must not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before *David* or *Solomon*'s time, except such as were absolutely necessary; and even these were carried on in a different way from other great nations. They built their own houses; their wives and servants spun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dressed their meat, and, in a word, supplied the business of clothworkers, taylors, shoemakers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainness of their food, their cloathing and household-furniture, some few utensils excepted, rendered those trades unnecessary, till a more luxurious way of living got footing among them. We have already spoken of all the other particulars, except their cloathing; and this was plain and artless enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It must not, however, be expected here, that we should give an exact description of their dress, because we have no paintings or statues of them, as we have of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but, from what we find in the sacred books, it appears, that they had a long loose tunic and drawers, made of linen, next to their body, and a loose garment somewhat like a cloak, of light woolen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (C). The beauty of them consisted

[x] 2 Kings iii. 4. Vide vol. ii. p. 135. [y] 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(C) The Scripture, at least, mentions only these two, the one under the name of כתנת *ketoneth*, or coat, and the other under that of מעיל, *mehil*, or upper garment. The former, being next to the skin, is reasonably supposed to have been made of linen, as the properest wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and loose; but, when they went about any business, they tied it about; whence that expression of girding one's self is synonymous to getting one's self

conſiſted either in the fineneſs of the cloth, or the rich- *Dreſs.*
neſs of the dye, ſuch as purple, ſcarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plaineſt and the moſt commonly worn, was the white, becauſe it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more eaſily waſhed; upon which account it is much recommended by *Solomon*[z]; it being highly neceſſary in hot countries to ſhift frequently (D).

Some

[z] Eccleſ. ix. 8.

ſelf in readineſs. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without ſhaping or ſeam: as for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the prieſts, but are probably enough ſuppoſed to have been worn by the reſt for decency-ſake; though, if we were allowed to gueſs at the reaſon of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abſtracted from that given in the text, we ſhould be apt to think, that they were deſigned to keep the garment cloſe to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind, or any violent motion, throwing them up.

What we have advanced, of the *Iſraelites* being able to ſupply their own wants without the help of artificers, during ſo many centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to thoſe, who are acquainted with *Homer*'s writings, and remember that he tells us *Eumeus* made his own ſhoes, and built himſelf ſtately cots for his numerous herds (36), and *Ulyſſes* built his own fine houſe and ſhip, whilſt his wife's loom ſupplied the houſe with hangings and carpets, and the family with cloaths (37). So that the *Hebrews* were not the only people who affected this ſimple way of living, and thought it an inſtance of great wiſdom to be able to ſupply their own wants, without the help of otherhands. Neither need we go to *Plato*'s commonwealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, ſince there is ſcarce a polite nation in antiquity, which did not live up to it as much as the *Jews*; witneſs the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, *Perſians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, *Sicilians*, &c. witneſs alſo *Homer*, *Mago*, *Cato*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, and other authors, who have either written upon, or in commendation of it.

(D) Accordingly we find it was uſual among them to make preſents of changes of raiment (38); though probably ſome of them might be richer than others, both as to the ſtuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and theſe might be reſerved to be worn on their ſolemn feſtivals, and other public occaſions. As to the youth of both ſexes, it is probable they wore their ſtuffs ſtriped, or flowered with various colours; for ſuch were thoſe of *Joſeph* (39), *Tamar*, and

(36) *Odyſſ.* xiv. & xxiii. (37) *Odyſſ.* v. (38) *Gen.* xlv. 22. 2 *Kings* v. 5. 23. (39) *Gen.* xxxvii. 3.

of

SOME covering they wore upon their head, but the fashion is not to be guessed at: they wore likewise shoes abroad, and perhaps a kind of stockings; but how, and what they were made of, we are equally to seek; only their shoes, or rather sandals, seem to have been a sole, whether of wood, skin, or some other material, tied to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the washing of the feet so frequent among them. All these might be easily made without artificers.

Of the women.

THE dress of the women, especially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, because they bestowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was still within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and silver; but a great deal of that finery was brought at first from *Egypt*, and more might be easily added to it, as they enlarged their conquest, without entertaining any artists; because their fashions did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable, that they had some of these, as well as several other rich stuffs and linen, from *Tyre*, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; especially after *Solomon*'s time, when pride and luxury grew to such a height, that *Isaiah* spent almost a whole chapter in enumerating the costly ornaments with which that sex used to deck themselves in his time [d]; but concerning which it were impossible to frame any tolerable idea, the terms there used being unknown to us (E).

IT

[d] Ch. iii. 16, & seqq.

of all *David*'s other unmarried daughters (39). We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dress, except that of the fringes, which were fastened to a blue ribband, and sewed round the border of their garments; and even these, if we except the conjectures offered in the last note, were ordained only as a memorandum, that their happiness depended upon their obedience (40).

(E) One thing may be observed from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet; and that they wore some kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a musical cadence to their steps. *Judith*'s sandals are particularly taken notice of to have ravished *Holofernes* (41): and the richness and elegancy of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a complete *Jewess*'s dress, were we sure, that they had not by that time mixed some of the *Babylonish* fashion

(39) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 18. (40) *Num.* xv. 38. (41) *Judith* xvi. 9.

with

It doth not appear, however, that they fell into this excеſs of finery, before the latter end of *David*'s life; till then a wonderful œconomy ſeems to have reigned in every family under the wives at home, and the huſbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, and ſurpriſing exploits, for which the Scripture doth ſo highly extol them, eſpecially *David*'s worthies [g], and excellent troops [h]. But the immenſe treaſures which that monarch had heaped up, having inſpired him with a deſire of conſecrating ſome part of it to God, by building a ſumptuous temple, a number of artificers was thereby ſoon introduced (F), ſuch as carvers, maſons, carpenters, joyners, gold and ſilver-ſmiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and ſtone; and theſe brought in a

Handicrafts introduced.

[g] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, ad fin. [h] Ibid. xvii. 8, & ſeqq. & alib. paſſ.

with it. However, we have a more authentic deſcription of the female garb in the prophet *Ezekiel* (42); where the *Jewiſh* nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpleſs woman, whom God, out of pity, and huſbandlike kindneſs, cloathed, and girded with ſilk and fine linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, ſuch as that of *Judith*, and put a jewel upon her forehead, a coſtly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wriſts, earrings in her ears, and ſandals upon her feet. To all theſe we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in Scripture, and was very neceſſary in thoſe countries, both to preſerve the complexion and the character of women, it being eſteemed highly immodeſt for them to appear without it; but, whether they were made of ſome ſuch tranſparent ſtuffs as our gauſes, ſo that they might ſee their way through them, and at the ſame time give ſome glimpſe both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwiſe, we cannot determine.

(F) It is ſaid in two places, that *Solomon* ſent to king *Hiram* for ſome of his beſt artiſts in metals, ſtone, and wood, becauſe he had none ſo ſkilful among his own ſubjects (43); and, preſently after, that he raiſed a levy of thirty thouſand men out of all *Iſrael*, to carry on the work (44); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that the former were only deſigned by that politic prince to inſtruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were neceſſary to execute his noble deſigns, as the moſt curious part was actually done upon the plain of *Jordan* (45).

(42) *Ch.* xvi. 10, *& ſeq.* (43) 2 *Chron.* ii. 3, *& ſeqq.* 1 *Kings* v. 6.
(44) 1 *Kings* v. 13, *& ſeqq.* (45) 2 *Chron.* iv. 17.

number of others, without which they could not subſiſt. His ſon *Solomon* built himſelf ſome ſtately palaces, as well as the temple; and this probably gave his ſubjects ſuch a reliſh of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied ſtill more (G).

But as moſt of thoſe arts, trades, and manufactures, did in ſome meaſure riſe and ſet with him, we ſhall ſuſpend all further account of him, till we come to ſpeak of his reign; the peacefulneſs of which may alſo, in all probability, be the reaſon, why we read of ſo few *Jewiſh* worthies and brave generals in his days, in compariſon of thoſe many and juſtly famed ones, which his warlike father had had during his whole life (H).

Poetry

(G) The diviſion of the two kingdoms increaſed the miſchief. *Jeruſalem*, and many other places, muſt be fortified; chariots and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all ſorts, became neceſſary, which required a ſuitable number of artificers; inſomuch that we read, in the *Chronicles*, of a valley belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, called by the name of the valley of *Charaſhim*, or artificers, becauſe it was inhabited only by ſuch (1). In a word, one may gueſs at the increaſe of them by the number which *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away captive out of the bare city of *Jeruſalem* (2); though it is plain at the ſame time, that the *Jews* did never neglect the cultivation of their lands for the ſake of theſe profeſſions. On the contrary, it is only the product of their land that is ſaid to have been exported (3), whereas that of their other manufactures ſeems to have been all conſumed within themſelves. *Solomon* himſelf, who opened ſo wide a door to commerce and luxury, was ſo far from thinking agriculture beneath his care, that he not only improved it himſelf, but alſo earneſtly recommended it to his people, as the beſt means of growing rich, preſerving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; inſomuch that there is ſcarce a chapter in his proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of theſe advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his moſt favourite projects, ſubſervient to the promotion of agriculture.

(H) The valiant men of *Judah* are moſt beautifully deſcribed in pſalm lxxxvii, under the figure of *Sion*, which is commonly uſed to ſignify that tribe (4); but it has happened in this, as in many other pſalms and poetical pieces of the ſacred books, that not only the beauties and energy, but even the ſenſe, has been intirely loſt, and

(1) 1 *Chron.* iv. 14. (2) 2 *Kings* xxiv. 16. (3) *Ezek.* xxvii. 17.
(4) *Vide int. al. Pſ.* lxxvii. 68.

another

POETRY is, perhaps, the only art in which the *Hebrews*, at leaſt ſince *Moſes*'s time, have excelled all other nations, we had almoſt ſaid, that have been ever ſince. It has, indeed, this great advantage, above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inſpired, ſeem to have conſecrated it wholly to the honour of GOD, and adapted it to the ſervice of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their great lawgiver, but their monarchs, judges, prieſts, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by ſome excellent performance in this kind: witneſs the two inimitable ſongs of *Moſes*, thoſe of *Deborah* and *Hannah*, the whole book of *Pſalms*, the *Canticles*, the thankſgiving of *Hezekiah*, the book of *Job*, a great part of the prophet *Iſaiah*, and the *Lamentations*; not to mention ſome other prophets, who are likewiſe ſuppoſed, by the *Hebrew Poetry.*

another ſubſtituted, which ſcarce will bear that name. We ſhall therefore beg leave to ſubjoin a new, and even more literal, or at leaſt idiomatical, verſion of this pſalm, that our readers may ſee a ſpecimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the verſions we have hitherto met with. The elegancy, which they have overlooked here, is in the oppoſition between the pronoun זה, *zeh*, which is commonly uſed to expreſs an inconſiderable perſon; and the word איש, *iſh*, which ſignifies a conſiderable one, in oppoſition to זה אין, which is uſed to expreſs thoſe of common rank; according to which the ſenſe will run thus;

She [*Zion* or the tribe of *Judah*] is founded upon the holy mountains.

The LORD has more love for her gates (4) (or places of reſort), than for all the dwellings of *Jacob*.

Glorious things ſhall be ſpoken of thee, O city of GOD.

In mentioning, among thoſe of my acquaintance, either *Rahab* (*Egypt*) or *Babylon*, or here *Philiſtia*, *Tyre*, and *Ethiopia* (the phraſe is), *zeh*, this inconſiderable perſon, was born there, or it has given birth to ſuch an one.

But of *Sion* it is, or ſhall be ſaid, *iſh ve iſh*, this or that great perſon owes his birth to it; ſeeing He, who is the Moſt High, is to eſtabliſh her; and ſo on.

We ſhall not go about to juſtify this new verſion: thoſe, who are maſters of the *Hebrew*, will eaſily ſee, that it is not only more natural, and agreeable to the original, but alſo freer from theſe expletives which are forced in, to make it ſpeak ſenſe; and criticiſms of this nature would be needleſs to thoſe who are unacquainted with it. This pſalm we take to be parallel with the forty eighth, which abounds with ſublime expreſſions in praiſe of *Zion*, but ſuch as can hardly be reached by any tranſlation.

(4) *See before*, p. 126.

loftineſs of their ſtile, to have writ, at leaſt, part of their prophecies in verſe; concerning which it is univerſally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more majeſtic, or more ſurpriſingly ſublime; whether we conſider the variety of action, the greatneſs of the ſentiments, the richneſs of the figures and imagery, or the ſtrength and beauty of the expreſſions (I).

And

(I) To all theſe we may add, that a ſtrain of the moſt ſeraphic piety, and of the moſt excellent morality, runs through the whole; which conveys to the reader's mind the moſt important truths, the nobleſt precepts and inſtructions, that can poſſibly frame it for all ſtages and conditions of life; whilſt the expreſſions and figures, however ſtrong and lofty, are adapted to the reach and underſtanding of the young and illiterate, and at the ſame time raiſe the deepeſt attention and admiration in the ableſt maſters.

Such are theſe expreſſions of *Moſes*: The heavens, and the heaven of heavens, are the LORD's thy GOD (5). I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as braſs. Ye ſhall be terrified at the ſound of a ſhaken leaf. You ſhall flee, when none purſueth (6). One ſhall chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight, *&c.* Such are likewiſe theſe of *Iſaiah*: To whom will ye liken the LORD, who meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and the heavens with a ſpan; who weighs the mountains in the balance? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of water that ſticks to the bucket, and as the ſmall duſt that remains in the ſcales (7). Or thoſe of the pſalmiſt: The earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, at the preſence of GOD; the mountains ſkipped like rams, and the valleys like young ſheep (8). Who ſtretcheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the ſtars, and calls them by their names (9). He bowed the heavens, and came down; darkneſs was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubim (10). He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind (11). We ſhall go no further with inſtances, which are innumerable; but obſerve here, that ſome of them have ſuch a complicated beauty, that the beſt part of it may be eaſily loſt to any but an attentive reader, who is likewiſe a good judge of poetry. Of this kind is the laſt expreſſion we inſtanced, of *walking upon the wings of the wind*; where we beg leave to obſerve, that the wind being generally uſed to expreſs the velocity of any thing; and here the wings of the wind to carry with them an idea of the utmoſt

(5) *Deut.* x. 14. (6) *Levit.* xxvi. *paſſ. Deut.* xxxii. 30. (7) *Iſ.* xl. 12, *&c. ſeqq.* (8) *Pſal.* lxviii. 8. cxiv. 4. (9) *Pſal.* xviii. 7, *&c. ſeqq.* (10) civ. 2. cxxxix. 4. (11) civ. 3.

fierceneſs

And yet it is certain, that the poetical pieces of Scripture, like all antient works of that kind, frequently allude to things, cuſtoms, and ſayings, to which we are utter ſtrangers at this diſtance of time, tho' they were then perfectly known; and abound with words and idioms, whoſe true meaning we are left to gueſs at, for want of ſuch parallels as might determine it. From theſe, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may eaſily gueſs, how ſhort all tranſlations muſt come of the beauty and energy of the original; ſo that we may be really ſaid only to gueſs at it, from the amazing luſtre it is ſtill able to caſt, in ſpite of the thick medium through which we behold it. This is evident, from the character which Mr. *Gilden*, after many others, has given of it:

> fierceneſs of that velocity; it is impoſſible to imagine the ſerene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the moſt inconceivable ſwiftneſs, without being filled with the deepeſt wonder and abaſement. And yet this inimitable beauty has paſſed unobſerved by many, otherwiſe learned, tranſlators and commentators, who have choſen to render it, *who rideth upon the wings of the wind*; as if riding upon the wind, which is common to feathers, ſtraw, duſt, &c. conveyed a more natural or ſublime idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.
>
> This is one of the reaſons why the pſalms, the book of *Job*, and ſome other poetic pieces of holy writ, loſe ſo much of their beauty and energy in all verſions (12). However, there is this difference between theſe two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal tranſlation; whereas thoſe of the former, which have followed the original cloſeſt, have ſucceeded beſt; ſuch are, in particular, the *Latin* ones of *Caſtalio*, *Buchanan*, and *Jonſton*. This laſt is, indeed, the moſt literal, and wonderfully diſplays the elegancy of the *Hebrew*. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in hexameters and pentameters, which takes off a great deal of its majeſty; whereas, had it been all in hexameters, or rather in various metres, according to the nature of the pſalm, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one, in all other reſpects, extant, that we know of; and it is with pleaſure that we have ſeen, that this hint, which we ventured to give in the firſt edition of this work, hath proved a means of procuring to the world ſeveral noble and accurate editions of that excellent verſion, as well as of reviving the memory of that divine poet, which had lain above a century in a kind of utter oblivion.

(12) *Vide Pined. Dieg. de Scenic. & al. in Job. Eugenhag. Bucer. Buchan. & al. in Pſal.*

That *there is nothing so sweet, so tender and pathetic; and at the same time nothing so grand, so majestic, so terrible, and so harmonious, as the poetic part of the* Bible, *to which all the heathen verse is lame and flat.* We may add, that nothing can be juster than this character, tho' both he, and the far greatest part of those who have so highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the versions they read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

But tho' there be nothing more universally agreed on, than the excellency of this antient *Hebrew* poetry above all others, in the above-mentioned respects, yet there is scarce a point more debated, or less possible to be determined, than the nature, metre, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very signal discoveries in this intricate province; but they have either had the modesty to conceal them from the world [m], or those who have ventured to publish them, have only provoked some learned antagonists to expose their weakness and vanity [n]. The truth is, that those who have made any attempts in this way, have been forced to shift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctation, and sometimes the very sense, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almost in every verse, in a dissertation writ on purpose to prove, that *Hebrew* poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the *French*, and other modern nations [o]. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or shorten the verses and syllables, as he thinks fit, without observing any other rule or proportion in them, than the jingle of the last words; insomuch that there is not, we will not say with *Calmet* [p], any of *Tully*'s orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the Old Testament, which may not, by the same method, be reduced into rhyming verse. He ought rather to have said, that the rhyme, in those poetical works, was not only altogether accidental, but almost unavoidable, unless the authors had made a resolution against it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to shun it. Those that are ever so

[m] F. Vatabl. ap. Mercer. in Job. iii. Meibom. Vid. journal des scavans, 1699. & al. [n] Fr. Goman Lyra David. Th. Herbert. Vid. Capel cont. Goman. Bedford cont. Le Clerc. [o] Bibliot. univers. May, 1688. [p] Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib.

little

little acquainted with the *Hebrew* grammar know, that the terminations of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the poſſeſſive pronouns to both of them, are ſo alike and uniform, that it would be vaſtly more difficult to write a poem in blank verſe in that tongue, than in rhyme. And yet it muſt be owned, that he has diſplayed a great deal of learning in it, and that ſeveral eminent men have embraced his opinion [q], tho' there is one objection againſt it, which ſeems almoſt inſurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acroſtic or alphabetic pieces we have left, ſuch as ſeveral *Pſalms* [r], the *Lamentations*, and ſome few others, where the length of the verſe is determined by the firſt letter of it, and where conſequently the liberty of tranſpoſing and altering the meaſure is quite taken off. Our author indeed tells us, that theſe were not deſigned for rhyme, but blank verſe; but this is ſaid gratis: and what is more, ſome of them have a greater number of hemiſtichs rhyming to one another, than thoſe which are pretended to be written deſignedly ſo; as the reader may ſee by the ſpecimen in the margin (K).

THE

[q] BERN. LAMI, CAROFALO, & al. [r] Pſ. xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxiii. cxix. and cxlv.

(K) We ſhall inſtance only in pſalm xxxiv. and omit all the blank verſes in it; and here the reader will ſee, by the interlineal verſion of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in thoſe that chance to have it.

Ver. 4. I ſought the LORD, and he heard me:
Daraſhti eth Adonai vehanani:
And from all my troubles he delivered me.
Umicol megurothai itzillani.

5. They looked unto him, and were enlightened:
Hibittu elaw venaharu:
And their faces were not confounded.
Upbnehem al jechpharu.

9. Fear ye the LORD, ye ſaints of his:
Iereu eth Adonai kedoſhaw:
For on lack [is] to them that fear him.
Ki aen machſor lireaw.

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that antient tongue, which, for aught appears, has been loſt ever ſince the captivity, makes it morally impoſſible to determine any thing about it, with any tolerable probability; becauſe, without it, we never can be ſenſible of the length or ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, or of the harmony of words and verſes, in which a great part of the poetic beauty conſiſts. Had we indeed the ſame helps in this, as we have in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, we might, perhaps, have attained an equal knowlege of its quantity and metre, and of the conſtruction and cadence of its verſe; and tho' it is probable, we might not

10. Little lions lack and hunger:
Kephirim raſhù verahevù:
They that ſeek the LORD ſhall not lack
Vedoreſhe Adonai lo jachſerù
any good.
col tof.

12. What man deſireth life?
Mi haiſh hachaphetz chajim?
Loveth days
Ohef yamim
to ſee good?
lireoth tof?

13. Keep thy tongue from evil:
Netzor leſhoneka merah:
And thy lips from ſpeaking guile,
Uſphateka midabber mirmah.

Theſe are in the very order we find them in all *Hebrew* pſalters, without any tranſpoſition or change; but, did the alphabetical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acroſtic pſalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. *Le Clerc*'s method.

We hope there is no neceſſity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic pſalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet ſucceſſively, either in every verſe, as in the xxvth, xxxivth, and cxlvth; or every other verſe, as in the xxxviith; or in every hemiſtich, or half-verſe, as in the cxith, cxiith, and cxiiith. The cxixth doth ſtill differ from all theſe, becauſe every verſe of a ſtanza begins with the ſame letter of the alphabet; ſo that it has 22 ſtanzas, anſwering to the 22 letters of it. Thoſe, who deſire to ſee a more ſuccinct confutation of *Le Clerc*'s notion, may read our learned Mr. *Bedford*'s treatiſe concerning the temple-muſic, where he will find a ſhort, but full confutation of that writer.

have

have found it ſo elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet we ſhould not have fallen into that ſtrange notion of ſo many learned moderns, that it was written without meaſure, form, or regularity (L).

On the other hand, to hear ſome antient authors, both *Jews* and Chriſtians, ſuch as *Joſephus* and *Philo*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Jerom*, expatiate on this ſubject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the *Hebrew*, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preſerved to their time, they give us ſo ſuccinct an account of every poetical piece of the Old Teſtament. Thus, according to them, the two ſongs of *Moſes* were written in heroic verſe: the pſalms were of a mixed ſort, trimeters, pentameters, and others hexameters [u] (M). But we rather think, with the generality of moderns, that the greateſt

[u] Joseph. ant. l. ii. c. ult. l. iv. c. ult. l. vii. c. 10. Phil. in vit. Moſ. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. Orig. ap. Euſeb. præpar. l. xi. c. 2.

(L) One would think, indeed, that *Scaliger* had never heard of any modern *Hebrew* poetry, how common ſoever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the *Syriac*, nor the *Arabic*, were capable of ſuch a conſtraint (1); for it is plain, even from thoſe ſpecimens which *Buxtorf* has given us (2) out of ſome of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have, either in *Greek* or *Latin*; and conſequently, that the *Hebrew* is as capable of the ſtricteſt poetic rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the ſyllables. We may add, that they have been ſo far from thinking metre and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheleſs a confinement, though not ſo great in the *Hebrew* as it is in other tongues, for the reaſons above alleged. Beſides, it appears further, that the antient *Hebrew* poetry was confined to ſome certain rules and reſtraints, though unknown to us, becauſe, in many of thoſe works, we find ſome letters retrenched, and others ſuperadded, in order to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes or the ſyllables, or to give a ſweeter cadence to them.

(M) St. *Jerom* has ventured to be ſtill more particular (3); and to tell us, that the ſongs of *Moſes*, the books of *Iſaiah*, *Job*, and ſome others, were hexameters and pentameters; that the *Pſalms* were ſapphic, iambic, and alcaic, after the manner of *Horace* and *Pindar*;

(1) *Vide Scalig. animadv. in chron. Euſeb. p. 7. Vid. et Egidin. L. Capel. Mar. Martin. Martini Vaſmuth. Pfeifer. Grot. in Luc. i. 46.* (2) *Theſaur. ling. ſanc. ad fin.* (3) *Epiſt. ad Paulin. & præf. in chron. Euſeb. Vid. & comment. Ezek. c. xxx.*

greateſt part of them, even thoſe two ſolemn ones of *Moſes*, were certainly of the lyric kind, compoſed and ſet to muſic, ſung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the ſound of divers inſtruments, and with dances ſuitable to the muſic, as we ſhall ſhew under the next head.

In the mean time, though we willingly excuſe ourſelves from entering into the merit of the cauſe, whether or not the *Hebrews* were the firſt inventors of poetry; becauſe we cannot tell how much they may have brought of it out of *Egypt*; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the *Greeks*, who attribute the lyric kind to *Orpheus*; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the *Jews* at the time of the *exod*, from that excellent piece which *Moſes* compoſed immediately after their paſſage through the *Red Sea*, which was upwards of 200 years before *Orpheus*, ſince he is ſaid to have gone a ſtripling to the *Argonautic* war; that is, at ſooneſt, about *Gideon*'s time [y]. We ſhall willingly allow them the invention of dramatic poetry; which conſiſting only in imitation, and being calculated to make inſtruction go down, for the ſake of the diverſion attending it, ſuited their rough and unpoliſhed genius, ſuch as it was at that time, much better than that of the *Hebrews*, who, for

[y] See Usher's annals, Sir Is. Newt. Bedford's chronol. & al.

that the *Lamentations* were of the ſapphic kind; and, in his preface to the book of *Job*, he ſays, that, from the third verſe of the third chapter, the verſe is moſtly hexameter and pentameter, conſiſting of dactyls and ſpondees; though he adds, that it is here-and-there intermixed with ſome other foot or feet; and that ſome verſes, though ſtill more irregular, do yet preſerve ſuch a cadence and harmony, as never fail of pleaſing thoſe who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with reſpect to *Moſes*'s ſong in *Deuteronomy*, he ſeems either to have forgot, or to correct himſelf in another place (4); and ſays, that it was written in iambic verſe of four feet. The ſame he ſays alſo of the cxixth, and ſome other pſalms; concerning which we own ourſelves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can ſay of him, and of theſe learned antients, is, that they give us their bare word for what they ſay; for none of them has ventured ſo far as to give us any proof or example of it; ſo that the reader is at liberty to take it, or not.

(4) *Vide epiſt.* 135. *ad Paul. Urbic.*

aught

aught appears, never admitted it among them. For though the author of *Job*, and *Solomon* in his *Canticles*, introduce divers ſpeakers, yet it is plain, their deſign is rather to expreſs their ſentiments in a more lively and pathetic manner, than to repreſent any action, ſuch as commonly comes into a dramatic piece. Whereas the lyric, which conſiſts of muſical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worſhip of GOD, being the moſt proper to inſpire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calculated for that end by its firſt *Hebrew* authors, and has continued in the greateſt vogue and admiration amongſt them ever ſince; inſomuch that it ſeems to have been, in ſome manner, peculiar to them. Again, if *Homer* and *Virgil* are ſo juſtly admired for their judicious choice of ſuch words and phraſes, as carry a ſtrong idea of the action in their very ſound, thoſe who have but the leaſt knowlege of the *Hebrew*, and will but give ſome attention to this particular beauty, will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line (N). We may here add, that if the moſt beautiful figures, and the ſtrongeſt metaphors and allegories, be a ſign of a poetic tongue, the

(N) We ſhould be glad to give ſuch of our readers, as are unacquainted with the *Hebrew*, ſome faint idea of this; but, unleſs they can forget for a moment their leſs maſculine pronunciation, it is to be feared our labour will be loſt. However, in hopes that it may excite a curioſity, in thoſe that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we ſhall venture to ſubjoin the few inſtances following out of the pſalms:

Let the ſea roar, and the fulneſs of it.
Jirham haiom unnelo-o. Pſ. xcviii. 7.

Let the floods clap their hands,
Nebaroth jimkhaù caph. ib. ver. 8.

The LORD alſo thundered from heaven, and the Moſt High gave his voice.
Vejarghem baſhamajim Elohim, vehelion yiten colo. xviii. 13.

The waters ſaw thee, O GOD, the waters ſaw thee; they trembled, and the depths quaked.
Raùka mayim, Elohim, raùka mayim; yakhilu, aph yirghezu tehomoth. lxxvii. 16.

Mountains ſkipped like rams, valleys like young ſheep.
Hebarim rakkedeu ke-elim, gebaghoth kibne zon. cxiv. 4.

For GOD is high, and looks on the humble, the proud afar off he beholdeth.
Ki rom Elohim, ſhaphal yre, geboagh mimerkhak yiedagh. cxxxviii. 6.

All

the *Hebrew* exceeds both the *Greek*, and all others that we know of, in this particular alſo.

Of their muſic, with which they uſed to accompany and enliven their poetic performances, we know little, but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it that can aſſure us, that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one, from that of the other, and if the moſt elegant and harmonious words and phraſes, compoſed upon the ſublimeſt ſubjects, could inſpire a muſical perſon with a ſuitable melody, it will be abſurd to ſuppoſe their muſic to have been otherwiſe than ſweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, though attended with a noble gravity anſwerable to the grandeur of the ſubject and occaſion. Muſic and poetry are juſtly obſerved to be twin-ſiſters, and to ſpring from the ſame faculty: to imagine, therefore, ſuch an inferiority in the former, either with reſpect to compoſition, or muſical inſtruments, as ſome moderns have done, were to ſuppoſe, that it requires greater talents to form a good muſician, than a good poet; whereas the very contrary is ſo viſible to every eye. It is by no means probable, that they, who ſo greatly excel in the one, ſhould admit, in the other, ſuch harſh and inharmonious inſtruments [a], as were

Muſic.

[a] See Le Clerc's eſſ. Rheinferd, Calmet, & al.

All the horns of the wicked will I break.
Col carne reſhagbim agadeagh. lxxv. ult.

And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.
Veghatta pettukheah jakhad bacaſhill vekalapheth jahalomun. lxxiv. 6.

Chariot and horſe are caſt into a deep ſleep.
Nirdam varrekeb vaſſus. lxxvi. 7.

And in my God I will knock down an ox.
Ubelobai adelag ſhoor. xviii. 29.

The reader will eaſily judge of the reſt by theſe few, the three laſt of which are well worth, at leaſt, that ſo much admired one of *Virgil*, *Procumbit humi bos*; or any other of that poet, or of *Homer*.

But, not to dwell longer on this elegancy, it will ſuffice to ſay upon the whole, that whoever gives any tolerable attention to the beautiful choice of words, where-ever the ſubject is of the ſame nature with the inſtances given above, will find them fall with a ſuitable force and rapidity; and, where the ſubject is of a contrary one, he will diſcover in them the moſt ſurpriſing ſmoothneſs and harmony that can be imagined.

only fit to grate the ear, and to ſpread the harſheſt diſcord through the beſt compoſitions (N). We read of

(N) Thus *Le Clerc* has taken ſome pains to prove, that the צלצלי *tzilzele*, which our verſion, after the Septuagint, renders cymbals, were only a couple of hollow demiglobes of braſs, or ſome other tinkling metal, and about ſix inches in diameter, which they uſed to ſhake one againſt another, like a pair of caſtanets (1); becauſe we find ſome ſuch inſtruments to have been in uſe among the antients, and becauſe the root *tzalzal* doth often ſignify to tinkle. Etymologies are at beſt very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. We own that ſuch tinkling inſtruments were uſed among the antients; but the diſtinction which the pſalmiſt makes of *tzilzele ſhamagh* and *tzilzele terughah* (2), and the other inſtruments which he joins with them, do at leaſt imply ſomething more muſical, warlike, and maſculine, if not more melodious, than two ſuch demiglobes.

The ſame may be ſaid of the עוגב *bugab*, which we tranſlate the organ, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of ſix or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by paſſing them ſucceſſively under the upper lip (3). According to this deſcription, it muſt have been incapable of any regular harmony; though in its etymon it ſignifies a lovely inſtrument, from עגב *bagab*, to love, or delight in, to doat upon. But, not to inſiſt upon the name, it is plain this inſtrument was known before the flood (4); and it is ſcarcely credible it ſhould have received ſo ſmall an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and muſic had been ſo highly cultivated.

The שלשים *ſhaliſhim*, one of the inſtruments with which the women came to meet *Saul* (5), and which the Septuagint tranſlate *cymbala*, St. *Jerom*, *ſiſtra*, and our verſion inſtruments of muſic, is ſuppoſed to have been of a triangular figure, like the △, through which were ſtrung a parcel of rings, ſo that the inſtrument being ſtruck with a ſtick, or ſhaken by the hand, made the rings ſtrike both againſt it and one another, and cauſed a moſt inharmonious jarring. But if it muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been triangular, becauſe the word שלוש implies the number three (though it might as reaſonably be ſuppoſed to mean an inſtrument of three ſtrings, and a very muſical one too), we ſee no reaſon why its triangular form might not be deſigned to contain a ſet of ſtrings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with

(1) *See his eſſay on Heb. poetry in biblioth. univerſ. tom.* ix. *ad fin. & alib.*
(2) *Pſal.* cl. 5. (3) *Ibid. ver.* 4. (4) *Gen.* iv. 21.
(5) 1 *Sam.* xviii. 6.

ſticks,

of eight and ten-ſtringed inſtruments in vogue among them, of the *nebel* and *kinor*, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp; and from which the *Greeks* had their *nabla* and *cinyra*. They had likewiſe ſeveral kinds of wind-inſtruments, ſuch as the trumpet, flute, and what ſeveral antient and modern verſions call the organ, whatever reſemblance it might have to ours. To theſe they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the inſtrument ſpoken of in the laſt note); eſpecially when their muſic was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and theſe, if artfully touched, could not but give a wonderful cadence to them.

ſticks, as our old dulcimers, or with the fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the *Jewiſh* writers give of theſe, and ſeveral other muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, it is ſtill more pitiful. But this is not ſo much to be wondered at; their muſical, as well as their poetic genius, has left them long ago; but if thoſe, who are judges of either, can ſuppoſe ſuch a vaſt diſparity between them to be poſſible, and that the dulleſt and moſt unmuſical inſtruments were uſed to enliven the harmony of the moſt ſublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that, though it be ever ſo impoſſible to come at any notion of the nature and ſymmetry of thoſe inſtruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they muſt have been vaſtly more ſuitable to it, than any of thoſe which our moſt diligent ſearchers have yet been able to diſcover.

It would be loſt labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, which the *Jewiſh* rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of ſeveral pſalms, ſuch as *miſtan*, *ſigaion*, *ſheminith*, &c. for particular inſtruments on which theſe pſalms were to be played. But, ſetting even theſe aſide, there will be ſtill at leaſt twenty different ſorts left, which we ſhall, however, forbear mentioning, becauſe we know ſo little of them, and have ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conjectures of commentators about them. All that we ſhall ſay further is, that they were of three kinds; namely, 1. wind-inſtruments, ſuch as the ſeveral ſorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ; 2. ſtringed inſtruments; of this kind were the harp, lute, inſtruments of three, eight, or ten ſtrings; and, 3, ſuch as were beat either by the hand, or with a ſtick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and ſuch-like. To go further upon the ſubject, would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee a fuller account of them in *Calmet*'s diſſertation, quoted in p. 206.

But

But if we may judge of the excellence of the *Hebrew* muſic from its wonderful effects, ſuch as we find it had upon *Saul* in his moſt melancholy and diſtracted moods [a], and in calming the ſouls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inſpiration [b], which is no more than the *Greeks* tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of antient authors; we ſhall be forced to own, that it was vaſtly more moving than any thing we have now. And indeed, what wonder is it, that it ſhould have attained to ſuch perfection, if we conſider the great diſtance of time between its firſt author *Jubal* [c], and *Moſes?* and that, from the time of the latter, it was in conſtant uſe, both in their worſhip, in their religious and civil feſtivals, in their public and private rejoicings, and even in their mournings; witneſs that which *David* compoſed on the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* [d], and the lamentations of *Jeremy* at the death of king *Joſiah* (O)?

From

[a] 1 Sam. xvi. 23. vid. & xix. 7, & ſeqq. [b] 2 Kings iii. 15.
[c] Gen. iv. 21. [d] 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeqq.

(O) What farther improvement it may have received from *David*'s time, may be eaſily gueſſed, if we conſider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good muſician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. To what a height then may we not ſuppoſe it was improved by thoſe 4000 *Levites*, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of 288 excellent maſters, with *Aſaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun*, at their head (9)? The law had already provided for their maintenance another way; ſo that nothing could intercept or divert their application to ſo delightful an art. Beſides thoſe, who aſſiſted conſtantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, we read likewiſe of women who applied themſelves to muſic both vocal and inſtrumental; ſuch were *Heman*'s three daughters (10), and thoſe which are mentioned by the pſalmiſt (11). Their kings had alſo their own muſicians of both ſexes (12). Some of the pſalms, eſpecially the xxth, xxiſt, and lxxiid, are ſuppoſed to have been compoſed, in order to be ſung on the day of their inauguration. The xlvth, and the *Canticles*, are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-

(9) 1 *Chron.* xxiii. 5. xxv. 7, & ſeqq. (10) *Ibid. ver.* 5, 6.
(11) *Pſal.* lxviii. 25. (12) 1 *Chron.* xxv. 2. 2 *Sam.* xix. 35. *Eccleſ.* ii. 8.

day.

FROM all this, the reader may eaſily judge, whether it be credible, that an art of ſo long ſtanding, ſo much admired, encouraged, ſo univerſally practiſed, and capable to cauſe ſuch wonderful effects, could be ſo coarſe and plain, as to conſiſt only in the variety of voices and inſtruments, playing all to the ſame notes, without any combination of even baſs and treble, much leſs of the other parts, which make up the ſoul of muſic [k]; and that chance, at leaſt, ſhould not have led them to obſerve the harmony of ſome, as well as the harſhneſs of other compound notes, ſo as to point out this improvement to them, in ſo long a time, and among ſuch variety of voices and inſtruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the ſurpriſing effects we read of it, from bare ſimple tunes, how fine and melodious ſoever. One thing ſeems more than probable, from the ſtyle of ſeveral of the pſalms, and the frequent tranſition from the firſt to the third perſon; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus anſwering to the other, at proper ſtanzas and diviſions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals [l]. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not ſo eaſy to gueſs at, as how and when they might be loſt (P).

[k] See CALMET diſſert. de muſic. Heb. [l] BEDFORD's diſcourſe on the ſame.

day. We have ſeen likewiſe, that they had proper pſalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great feſtival, and other public occaſions, but alſo at their private feaſts, ſuch as weddings, circumciſions, and the like. In a word, no nation ſeems to have been fonder of muſic than the *Jews*; inſomuch that though the *Babyloniſh* captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows; yet, at their return, we find they brought back a troop of 200 muſicians of both ſexes (13).

(P) It is indeed generally objected, that the roughneſs of the *Hebrew*, its abounding with conſonants, gutturals, and monoſyllables, makes it ſo unfit for muſic, that it would be even madneſs to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have ſaid on the other ſide; but we hope we have already ſufficiently ſhewn the contrary, in what hath been ſaid hitherto on that head. We may even venture to affirm, that ſome pieces of *Hebrew*, which we have ſet to ſuitable muſic, would eaſily convince any impartial

(13) *Ezra* ii. 65.

WHAT has been ſaid of the *Hebrew* muſic may be alſo ſuppoſed of their dances; namely, that thoſe which were of a religious nature were generally more grave and ſolemn, than their other ſorts; but, whether confined to rules, or directed only by cuſtom and imitation, whether circular, as is generally ſuppoſed, or of any other form, we can only gueſs by thoſe of other antient nations. But, even this being all conjecture, and not worth a further inquiry, we ſhall paſs to another ſubject, better known to us; referring the reader, for a more full account of the *Hebrew* poetry, muſic, &c. to the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Of the language, writing, and learning, of the Jews.

THEIR tongue was the *Hebrew*, ſuch as we have it in the writings of *Moſes*, and other ſacred authors. We ſhall find a more proper place to give the moſt probable etymon of that name; being far from thinking, that it was called ſo from *Heber*, in whoſe family alone it had been preſerved in its purity, as the parent of all the reſt, as ſome authors have imagined [o]. What we have ſaid formerly, both about the confuſion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the *Hebrew* being the mother, much Hebrew *tongue.*

[n] Vide MERCER, SKIKARD, MEIBON, GOMAR, LE CLERC, CALMET, & al. [o] Vide auct. ſup. citat.

partial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and ſprings partly from the want of due attention on that neglected tongue, and partly from our preſent unaccountable fondneſs for the modern *Italian* taſte. It is even certain, from the excellent compoſitions which have been made in our own native *Engliſh*, though in moſt reſpects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from unmuſical) the moſt like the *Hebrew* of any modern language, that the perfection of muſic doth not conſiſt in that ſmooth ſinking ſoftneſs we are now ſo taken with. We are well ſatisfied, on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine, that our age hath raiſed muſic to its zenith, would be ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find, by comparing our moſt admired performances with thoſe of two, three, or more centuries paſt, that ſome of its nobleſt beauties and excellencies are quite loſt; which will not be recovered till the world has recovered its genuine taſte, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth.

Jeſs

leſs the original tongue, doth ſufficiently expoſe the fondneſs of ſuch a notion. We ſhall not therefore repeat what has been ſaid already [P], but confine ourſelves to what was there promiſed; namely, to give ſome further account of the genius, and of thoſe particular excellencies, of the *Hebrew* tongue, for which it is ſo generally ſuppoſed to have been the mother of all others (Q).

But though we allow the preference to the *Hebrew* in this reſpect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon: if therefore this laſt has any advantage over the reſt, with reſpect to its being a mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it muſt be upon the account of its ſimplicity, its pureneſs, energy, fecundity of meanings and expreſſions, notwithſtanding its natural barrenneſs of words; over and above its great affinity to all the antient tongues mentioned in the laſt note, and which it ſeems to excel in all theſe particulars. To this may alſo be added the ſignificancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to expreſs their nature and properties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to inſiſt

[P] Vide vol. i. p. 348.

(Q) Here we do willingly give up the conceit of ſome antient fathers (1), who, from the words of the pſalmiſt (2), *when he* (Iſrael) *came out of* Egypt, *and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined, that to the many favours which God ſhewed to that people at their deliverance out of *Egypt*, he added this one, of inſpiring them with an immediate knowlege of that ſacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by ſome critics, that we find in it the greateſt number of the apteſt etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the ſame has been alſo urged in favour of the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Ethiopic*, *Armenian*, and almoſt of every eaſtern tongue; and we need not wonder much at it, ſince it is no more than what a *Flemiſh* antiquary has endeavoured to do with reſpect to his own native one (3), from a conſiderable number of etymologies of primitive names, as of *Adam* from *Haas-dam*, *Eve* from *Ev-vat*, *Abel* from *Haas-belg*, *Cain* from *Quaat-ende*, and many others, which are ſo forced and unapposite, that one would have rather taken it as a burleſque upon etymologiſts, than for a ſerious piece, had he not been at ſuch pains to tell his readers, that he was in very good earneſt.

(1) *Origen. lib.* iii. *cont. Celſ. Gregor. Nyſſen. orat.* 12. *cont. Eunom. Theodoret. quæſt.* 61. *in Gen. & al.* (2) *Pſal.* lxxxi. 5. (3) *Gorop. Becan. origin. Antwerp. lib.* v. *paſſ.*

on the antiquity and veneraбleneſs of its writings above all others; all which ſeem to ſpeak much more in favour of this than of any other language. From all this we may reaſonably conclude, that, if we could know it, as it was in *Moſes*'s time, we might find ſtill greater arguments on its ſide (R).

BUT, as far as we underſtand, and are able to judge of it at this great diſtance, and from thoſe few books we have left of it, this will hardly be conteſted; that its genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* patriarchs; its words are conciſe, yet expreſſive; derived from a ſmall number of roots, yet without the ſtudied compoſition of the *Greek* and *Roman*. It has the happieſt and richeſt fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern; which ariſes from the variety and ſignificancy of its conjugations, ſome of which even imply a whole phraſe, and cannot be well expreſſed in any other without paraphraſing (S).

Idiom and genius.

IT

(R) It muſt be owned, however, that ſeveral learned critics have obſerved ſome defects in it, as we have it now in the ſacred books, which plainly ſhew, that if it was the original tongue, and the parent of the reſt, it muſt have ſuffered many changes, ſuch as the loſing a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting thoſe of ſtrange nations (4). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, beſides very many ſcriptural words, whoſe roots are intirely loſt. However, this is plain from the books we have ſtill extant, that from *Moſes*'s time to the *Babyloniſh* captivity it continued the ſame, without any viſible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worſe.

(S) Thus, for inſtance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love one's ſelf, are expreſſed by the ſame verb with a ſmall variation; in ſome, only of the points, and in others, of one or at moſt two letters. Thus, again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb expreſs a contrary ſenſe or action, as to bleſs and curſe, honour and diſhonour, to root in, or cauſe to take root, and to root out utterly. Pronouns and prepoſitions are only ſingle letters, put the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is ſimple, eaſy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is abſolutely neceſſary to expreſs gender and number, and their caſes are diſtinguiſhed

(4) *Vide Grot. de verit. rel. Chr. not.* 16, *& ſeqq. & comm. in Gen.* ix. *Huet. demonſt. evang. Genebr. Cluver. Hern. Capel. & al. mult.*

Character.

It is indeed far otherwise with their way of writing, though we should allow it equally easy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right, as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and moderns, do; for whether we take it to have been the same with the present character, in which we have the sacred books, which yet is universally now allowed to have been the old *Assyrian*, but introduced only since the *Babylonish* captivity; or whether we take it to have been the old *Samaritan*, which has been preserved only in some few medals, and in the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which is now the most received opinion; sure it is, that the former seems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilst the last is the fartheſt from either, and is perhaps the most uncouth and unnatural, the most puzzling and unsightly, that ever was invented; insomuch that it is scarcely credible, that so judicious a person, as *Moses* was, would ever have made use of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will best judge of by the alphabet following; by which he will see sufficient reason to justify *Ezra*, and those who changed it for the more elegant and commodious *Assyrian*, if they did really so, and the *Samaritan* was indeed the old one.

The

by articles, which are only single letters at the beginning of the word. The same simplicity runs through all the moods and tenses of their verbs, and indeed throughout their syntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition, without suspending or clogging the sense by long-winded periods; so that their style could not but be extremely free and clear, whilst it continued a living tongue; and, if in some cases it appears otherwise to us at this great distance, it is owing either to its frequent allusions to customs and things then universally understood, and since lost, or to our being in the dark about the true meaning of a great number of words, and proper idioms, which we are forced to seek for in the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*, tho' often without success, and seldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of speaking there are likewise, which seem to us flat and uncouth, which will, upon due examination, appear not only the most natural and exact, but argue, perhaps, a clearer and more solid judgment in those that used them. Of this nature is their introducing persons, in their narrations, speaking their own words, instead of affecting to repeat them in their name; it is, for instance, the common stile of

The HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.	
𐤀	א	1 *Aleph*	*Aſpiration*	1		
𐤁	ב	2 *Beth*	*B*	2		
𐤂	ג	3 *Gimel*	*G*	3		
𐤃		4 *Daleth*	*D*	4		
𐤄	ה	5 *He*	*H*	5		
𐤅	ו	6 *Vau*	*V*	6		
𐤆	ז	7 *Zain*	*Z*	7		
𐤇	ח	8 *Cheth*	*Ch*	8		
𐤈	ט	9 *Teth*	*T th*	9		
𐤉	י	10 *Iod*	*I j y*	10		
𐤊	כ	11 *Caph*	*K*	20	ך	500
𐤋	ל	12 *Lamed*	*L*	30		
𐤌	מ	13 *Mem*	*M*	40	ם	600
𐤍	נ	14 *Nun*	*N*	50	ן	700
𐤎	ס	15 *Samek*	*S*	60		
𐤏	ע	16 *Ain*	*H gh ngh*	70		
𐤐	פ	17 *Peh*	*P ph*	80	ף	800
𐤑	צ	18 *Tzade*	*T, tz*	90	ץ	900
𐤒	ק	19 *Coph*	*K*	100		1000
𐤓	ר	20 *Reſh*	*R*	200		
𐤔	ש	21 *Shin*	*Sh ſ*	300		
𐤕	ת	22 *Tau*	*T th*	400		

THAT

the divine writers to expreſs themſelves thus; *And* GOD *ſaid to* Abraham, *I am thy ſhield, and thy exceeding great reward*, inſtead of, GOD *told* Abraham, *that he was his ſhield. And* Abraham *ſaid, O that* Iſhmael *might live!* inſtead of, *he intreated* GOD *for* Iſhmael's *life*. This, every one knows, is the conſtant language of all the writers of the Old Teſtament; but, whether or no it will be allowed to be the moſt natural and exact way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the moſt antient ſimplicity, which we cannot ſay doth run with the like conſtancy and pureneſs through the *Chaldee*, much leſs in the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other antient tongues; ſo that upon all theſe accounts the *Hebrew* ſeems to bid faireſt for being the parent of the reſt. The *Chaldee* bears a great affinity to it, but ſeems to have been ſo emaſculated, that we cannot but look upon

How known. THAT this is the exact number and order of their letters, is demonſtrable from thoſe acroſtic pieces, both in the pſalms and elſewhere, whoſe every half or whole verſe, or every other verſe, begins with one of theſe letters ſucceſſively, as we mentioned it under the laſt article. It is likewiſe univerſally agreed, that the *Samaritan* letters are either the ſame, or very near ſo, with the old *Phœnician*. This we have hinted already [r]; and it is far from improbable, that the old *Egyptian* was alſo very like it [s]; ſo that *Moſes, who was learned in all the wiſdom of* Egypt, might write his laws in that character.

Whence. Sir *Iſaac Newton* indeed thinks, that he had it from the *Midianites* [t]; and we have, in more places than one of this hiſtory, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours, had the art of writing very early [u], though it be not poſſible to determine whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the ſame in common to them all, much leſs to aſcribe the invention of it to its true author (T).

How-

[r] Vid. vol. ii. p. 33. [s] Vid. PLUTARCH. lib. de dæmon. Socrat. KIRCHER. VOSS. CAPEL. & al. mult. [t] Chronol. p. 210. [u] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 152. & alib.

it rather as a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be poſitively decided on either ſide, we ſhall only obſerve further, with reſpect to the *Hebrew*, that it is, of all others, the moſt conciſe, maſculine, pathetic, and freeſt from lightneſs and bombaſt; upon which accounts a judicious author ſays of it, that it comes neareſt to the language of ſpirits, who ſtand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another (27).

(T) Were the *Sabeans* to be relied upon, we ſhould not be long to ſeek for the firſt inventor of writing and letters, ſince they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by *Adam*, the character of which, tho' different from all others (28), might have given the hint to thoſe alphabets that have ſince been uſed. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to *Seth*, upon the authority of *Joſephus*, who tells us, that he cauſed his aſtronomical diſcoveries to be engraven upon two pillars, deſigned to continue proof, one againſt the flood, and the other againſt the conflagration (29); others to *Enoch*, becauſe St. *Jude* quotes a prophecy of his (30),

(27) *Fleury mœurs des Iſraelites, ch.* 20. *See alſo Bellarmine's preface to his Hebrew grammar, &c.* (28) *Herbelot. biblioth. orient. p.* 726. (29) *Ant. l.* i. c. 3. (30) *Epiſt. Jud. ver.* 14.

which

Samaritan, *whether the antient* Hebrew.

HOWEVER, though it be now the moſt received opinion, that the *Samaritan* was the antient *Hebrew* character, yet it has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral learned men [u]. The *Talmudiſts* not only ſuppoſe the contrary all along, but have declared themſelves for the *Chaldee* characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the oppoſite opinion [w] (V); and there ſeems to have run an

[u] HOTTING. cont. Morin. POSTEL. BUXTORF. jun. & al.
[w] Tract. ſanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

which they think muſt have been handed down in writing, tho' much more probably by tradition; others again to *Noah*, and to *Abraham*; but the far greateſt part of both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, antient and modern, to *Moſes*, whom very many think to be the ſame with the *Egyptian Thouth* or *Hermes*, mentioned in the hiſtory of that nation (31). Among theſe laſt, ſome believe that the firſt writing was that upon the two tables; and that, conſequently, GOD did firſt ſhew it unto *Moſes*, who taught it to *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, and the 70 elders. Moſt of the *Jews* are of the ſame opinion, and ſome of them add, that there was an alphabet engraven alſo upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him, and his people, the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverſe of all this ſeems implied in the account which that lawgiver has left of his receiving thoſe tables: he ſays, indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as the phraſe implies, by the order and direction of GOD; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his inſtructing others; much leſs that ſuch a way of writing was taught him by GOD himſelf, and till then unknown to the world; which circumſtance he can hardly be ſuppoſed to have omitted, had that been the caſe. The reader may ſee this point now more learnedly diſcuſſed in a late treatiſe on that ſubject, to which we muſt refer him, for fear of digreſſing beyond our limit (32).

(V) The miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the ם and ם to have been ſupported, in the two tables which *Moſes* brought from the mount, and which they pretend were engraven quite thro' the ſtones, doth plainly ſhew, that they did not mean the *Samaritan*, but *Chaldee*; becauſe, in the former, the ם *mem* hath nothing in its figure that required ſuch a ſupernatural ſupport. As to the paſſage quoted out of the *Talmud* by *Walton*, and thoſe that have followed him, in fa-

(31) *Ita rabbin. ſer. omn. Artaphan. Eupolem. Vide ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 505, *& alib. paſſ. Vide & Artaph. & Eupolem. ap. Euſeb. præp. lib.* ix. *c.* 17, 18. *Rabbin. ſer. omn. Lud. Vives comm. in S. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, lib.* xviii. *c.* 29. *Grot. not. in verit. rel. Chr. Huet. demonſt. evang. Gale court of the gentil. p.* 36. *& al. innumer.* (32) *See Winder hiſt. of knowlege, part* ii. *ch.* i. *& ſeqq.*

an univerſal conſent to them through all their ſucceſſors ever ſince. Among thoſe of the Chriſtians, who have declared themſelves on that ſide, one [x] has taken an unſpeakable deal of pains, to prove the *Chaldee* character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, becauſe no letter can be rightly founded, without diſpoſing the organs of ſpeech into an uniform poſition with the figure of that letter.

THE misfortune is, that all his fine reaſoning, and whatever elſe is urged by others on that ſide of the queſtion, is intirely overthrown by one fact, if authentic, produced for

[x] F. M. B. Van HELMONT alphabet. natur.

vour of the *Samaritan* againſt the *Chaldee*, or, as that place calls it, the *Aſſyrian* letters, if thoſe authors had but had the patience to have read a little further, they would have found ſeveral anſwers to it, which, tho' neither definitive nor ſatisfactory, yet plainly ſhew, that the compilers were of a quite different opinion, We ſhall not trouble the reader with the whole paſſage, but only ſubjoin the moſt material things they anſwer in favour of the *Chaldee*; the firſt of which is to this purpoſe, We have ſtill our columns, and our vaus (intimating thereby the likeneſs of the ו to a column with its chapiter, ſuch as its name implies in the *Hebrew*;) whereas the *Samaritan* vau has nothing in its figure that bears the leaſt reſemblance to it. The next anſwer is, that it is ſaid in the book of *Eſther* (33), that *Mordecai* wrote unto all the nations, according to their writing and language, and to the *Jews* alſo, according to their language and writing; which laſt, it is there urged, would have been needleſs, if the preſent *Hebrew* had been the old *Aſſyrian* character, and the *Jews* had already adopted it, inſtead of the old *Samaritan*, or any other. To this is ſubjoined a further queſtion, or objection, Why then are thoſe characters called אשרים *aſhrim?* to which the anſwer given is; From the *aſhrim* or *beatitudes* contained in it, meaning, in the ſacred books written in that character.

We beg leave to obſerve here, that we are not vindicating the anſwers of the *Talmudiſts*, which muſt ſtand or fall according to their worth; but only ſhew how lightly they have been quoted on that ſide the queſtion, which they have moſt plainly declared themſelves againſt.

(33) *Eſther* viii. 9.

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the other ſide; namely, that of the old *Jewiſh* ſhekel here annexed, which is inſcribed on the one ſide, THE SHE-





KEL OF ISRAEL; and, on the reverſe, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this *Samaritan* character, but, as there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, in the *Jeruſalaimic* dialect (X). We have referred the further particulars

(X) Some of theſe ſhekels were in the poſſeſſion of *Maimonides*, and rabbi *Azarias*, among the *Jews*; and of *Morinus*, *Montanus*, *Villalpandus*, and others, among the *Chriſtians*. The mark on the one ſide is ſuppoſed to have been *Aaron*'s miraculous rod budding forth almonds; and, on the other, the pot of manna. The letters over this laſt, not being plain enough, are variouſly conjectured to ſtand for the name of GOD, of *Iſrael*, *David*, *Jeruſalem*, and the like; as for

particulars of this coin, and its inſcriptions, to the laſt note; and only obſerve here, that, by the name of *Iſrael* in the firſt, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes,

for the inſcriptions round thoſe two ſides, 'bating a ſmall variation of the character and ſpelling between thoſe extant coins, they plainly anſwer to theſe in the modern *Hebrew*; on the one ſide שקל ישראל *ſhekel Iſrael*; and, on the reverſe, ירושלים הקדושה, or *Jeruſhalaim hakadoſhah*, Jeruſalem the holy (33).

Thus then the argument in favour of the *Samaritan* characters ſeems to amount to a demonſtration. We can ſee but two things that can be objected againſt it with any colour of reaſon; the firſt is, that, conſidering the notorious cheats which have been impoſed upon the world, with reſpect to coins and medals, we ſhould be well aſſured of the genuineneſs of theſe, before we venture to decide in ſo weighty a point. The next is, that, allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we have obſerved above of one ſide's being inſcribed the *ſhekel of Iſrael*, yet they may as likely have been the tribute-money which either the *Samaritans*, or ſome of the *Canaanitiſh* nations, paid either to *David*, *Solomon*, or to ſome of his ſucceſſors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and ſpelling between thoſe coins; and which cannot be ſo well accounted for, if we ſuppoſe them to have belonged to a ſingle people, eſpecially that of *Iſrael*. But if the ſeveral nations of *Canaan*, for inſtance, were obliged to ſtamp theſe inſcriptions on their tribute-money, in token of their ſubjection to the *Hebrews*, we ſhall not be to ſeek for the reaſon of this difference. Now ſuch an exaction is ſo far from improbable, that we find it has been practiſed afterwards, by ſeveral conquerors, upon the people they ſubdued; and we may have occaſion to ſhew, in the ſequel of this work, that ſome nations have even choſen to ſacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one ſingle mark of ſubjection. We pretend not to determine on either ſide; but, if we may be permitted to ſpeak our thoughts concerning the *Samaritan* and *Phœnician* characters, it is plain, that as they were never calculated for eaſe and expedition, ſuch as one might reaſonably expect among thoſe trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the *Egyptians* affected to do; ſo, if they were really older than *Moſes*, and he choſe to write his laws in them, preferably to any other that might then be in uſe, one can ſcarce ſuppoſe any other reaſon for it, than that of preſerving an awful regard to them.

(33) *Vid. int. al. Walton. ſupplem. in prolegom. de ponder. p.* 36. & 38.

because

becauſe they had nothing to do with *Jeruſalem the holy*, which is on the reverſe. There are alſo ſome pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the *Samaritans* after the captivity; one of which, among the reſt, is, that their hatred againſt the *Jews* was grown to ſuch an height by that time, that they would have ſuffered any thing, rather than be forced to ſtamp ſuch an inſcription upon their coins.

THE reader may ſee the whole argument at length, in the authors quoted in the margin[y]; from which the *Samaritan* character is proved to have been the antient *Hebrew*, and not that which has been, and is ſtill, uſed by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* under that name.

THESE characters, notwithſtanding their great affinity to the old *Phœnician*, if they be not indeed the ſame with them, and the vaſt progreſs of this latter all over the world, would have been intirely loſt, had it not been preſerved to us in the *Samaritan* pentateuch; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inſcription of theſe ſhekels, which have given ſo great a light to this controverſy, and of ſome other *Phœnician* medals, of no leſs uſe in other parts of antient hiſtory. But though we have had no copies of that book till within theſe 200 years (Y), and conſequently no knowlege of thoſe ſhekels till ſome

[y] MORIN, SIMON, CALMET, WHISTON, & al.

(Y) Archbiſhop *Uſher* is the perſon, to whom we are beholden for the firſt copies that ever were brought into *Europe*; the frequent mention, which he met with of it in ſome of the authors quoted above, would not ſuffer him to be at reſt, as he expreſſes himſelf (34), till he had procured five or ſix of them from *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and had carefully examined them. What his obſervations, and thoſe of other learned men, are concerning that book, is foreign to our purpoſe; the reader may conſult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With reſpect to the character itſelf, we ſhall not pretend to decide whether the *Phœnicians* had it from the *Hebrews*, or theſe from them. Sure it is, indeed, that *Moſes* is the oldeſt writer we know of (36); but whoever conſiders the vaſt interval between the creation of the world, and the time in which he wrote, the great increaſe of mankind, their early commerce, arts, ſciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowlege of letters to be ſo recent as that lawgiver's writings. It will be more reaſonable to divide the honour of that invention, and its gradual improvements, among more na-

(34) *Epiſt. ad Lud. Capel.* (35) *Morin. diſſert. Hotting. cont. Morin. F. Simon. hiſt. critic. n. t. Sentiments de quelque theolog. de Holland. Prideaux connect. t.* ii. *l.* vi. (36) *See Winder's hiſt. of learning, vol.* ii. *c.* 1, *& ſeqq.*

tions,

some time after, we must not think the *Samaritan* pentateuch had been unknown till then, or that the *Chaldee* had passed till then for the original *Hebrew* character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers, and other antient authors [y], the greatest part of whom (especially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the *Jews* exchanged their old *Samaritan* for that more beautiful *Chaldee*, which is now in use with them, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, whilst the *Samaritan* chose to preserve the antient one. This opinion was likewise embraced by many modern critics, even before these *Samaritan* copies were brought into *Europe*, though by a far greater number since these additional testimonies have been brought to light. There has been, however, a third class, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming that the antient *Jews* had two sorts of characters, the sacred and the vulgar; the first of which they pretend was the *Chaldee* now in use, and the latter the *Samaritan* [z]: but, as they have given no reasonable proof for such a distinction, it has been justly rejected as chimerical; and indeed, if they had really had two such sorts of characters, one would rather have supposed the *Samaritan* to have been the sacred, for the reasons mentioned in a former note.

Their points or vowels.

It has likewise been a famous dispute among the learned, whether the *Hebrews* used any vowel-letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were substituted instead of them; and, if the latter, whether they are as old as *Moses*, or invented by *Ezra*, or by the *Massoretes*. It is not our design to enter into that spacious field of controversy, which has exercised the wits of the most learned critics of the two last centuries, and is far from being, as yet, adjusted by those of the present. It will be sufficient, we hope, to acquaint our readers with the most received opinions upon those two heads, and to refer them, for further satisfaction, to the authors who

[y] Vid. Orig. hexapl. Hieron. in Ezek. & alib. Euseb. Cæsar. Tarsens. Cyril. Alex. Procop. Syncell. & al.
[z] RR. Azariah Ab. de Bartenor. Postel, Buxtorf, Conting. Schambat, & al.

tions, and perhaps more ages, than one; for, without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him, as well as the inventors of music, forging, and such-like.

have

have treated on thoſe ſubjects *ex profeſſo*. As to the firſt, it is now the general opinion, that the *aleph*, *he*, *vau*, *iod*, and *ain*, did ſerve inſtead of vowels, though they were ſometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, underſtood, in their declenſions and conjugations, and often varied in their ſound, and had ſometimes the power of conſonants, as our j and v; but, for this, we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is, that the *Samaritans* never admitted of any others, though they readily read their *Hebrew* pentateuch by the help of their *Samaritan* character. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic*, which laſt did not begin to uſe points till ſeveral centuries after CHRIST: nay, the *Jews* themſelves never admitted them in their ſynagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithſtanding the many objections that have been raiſed againſt it, that it may be, and is, eaſily read without thoſe points, which ſeem only invented for the greater eaſe of learners, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with reſpect to their letters, is, that in the ſacred books, as we have them now, ſome words have one letter bigger than the reſt, others leſs, ſome at the beginning, ſome in the middle, and ſome at the end of a word; ſome are ſuſpended, or ſtand higher in the line, and others are turned upſide down (Z).

Not admitted by the Samaritans.

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(Z) We hope it will ſuffice to have juſt hinted theſe *Maſſoretic* obſervations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unleſs we could be ſatisfied both about the antiquity and deſign of theſe variations; which, for aught we know, may be owing to chance; and, if they were done with a deſign, yet would puzzle an *Oedipus* to find it out. However, thus much we thought needful to ſay about them, becauſe an unwary reader might elſe be eaſily led to think, that theſe differences happened ſince the invention of printing, becauſe ſuch miſtakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken notice of, a great many centuries before that art was thought on, and have been religiouſly conveyed down to us in the ſame form, both in the written volumes, ſuch as they have always uſed in their ſynagogues, and in their printed books ſince the diſcovery of that art, as having been deſignedly ſo written by their inſpired penmen, either to convey ſome extraordinary myſtery, or to imply ſome excellence or commendation, if the letter be of the larger, or, if of the ſmaller kind, ſome diminution and contempt of the thing ſignified by the word in which they are placed; or at leaſt to raiſe either a greater degree of attention to the ſubject,

of

Their antiquity and authority called in question.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in dispute: *Jews* and *Christians* have been much divided, one part attributing them to *Moses*, and making them equally authentic with the text; and the other to *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue; till the famous *Elias Levita* [a], a learned *German Jew*, who flourished at *Rome* about the middle of the sixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in use till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, that is, according to him, about 500 years after CHRIST. His book soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation, and of Christians. Among the latter were the two *Buxtorfs*, who produced some cabbalistical books of great antiquity, at least boasted as such by the *Jews*, in which there was express mention of points (A). These were answered by *Capellus*,

[a] ELI. LEVIT. præfat. 3. in Masorath Hammasor.

of which we have had occasion to give an instance under a former note (1).

As to the numbers which we have set over-against each letter, it must be observed, that they are those which the *Jews* have made use of, time out of mind; but, as to the divine penmen, they never made any use of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length: which we the more willingly take notice of, because some chronologers, in imitation of the cabbalistical *Jews*, have pretended to find out and settle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and measure of things, by the help of these numerical letters; and both *Jews*, and some cabbalistical *Christians*, to find out mysteries in them. Thus it is pretended, that the letter ת, which signifies either 1000, occurs six times in the first verse of *Genesis*, to denote, that the world shall last just 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is said without the least proof, that they were used to any such purpose, either by the inspired writers, or even by the antient *Jews*.

(A) These books are, the בהיר *bahir*, זהר *zohar*, and the כוזרי *kozri*. The first of these is pretended to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the *kozri*, the *Jews* will have it to be about 1900 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned *Jew* and the king of *Chozroes*, in which the latter was converted to judaism (2).

(1) *See before*, p. 10. (H). & *seqq. R. Azaria. c.* 19. & *R. Nieto. Cleft* II.

(2) *De bis vid. lib. Juchasin*, p. 42. *Buxtorf. Capel. Morin. Basnag. & al. vid.*

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Capellus, and other critics, till *Morinus*, having examined all that had been urged on both ſides, wrote his learned diſſertation on that ſubject, againſt which there has been nothing replied of any conſequence; whereas his opinion has been univerſally applauded and confirmed by thoſe that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither *Origen*, nor St. *Jerom*, nor even the compilers of the *Talmud*, which, according to him, was not finiſhed till the ſeventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the *Jewiſh* rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth centuries. He adds, that the firſt footſteps he met of them were in the writings of the rabbies *Aaron Ben-Aſher*, chief of the weſtern, and of *Moſes Ben-Naphthali*, chief of the eaſtern ſchool; that is, about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be ſuppoſed older than the beginning of it[b] (B).

At

[b] Vid. MORIN. diſſert. biblic. CAPEL. arcan. punctat. & diatrib. VALTON. prolegom. DUPIN. VOSS. WASMUTH, & al. mult.

In theſe three books mention is made of points once or twice, and the latter has this expreſſion about them; that they are the ſame to the letters, that cloaths are to a modeſt woman, who dares not be ſeen without them. Were the boaſted antiquity of theſe books unqueſtionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the *Jews* fidelity in ſuch things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what ſhews the impoſture of them is, that there are things in them which muſt have been written about 1000 years after their ſuppoſed date; and that none of thoſe books have been quoted or mentioned, during that time, by any author. Other objections, urged by the *Buxtorfs*, and others, againſt the recentneſs of the points, the reader will find fully anſwered by *Morinus*, and the authors quoted after him, a little higher.

(B) We ſhall venture, however, to ſubjoin a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe points, for the ſake of our *Engliſh* readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number; all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter, as follows:

Long points.			Semibriefs.			Quite briefs.	
kamets	a		*patach*	a		*ſheva*	e
tzere	e		*ſegol*	e		*chateph-pattah*	ĕ ă
chirick	i	*gadol*	*chirick*	i		*chateph-ſegol*	e ĭ
cholem	o		*caton*	i		*chateph-cametz*	ŏ
ſhureek	u		*holem*	o			
			kibbutz	u			

Il

Likewise the grammatical and other points.

AT the same time, these doctors set about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full-stop,

It would be needless to dwell longer upon these, or to mention some differences among grammarians about them; for though the *Jews*, even those who believe them to be the invention of the *Massoretes*, look upon them to be of such authority, that nothing can be altered in them; yet the generality of Christians reject such a superstitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them, whenever a better sense may be obtained by a change of them; because it is plain, that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the Septuagint version, nor with that of St. *Jerom*, nor with their targums, nor with the *Chaldee* paraphrase, the most antient of all, nor with the interpretation of the antient rabbies; for which reason their punctation has been as much suspected by some, as it has been cried up by others: so that, if we could suppose the points to have been as old as those antient versions, we must likewise suppose, that their books were differently pointed from those of the *Massoretes*. All that can therefore be said for these last is, that they have succeeded better in their punctation than Christians could have done, because they had retained the true reading, at least for the most part, by constant tradition, which we should have had to seek for, by the bare help of those antient versions and paraphrases, not without an immense deal of trouble. It is even plain, that they could not so much as agree among themselves about every particular word, though they did in the main; hence arose that difference of lection or punctation, known by the critics by the names of *keri* and *ketib*.

This brings to our minds a story out of the *Talmud*, which, though not of any authority, serves to shew, that their reading was not fixed at that time. There *David* is introduced reproving his general for not utterly destroying the *Amalekites*, according to the command of GOD. *Joab* answers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זכר *zakar*, or the males, and *David* tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זכר *zeker*, the memory of *Amalek*: to which *Joab* replies, that he had been always taught to read it *zakar*, and not *zeker*. The reader must not, however, imagine, that these differences are considerable, or that they leave the sense of the Scripture undetermined. This is indeed objected by those who contend for the authenticity of the points; but is fully answered by the authors on the opposite side. This is certain, that though the points are a vast help both to the learners of *Hebrew*, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet, when men have made any considerable progress in that

tongue,

ſtop, to divide the periods and verſes, which till that time had lain confuſed and undiſtinguiſhed, not only in the ſacred, but in all the other *Hebrew* books (C). This has been alſo a very uſeful work to the world, tho' few Chriſtian interpreters have thought it neceſſary to confine themſelves to their diviſions. On the contrary, there is ſcarce a modern verſion that doth not very reaſonably depart from them, when a clearer ſenſe, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith, can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that, if a new verſion was now to be made of the Old Teſtament, it would alter the punctation of the *Maſſoretes* in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D). Notwithſtanding which,

tongue, they not only can read it with eaſe without them, but even chuſe to do ſo (36).

(C) An eminent critic aſſures us (37), that he had examined above 2000 *Hebrew* manuſcripts of all ſorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old; or, at leaſt, if the books themſelves were of older date, yet the points were manifeſtly added to them afterwards; and this he affirms equally of the grammatical and vowel-points. And he was ſo ſure, that he had made all the neceſſary inquiry after them, that he defies all the advocates for the points to produce one that could diſprove his aſſertion; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at; the *Jews* were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a byas in every thing that related to the religion and reign of the Meſſiah, to have ſucceeded thoroughly in ſuch an undertaking, if their intentions had been ever ſo upright. But it is to be queſtioned, whether their fear of giving the Chriſtians any advantage, has not cramped them more than all the reſt, and made them ſit down ſatisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards uſed againſt them.

To give one inſtance for all: it is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th verſes of the cxth pſalm, which is confeſſed on all hands to be prophetical of the Meſſiah's reign, they have ſo far murdered the ſenſe of it, that no verſion has been able to tranſlate it, without ſome needleſs and unwarrantable ſuppletives; whereas, had they divided it into three verſes, and placed the full-ſtops where they ought to be, the ſenſe would have been clear, eaſy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy con-

(36) *Vid. method of learning Hebrew without points.* (37) *Iſ. Voſſ. de* LXXVII. *interpret. tranſlat. c.* 30.

Massoretic *observations, of what use.*

which, it must be owned, that their labour, in these two respects, has proved very serviceable to the learned; and tained in it. But perhaps this is what they carefully avoided. The reason of it will appear by what follows. And, as no version has as yet rectified it, we shall take the liberty to subjoin the literal translation of those three verses, according to their and our punctation, that our readers may see which ought to be preferred:

According to the Massoretic.	*According to our punctation.*
2 The LORD shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*; be thou ruler in the midst of thine enemies.	2 The LORD shall send the rod of thy power out of *Sion*.
3 Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.	3 Rule thou, in the midst of thine enemies, thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness.
	4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the first of these the reader will see, that the placing the full-point after enemies strikes off the next words, *thy free-will people*, from being either the accusative of the verb רדה *redeh*, *rule thou*, going before, or from having any connection with what comes after. So that those words stand so ungrammatically there by themselves, that, to make sense of the verse, most versions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have substituted to it of their own. Thus one of our versions, that in our Common-prayer book, words it thus; In the day of thy power *shall* the people *offer free-will offerings*; where the words *shall offer* are added to make up the sense, and the order inverted, by placing the words, *in the day of thy power*, before them, contrary to the *Hebrews*. That in our Bible is still wider from the original, though it substitutes less, as the reader may see by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According, therefore, to this pointing, the verses in question may be fairly commented as follows:

2 The LORD shall send the rod, or sceptre, of thy power out of *Sion*, that is, out of the tribe of *Judah*. Compare *Gen.* xlix. 10, and ps. lxxviii. 68.

3 Rule thou over *thy free-will* people (for none but such are fit to be CHRIST's subjects; see *Matth.* xi. 29.), in the midst of thine enemies (*Jews* and *Heathens*, or, in a spiritual sense, the world, the flesh, and the devil), in the day of thy power (that is, when all power shall be given him, both in heaven and earth, *Matthew*

xxviii.

and that they have made the knowlege of the ſacred books much eaſier and expeditious than it could have been without it. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they invented a great variety of other points, ſome rhetorical, ſome muſical, and others critical; the former of which were deſigned to keep up the right cadence and chant of the *Hebrew*, and the latter to fix the ſenſe of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate, as they were indeed uſeleſs, and in ſome caſes ridiculous. From theſe they ſet themſelves about numbering the verſes, and even letters, and middle verſes of every book; and to ſet down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book. And as the deſign of all this labour was to prevent any miſtakes, additions, omiſſions, or alterations, creeping into the text; ſo it plainly intimates, that they were conſcious of its having done ſo before; and that, notwithſtanding all their pretended care and ſcrupulous exactneſs in tranſcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid ſome ſuch miſchances.

What the Jews wrote upon.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the inſtrument they wrote with, may, in ſome meaſure, be gathered from ſome places of ſcripture. As to the former, it is plain, that their firſt writing, namely the *decalogue*, was upon tables of ſtone. But it is likely, that *Moſes* made uſe of a leſs heavy and cumberſome material to write the reſt of his laws upon, ſuch as the *ſhittim*, or ſome other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was ſtill in uſe, not only in *Iſaiah*'s days [c], but even continued ſo till our Saviour's time [d]. But, beſides theſe, we find frequent mention made in *Job*, the *Pſalms*, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls [e], which are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of ſkins, or of ſome pliable matter, fit to roll up or round; for ſo the original word imports (F). And we have the teſtimonies of

[c] Iſai. xxx. 8. [d] Luke i. 63. [e] Job xxxi. 35, 36. Pſ. xl. 7. Iſai. viii. 1. Jerem. xxxvi. 4. Ezek. ii. 9. iii. 1, & ſeq. Zechar. v. 2.

xxviii. 18.), in the beauties of holineſs (which is the peculiar characteriſtic of CHRIST's reign, and of his religion).

(F) מגלה *megilah* comes from גלל *gallal*, which ſignifies to roll up, as *volumen* from *volvo*; anſwerable to which, the

of *Herodotus* [f], and *Diodorus Siculus* [g], that the *Ionians* and *Persians* used the skins of sheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king *Pergamus*'s time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor of parchment [h]. These rolls differed in the size, according to the subject they contained, and the character in which it was written; so that some of them had several skins sewed to one another lengthwise. The *Jews* retain them to this day in their synagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the skin, much less of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our version renders leaves, in that place of *Jeremiah* [i], where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it (G). Of this sort, we suppose, was also the book of the law, which the high-priest found in *Josiah*'s time [k] (H).

We do not find, that they had any schools, or colleges, for the instruction of their youth, if we except those of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we

[f] Lib. v. [g] Lib. ii. [h] See Voss. orig. & lib. de grammat. cap. xxxviii. [i] Jerem. xxxvi. 23. [k] 2 Kings xxii. 8.

the evangelist (39) makes use of the words πλύξας and ἀναπτύξας, for the opening and shutting of the book.

(G) The word is דלתות *dal-toth*, which properly signifies doors; and here pages or columns, from their likeness to a door. A leaf of a book doth, indeed, bear the same resemblance, but cannot properly belong to such rolls as we are speaking of.

(H) Hence we conclude they used two sorts of instruments; the first of steel, or some hard metal, for ingraving upon stone and wood; one side of which was sharp-pointed, and the other blunt and smooth, and served either to smooth or erase what had been written. Hence the *Latin* proverb, *vertere stylum*. This kind of instrument we find mentioned in some places of Scripture (40), tho' not described, but guessed at, from those which were used by other nations. The other sort was for writing upon the skins of beasts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or some other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a penknife, or, as the original has it, a scribe or writer's knife, with which king *Jeboiakim* cut the roll which was sent him by *Jeremiah*.

(39) *Luke* iv. 17, 20. (40) *Job* xix. 24. *Psal.* xlv. 2, *& alib.*

shall

ſhall ſhew by-and-by. They have not ſo much as a word to expreſs them (I): and, if we conſider their manner of education and life, we ſhall find no great uſe for them. They bred up their ſons to bodily exerciſes, ſuch as would beſt fit them, either for war or huſbandry; and their daughters to houſhold occupations, without troubling themſelves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to inſtruct them in the knowlege of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the ſabbath (K).

ALL

(I) The *Jews*, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for their ſchools, of which there is no mention in the ſacred books, namely, the בת מוסר *beth muſſar*, which ſignifies the houſe of inſtruction, or an inferior ſchool for reading and writing; and the בת מדרש *beth midraſh*, or houſe of inquiry or expounding, whither they went to be inſtructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabbinic ſubtilties. But tho' it be viſible, that theſe are of more recent date, namely, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of *Simeon*, and the latter by that of *Levi*; which they infer from *Jacob*'s prophecy of the diſperſion of thoſe two tribes in *Iſrael* (41). So that, having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep ſchools for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this notion (for it is plain, that *Simeon* had a portion with the reſt (43), tho' too ſmall for it), they interpret the words of the pſalmiſt, *paſſing through the valley of* Bacca, *uſe it for a well; and the rain filleth the pool* (44); of theſe wells of learning: and it was a common phraſe with them, Maſter, we come to drink waters from thy well; inſtead of, We come to be thy ſcholars or diſciples (45). And thus alſo the words in the next verſe, *they go from ſtrength to ſtrength*, they underſtood, of raiſing from one claſs to the other. Theſe are, according to them, the מועדי אל *mohad El*, houſes of GOD; or, as our verſion more truly renders it, the ſynagogues, which the pſalmiſt ſaid were deſtroyed by the king of *Babylon* (46). So that, upon the whole, we have not any grounds from Scripture for any ſuch ſchools.

(K) They had, indeed, rather an averſion than curioſity for foreign languages; and he that could ſpeak and write his own well, or at leaſt as well as his neighbours, thought himſelf ſufficiently learned; and, for theſe, cuſtom ſerved

(41) *Gen.* xlix. 7. *& al. in Gen.* xlix. 7.
(42) *Targ. Hieroſol. Rab. Raſh. Sal. Jarch.*
(43) *Vide Joſh.* xix. 1. *and vol.* ii. *p.* 484. *& ſeqq.*
(44) *Pſ.* lxxxiv. 6, 7. *Midraſh in pſ.* lxxiv. 8.
(45) *Vide Gemar. tr.* חגיגה, *fol.* 3. *&*
(46) *Pſ.* lxxiv. 8. *Vid. Midr. in loc.*

Morality, whence. ALL that related to religion and morality, was contained in the *Mosaic* books, and interspersed in the others; but,

them instead of grammar. History, further than they found it in their sacred books, they thought beneath their care, because they found, in these, all that they esteemed worth knowing; the creation of the world, the flood, the origin and dispersion of nations, and, what concerned them most, their own history and descent from *Abraham*, their affinity to other branches of his posterity, the *Egyptian* bondage and deliverance, and, in a word, all that wonderful series of transactions which had happened to their nation; in all which GOD had shewed such peculiar regard to them, that it is no wonder, if we find them so full of themselves, and so prone to despise all the rest of the world. Besides the *Pentateuch*, and the histories of *Joshua*, of their judges and kings, which they thought themselves obliged to be versed in, they had also several others, which have been lost since; such as the book of the wars of the LORD, that of *Jasher*, and especially the book of the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, to which those we have extant continually refer: but these last were not perhaps so universally studied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

If it be asked, who were the authors of those books, it is plain, that the former were written by the historians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themselves. But who were the writers of the latter, is not so easily agreed: for as, on the one hand, the historians mentioning every transaction, as done in their time, has induced many of the learned to suppose, that they were written at several times, and by several inspired penmen cotemporary with them, such as *Samuel*, *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and others; so, on the other side, the seeming uniformity of style, thro' all those books, makes that notion seem very improbable, and several expressions interspersed in them, impossible. Thus it is said, in the beginning of the book of *Samuel*, that the word of GOD was precious, or scarce, in those days (50); and that it was then the custom, to call a prophet a seer, and to inquire for him by that name (51). These, and several others in the same stile, seem, at least, to intimate, that it was otherwise when the books were written. Thus it is also said in another place of the same book, that, in the author's time, the name of *Bethel*, or *house of* GOD, was turned into that of *Bethaven*, or the *house of wickedness*; which did not happen till after

(50) 1 *Sam.* iii. 1. (51) *Ibid.* ix. 9.

Jeroboam's

but, beſides theſe, they had the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and *Eccleſiaſtes*, with many other writings of *Solomon*, a great part of which are likewiſe loſt; to ſay nothing of *Job* and the *Prophets*. All theſe they were to be inſtructed in, even from their infancy; they heard them expounded on the ſabbath, and other feſtivals, by the *Prophets* and *Levites*, and in them they found ſuch a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot ſuppoſe them to have had the leaſt curioſity to know more of it. And indeed their lawgiver knew but too well, how dangerous ſuch knowlege would have been to a people ſo eaſy to be corrupted; and therefore wiſely ordained, that their children ſhould be inſtructed only in ſuch truths, as were proper to inſpire them with an awful regard to GOD and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilſt he forbad them, almoſt upon all occaſions, to be inquiſitive after the religion and learning of other nations (L).

Contempt of ſecular learning.

THE

Jeroboam's revolt (52). Theſe, and many more which we omit, make it very probable, that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile theſe, it is gererally believed, that the original authors of them were thoſe inſpired perſons abovementioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all thoſe pieces were afterwards collected into a regular hiſtory, either by *Ezra*, *Haggai*, or ſome of thoſe prophets, who return'd from the captivity; and who, being alike inſpired, might make ſuch further additions as they thought proper, to illuſtrate their hiſtory; ſuch as the change of names, cuſtoms, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they have been ſtill conſtantly acknowleged by the *Jews*, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to as ſuch, by the writers of the goſpel (53).

(L) This was moſt probably alſo the foundation of that extraordinary diſregard they ſhewed for thoſe uſeful arts and ſciences, in which their neighbours had ſo long excelled. Arithmetic, being ſo neceſſary for the trading part, might indeed find ſome encouragement amongſt them; and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture, than from any teſtimony; but, as for navigation, aſtronomy, and ſuch-like, we find nothing in their hiſtory, but what aſſures us of their unſkilfulneſs in them. The maritime tribes contented themſelves with re-

(52) *Ibid.* xii. *paſſ* 25, & *ſeq.* & *alib. paſſ.*

(53) *Vid. Matth.* xii. 3. & *al.* *Luc.* iv.

Measureing of time. THE changing of the ſolar into the lunar year, and the complete month of 30 days into the irregular moons of 29 and 30 days, mentioned under other heads; the diſtinguiſhing of the days of the week (not by the ſeven planets, of which they do not ſeem to have had any knowlege, or ſo much as names for; but to have ranked them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed ſtars; but) by 1ſt, 2d, 3d day, or 1ſt and 2d from the ſabbath; the diviſion of the day and night, not into 12 equal parts, as the *Egyptians* are thought to have done long before, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches; theſe diviſions of time, ſo very oppoſite to that more perfect one of the *Egyptians*, and other neighbouring nations, ſeem intirely calculated by their lawgiver, to prevent their applying themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and thence falling inſenſibly into that of aſtrology, and being thereby enſnared into the worſhip of thoſe heavenly bodies, after the example of other nations (M). What inſtruments they had to reckon the time

ceiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad; inſomuch that when *Solomon* reſolved to ſend ſome ſhips into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign ſailors. And as for aſtronomy, we need but call to mind what has been ſaid under another head, of the poor ſhifts they were drove to, to find out their new moons (53), to convince us of their profound ignorance of it. We ſhall only add, that they were ſo far from knowing any thing of eclipſes, that they have not ſo much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon them as miraculous, and as tokens of the divine anger, and ſo never dived farther into the nature of them. Perhaps alſo they were led into this notion, by that figurative expreſſion in *Job* (94), *he covers the light with his hands, and ſets, as it were, an interpoſer over it*; for that is the literal ſenſe of the original, and of the verſion of the Septuagint: agreeable to which is that awful deſcription of the day of the LORD in *Joel* (55), and of the downfal of *Egypt*, and other nations, which we meet with in the *Prophets*.

(M) It is no difficult matter to conceive, how thoſe antient nations came to worſhip the planets, and heavenly bodies, after they had once imbibed the belief of their having ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the government of all ſublunary things, and had aſcribed

(53) *See before*, p. 33. (H). & 31. iii. 15. (54) *Job* xxxvi. 32. (55) *Ch.* ii. 10.

to

time by, whether the *Egyptian clepſydræ*, or water-glaſſes, or ſun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except to every one their ſeveral influences, good or bad, and the particular periods, in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came firſt into their heads, is not ſo eaſy to imagine; and yet that it muſt have begun very early, and was univerſally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we conſider how antient the diviſion of the day and night into 24 hours is; and that the conſecrating every day of the week to one of the ſeven planets, not in the regular order in which they ſtand in their ſyſtem, ♄, ♃, ♂, ☉, &c. but by ſkipping two of them every new day, could not be owing to any thing but an opinion, that every planet ruled alternately the ſeveral hours of each day.

Thus, on *Saturday*, *Saturn*, the planet of that day being ſuppoſed to govern the 1. 8. 15. and 22 hours, whilſt *Jupiter*, the next in order, governed the 2. 9. 16. and 23. & the 3. 10. 17. and 24. the *ſun* muſt of courſe govern the firſt hour of the next day; upon which account he became the planet of that day, and, having ruled the 1. 8. 15. and 22. *Venus* and *Mercury* the two remaining ones, brought in the *Moon* to be lady of the next, or of the *Monday*; and ſo of the reſt, according to the following diagram.



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary diviſion of the week was of aſtrological extraction; and that that of the days into 24 parts was ſo likewiſe, tho' not equally demonſtrable, can hardly be queſtioned, if we conſider the great con-

except that we read of the ſun-dial, or, as the original ſignifies, the ſtair-caſe, or flight of ſteps, of *Ahaz* [n]: but, allowing it to have been a real and regular ſun-dial, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been rather the work of ſome foreign aſtronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character ſufficiently ſhews, that he was not over-ſcrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous nature, witneſs his new *altar from* Damaſcus [o]. Beſides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two firſt of which were from the ſun-riſing to its meridian, and the two laſt from noon to its ſetting, it was not difficult for them to make out the other diviſion by ſuch obſervations, either on his career, or on the ſhadow of any trees, houſes, or even of their own bodies, as every ploughman with us is able to do to a much greater juſtneſs. The ſame might be done in the diviſion of the four night-watches from the motion of the ſtars (N).

On

[n] 2 Kings xx. 9, & ſeqq.

[o] Ibid. xvi. 10, & ſeqq.

nection which theſe two have one with another, and that the reputed author of this laſt, the *Egyptian Hermes*, ſurnamed *Triſmegiſtus*, and cotemporary with *Moſes*, if not the ſame perſon with him, was a great aſtrologer, as appears by ſome of his writings on that ſubject, ſtill extant under his name.

(N) To ſeek for other ſciences, or for ſchools or univerſities, among them, were like ſeeking them among the *Goths* and *Vandals*; they not only had an equal contempt for them, and for thoſe nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred, againſt them was ſo far from abating, after their return from *Babylon*, where they had ſeen them flouriſh, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, inſomuch that their large chronic, intituled *Juchaſin*, hath recorded a ſentence of anathema, which paſſed in the time of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, againſt ſuch as ſhould ſuffer their children to be inſtructed in any part of the *Greek* learning. *Solomon*, indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturaliſt, and wrote a great deal upon that ſubject; but he was ſo far from recommending that ſtudy to others, that he calls his reſearches of that kind, *vanity and vexation of ſpirit*; or, as the original imports, a feeding upon the wind (12): which is probably the reaſon why, inſtead of following his example, they ſuffered all thoſe excellent wri-

(12) *Eccleſ.* i, & *ſeqq. paſſ.*

tings

On the other hand, they were no leſs careful to cul- *Syna-*
tivate the knowlege of religion among themſelves: we *gogues.*
cannot indeed be ſure, that they had any ſynagogues before the captivity, tho' it be far from improbable, conſidering the great diſtance at which ſome of them lived from the temple, and that at beſt they were obliged to reſort thither but thrice a year; but other places they had *Schools.*
for prayer and inſtruction, namely, the ſchools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the ſabbaths, new-moons, and other feſtivals [q]. By prophets we mean not thoſe ſtrictly ſo called, men endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy (O), but their diſciples, or, as the *Hebrew* idiom words it, the ſons of the prophets. The former were generally conſulted by the kings, prieſts, and elders of the people, upon all extraordinary occaſions, whether about religion or ſtate-affairs [r]; and the latter were

[q] Vide 2 Kings iv. 23. & ſup. p. 33. [r] Vide 1 Kings xxii. 5, 7. 2 Kings xix. 2. 20, & ſeqq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & ſeq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & ſeq. & alib.

tings to be loſt. Whilſt they were thus averſe to the learning of other nations, they were no leſs ſcrupulous of concealing their own from them, eſpecially their ſacred books; witneſs the grief they expreſſed when *Ptolemy* obtained a verſion of them into *Greek*, in memory of which they have kept a ſtrict, even a double faſt on the 8th and 9th days of the month *Thevet*, or *December*.

(O) The word prophet doth not always ſignify an inſpired perſon, in the Old Teſtament, but often a preacher of righteouſneſs, ſuch as were all the patriarchs from *Seth*, or, in the ſenſe of the goſpel, ſuch as believed and taught the coming of the *Meſſiah* (56); in which ſenſe alſo, thoſe that preached him, and his doctrine, after his coming, are alſo called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The ſame may be alſo ſaid of thoſe who ſung the praiſes of God, or accompanied them with ſome muſical inſtrument, as *Miriam* (58), the company of prophets that met *Saul* (59), and the ſons of *Aſaph*, of *Heman* and *Jeduthun*, who are ſaid to have propheſied with harps, pſalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than muſicians. The apoſtle gives the title of prophet even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that diſtinction in St. *Auſtin*, of *Jewiſh*, *Chriſtian*, and *Heathen* prophets (62).

(56) *Luke* i. 70.
(57) *Vide* 1. *Cor.* xi. 4. xiv. 24, 29. & *ſeqq.* & *alibi.*
(58) *Exod.* xv. 20.
(59) 1 *Sam.* x. 5.
(60) 1 *Chron.* xxv. 1.
(61) *Tit.* i. 12.
(62) *Præfat. in lib.* xix. *cont. Fauſt.*

brought

brought up under them, and fitted for inſtructing the people in the way of virtue, and the worſhip of GOD.

Prophets. THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country; they lived in a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father [s]. Their houſes were but mean, and of their own building [t]. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs [u]; unleſs when the people ſent ſome better fare to them, ſuch as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like [x]. Their dreſs was plain and coarſe, and tied about with a leathern girdle [y]; their wants, being ſo few, were eaſily ſupplied by their own hands; and as their views reached no further, ſo they limited their labour to that, that they might beſtow the more time in prayer, ſtudy, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in ſuch a ſtate; and therefore *Eliſha* not only refuſed *Naaman*'s preſents, but puniſhed *Gehazi* in a ſevere manner, for having clandeſtinely obtained a ſmall portion of them [z]. This laborious, recluſe, and abſtemious courſe of life, joined to their meanneſs of dreſs, gave them ſuch a ſtrange air, eſpecially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen [a]. Their extraordinary freedom, in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewiſe expoſe them frequently to perſecutions, impriſonments, and ſometimes to death; eſpecially in the reigns of ſome wicked princes, ſuch as *Ahab* and *Manaſſeh*; but, in the main, they were always reſpected by the better and wiſer ſort, even of the higheſt rank, and uſed with the utmoſt reverence and regard, both in language and behaviour [b].

THIS is all that we know, concerning thoſe religious communities, and their manner of life: thoſe who have ventured to give us a further account of it, ſuch as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have ſpun it out of their own brain [c]. It is true, that we do not read of any women living amongſt them; and that, when the *Shunammite* went to acquaint *Eliſha*

[s] 1 Sam. ix. 5, & ſeqq. 2 Kings vi. 1, & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. [u] Ibid. iv. 38, & ſeq. [x] 1 Kings xiv. 3, & ſeq. 2 Kings iv. 42, & alib. [y] Vide Zech. xiii. 4. 2 Kings i. 8. [z] 2 Kings v. paſſ. [a] Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 11. [b] 1 Kings xviii. 7, & ſeqq. 2 Kings i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. [c] Vid. int. al. BOULDUC. eccl. ant. leg. CALM. ſub voc. Prophet.

with

with the death of her ſon, he ſent *Gehazi* to meet her, and that, when ſhe would have fallen down at his maſter's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it is alſo certain, that ſeveral of the prophets were married, and had children, as *Samuel*, *Iſaiah*, whoſe wife is called a prophetess [d], *Ezekiel* [e], and *Hoſea* [f], and it was the widow of one of the ſons of the prophets, whoſe oil *Eliſha* did miraculouſly multiply, to ſave her ſons from being ſold to the creditors of the deceaſed [g]. The propheteſſes were likewiſe married: *Deborah* was the wife of *Lapidoth* [h]; and *Huldah*, whom king *Joſiah* ſent to conſult, was the wife of *Shallum*; and ſhe is obſerved (in the text) to have lived in the college of *Jeruſalem* [i]. Theſe inſpired perſons, whilſt they continued in *Iſrael*, which was till the return from *Babylon*, being the ſureſt expounders of the *Moſaic* law, proved ſuch a ſtrong fence againſt ſchiſm and hereſy (that political one of *Jeroboam* excepted, againſt which they waged a continual war), that it could never get footing amongſt them (P); whereas prophecy no

Prophets and propheteſſes married.

[d] Iſai. viii. 3. [e] Ezek. xxiv. 18. [f] Hoſ. i. 2, & ſeqq. [g] 2 Kings iv. 1, & ſeqq. [h] Judg. iv. 4. [i] 2 Kings xxii. 14, 15.

culation or practice. They give the preference to the *Haſſidim* in both reſpects, as being the honeſteſt interpreters and practiſers of the law; and the *Phariſees* boaſt themſelves ſprung from them; tho' much more likely from the *Tzadikim*, which were an over-ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſect, pretending much to works of ſupererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of *Solomon* was directed, *Be not righteous overmuch* (63). Theſe, however, are the tenets attributed to each of them, with reſpect to *meum* and *tuum* (64): The *Haſſidim* ſaid, What is mine is yours; the *Reſhabim*, What is yours is mine; but the *Tzadi-*

(P) We muſt not, however, paſs by a diſtinction which the antient *Jews* have hammered out of the ſacred writings, between the חסדים *haſſidim*, called by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers *Aſſidei* (62), the צדקים *tzadikim*, and רשעים *reſhabim*. The words properly ſignify no more than *merciful*, *juſt*, and *wicked men*; and the aſſembly or company of the two former is often oppoſed to that of the latter, not as being different ſects, but as perſons of a different character. But the *Talmudiſts* have attributed ſome peculiar opinions to each of theſe, tho' they are not quite agreed, whether they related to ſpe-

(62) *Vide* 1 *Maccab.* vii. 13. (63) *Eccleſ.* vii. 16. (64) *Vide D. Kimchi in pſ.* ciii. 17. *Bartenor. gloſſ. in pirke abb. c.* 2. 8. v. 10. *Wagenſeb. ad lib.* סוטה, *c.* ix. 15.

kim,

no ſooner ceaſed, than they ſplit themſelves into ſuch a great variety of ſects, and gave ſuch a ſcope to their fertile fancies, that the *Talmudiſts* own, *Elias* himſelf would be at a loſs to ſolve the ſubtile difficulties which they have raiſed againſt each other [k].

Their number. THESE prophets, the *Talmudiſts* reckon, from *Abraham* to *Malachi*, to the number of forty-eight, and ſix propheteſſes (P). Several of the former are known to us

[k] Tract. Megillath.

kim, What is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours. To this the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays (65), that ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man ſome would even dare to die, whilſt CHRIST vouchſafed to die, even for the worſt of the three, even for the wicked; where the δίκαιος alludes to the *Tzadik*, or rigidly righteous, and ἀγαθὸς to the *Haſſid*, or merciful man, as the wicked to the *Reſhabim*. Whether that diſtinction likewiſe of our Saviour (66) between the good and the bad, the juſt and unjuſt, hath not probably an eye to this threefold ſort of men, we leave to the reader.

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Kiel,

kiel, *Daniel*, and others [m]; at other times by dreams [n]: but the most usual and general way was, by the sole operation of the Spirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this last manner, the book of *Psalms* is generally thought to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost to the author, or rather authors of it, viz. *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, the three sons of *Chore*, *Asaph*, and the rest [o].

SECT. IV.

The Jewish *chronology, from* Abraham's *vocation, to the* Babylonish *captivity.*

According to the chronology we have followed in this edition, which, as was formerly hinted, is that of the learned archbishop *Usher*, will be found to be the time which elapsed from *Abraham*'s first entrance into *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s descent into *Egypt*, 215 years; and that his posterity continued in the latter another 215 years and no more, is what will be farther shewn when we come to that epocha; in all, 430. From their coming out of that bondage, to *Solomon*'s laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years [a]; from thence to the destruction of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* was carried into captivity, are reckoned 422 years [b]: so that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of *Abraham*, to the *Babylonish* captivity, amounts to 1332. As to the kingdom of *Israel*, it lasted only 254 years from its defection from that of *Judah*, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by *Shalmaneser*; which happened 134 years before the *Babylonish* captivity.

Thus far then the larger divisions of this æra are fixed upon a solid ground, the authority of the sacred writers: but, lest our readers should think it equally easy to adjust the smaller periods, especially those which relate to the several reigns of their judges and kings, or should think it impossible to err in them, because the length of each is transmitted to us by inspired writers, from whom it would be impious to dissent; we beg leave to remind

[m] Isai. vi. 1, & seqq. Ezek. i. 4, & seqq. Dan. vii. 1, & seqq. [n] Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20, & al. Acts xvi. 9.
[o] Vid. Hieron. præfat. in Psalm. [a] 1 Kings vi. 1.
[b] See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, and Usher's ann. p. 31.

them, before we give a liſt of thoſe monarchs, of what has been already obſerved [P], and will hereafter be more fully explained, concerning the vaſt and almoſt irreconcilable difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* chronology, as well as between theſe two, and that of the ſeptuagint: to ſay nothing of *Joſephus*, and other *Jewiſh* writers.

BUT theſe are not the only cauſes of the difficulty that occurs in ſettling the *Jewiſh* chronology: we beg leave to add a few others equally conſiderable; *viz.* 1. That the ſacred writers affected to uſe round numbers in their large computations, without minding too ſcrupulouſly the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The ſame they did in their leſſer reckonings; thoſe, for inſtance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by complete years, and overlooked the odd months, which the firſt and laſt happened to fall ſhort of; by which it ofen happened, that a whole year was gained within the compaſs of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of *Judges*, whoever was the author of it (Q), compared with *Joſephus*'s hiſtory of them, ſeems

[P] See vol. i. p. 252.

(Q) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by ſeveral hands, under the government of each judge, as ſome have imagined, not only from the uniformity of ſtyle throughout, but alſo becauſe the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expreſſion which often occurs in it, that *in thoſe days there was no king in* Iſrael (86), ſhews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, thoſe who date it after their captivity; becauſe it is ſaid there (87), that *Jonathan* and his ſons continued to be prieſts until the day of the captivity of the land, which they think muſt at leaſt be that of *Tiglath-pileſer* (88); ſeem to poſt-date it prodigiouſly, not conſidering, that by what the author ſays at the beginning (89), *that the children of* Benjamin *dwelt with the* Jebuſites *in* Jeruſalem, *unto this day*, he muſt have lived before theſe were driven out of it by *David*. It is therefore more probable, as the *Jews* think, that the captivity here ſpoken of, was the battle which the *Iſraelites* loſt againſt the *Philiſtines*, when the ark was taken by them; at which time, one may reaſona-

(85) *Ch.* ii. 10, & *ſeq.* *alib.* (87) *Judg.* xviii. 30. (86) *Ch.* xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1, & (88) *See* 2 *Kings* xv. 30. (89) *Ch.* i. *ver.* 21.

bly

ſeems only a ſhort account of ſo many perſons, and of their government, without regard to the interregnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It ſeems, indeed, as if they were deſignedly paſſed by, as dead *epochas* not worth recording. But, laſtly, and to mention no more, after the diviſion of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign ſeems indeed exactly ſet down, and the ſynchroniſms between thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael* exactly obſerved; and yet there often happen ſuch jarring and diſagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by ſuppoſing, that ſome of thoſe monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnerſhip with their predeceſſors; and that the beginning of their reigns was dated from that time, and not from that of their father's death. The neceſſity of this ſuppoſition cannot but be obvious to thoſe who are converſant with chronologic works, eſpe-

bly ſuppoſe, a great number of the people were alſo taken captive.

What makes this conjecture ſtill more probable is, that, in the very next verſe to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, *that the* Danites *ſet up* Micah'*s ephod all the time that the houſe of* God *was in* Shiloh, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it againſt the *Philiſtines*; and this was about the beginning of *Samuel*'s time; for, after his return, it was not carried back to *Shiloh*, but to *Kirjath-jearim* (90). If the *ephod* then continued no longer in *Dan*, there was no farther need of keeping any prieſts to ſacrifice to it. Neither, indeed, is it credible, that ſuch a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under *Samuel*'s government, when it is expreſly ſaid, that he made the children of *Iſrael* put away their ſtrange gods to ſerve the Lord alone (91).

It ſeems, therefore, very probable to us, that a miſtake has been committed in the laſt word of that 30th verſe, from the likeneſs of the final letters; and that, inſtead of גלות הארץ, the captivity of the land, it was originally written גלות הארון, the taking of the ark. From all which it will follow, that *Samuel* lived at the time this book was written; and conſequently, that he is moſt likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the ſuppoſition of a much later captivity deſtroy this conjecture, if we ſuppoſe that *Ezra*, or any of the inſpired writers, who returned from that of *Babylon*, might add this circumſtance, as we have made it probable already, they did many others to the hiſtorical books, by way of illuſtration.

(90) *Conf.* 1 *Sam.* iv. 4. & vii. 1, 2. (91) *Ibid. ver.* 3, 4.

cially

cially thoſe of the learned *Uſher*. How far the *Jewiſh* computation by lunar years, their ignorance of aſtronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak under another head, may have increaſed theſe difficulties, we need not ſay[c]. But theſe, and many more, which we willingly omit, have induced a great number of learned chronologers, antient and modern, ſuch as St. *Jerom*, *Scaliger*, *Voſſius*, *Genebrard*, and others, to think it next to impoſſible to adjuſt the *Jewiſh* chronology by thoſe few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehenſive hiſtories, long ſince loſt.

We need not tell our readers, that the hiſtories of ſeveral kings are ſaid in the text to have been written by cotemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the reſt of the acts of* ſuch a king, *his valour and conqueſt*, and the like, *are they not written in the book of the Kings* (or *Chronicles of the kings*) *of Judah* (or *Iſrael*)? Now it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that thoſe we have extant, under the name of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, do refer to one another, ſeeing, ſome few inconſiderable particulars excepted, they all mention the ſame things, and almoſt word for word; and are alike regardleſs of all the other particulars of thoſe reigns. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or hiſtories, written by proper perſons in every reign, and which either periſhed during the captivity, or ſince. But whether we aſcribe the difficulties of the *Jewiſh* chronology to the loſs of theſe books, to the *Jews* corrupting of the text, or to the careleſneſs of tranſcribers; each of theſe will ſufficiently account for the different ways by which almoſt every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various *æras* before the birth of Christ.

The *Jews* indeed, whether antient or modern, do not differ ſo widely from one another in this reſpect, as the Chriſtians do; but then it is plain, as will appear from the tables, which we ſhall exhibit in the general preface, that they have ſhortened, one and all, the ſpace between the creation of the world, and the birth of Chriſt, by 240 years, little more or leſs, of the vulgar *æra*. Whether, therefore, this was wilfully done, and with deſign to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of

[c] See before, p. 33, & ſeqq.

the Messiah's coming, which is but too likely, seeing their chronology, from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyists, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true *Jew*; their chronology can no more be reconciled to ours, than to that of the *Egyptians*, or of any other nation.

THE truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, are not only of a more recent date than their *Talmud*, but seem wholly directed by it. So that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and, of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the satisfaction of such as are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall subjoin some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled (A).

THE first is the *Sedar Holam Rabbah*, or large chronicle; which contains a short history from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi *Jose Ben Chalepta*, who flourished, if we may believe the generality of the *Jews*, about 130 years after CHRIST, and is said to have been master to the famous *Jehudah Hakodesh*, the compiler of the *Mishna* [d]; but what shews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor *Adrian* [e] (B).

2. THE

[d] Vid. WOLF. biblioth. rabbin. num. 848. p. 462, & seqq.
[e] See MORIN. BARTOLOC. BUXT. & al.

(A) And here we shall pass by their fictitious *Josephus Ben Gorion*, whom they have obtruded upon the world instead of the real one, so well known to the Christians, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons for the former being trumped up by the *Jews*, in opposition to the latter, in *Prideaux*'s *Connection* (1), where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works; which we shall, for that reason, content ourselves with the bare mention of, and only observe here, that they follow the *Hebrew* text as far as it goes; the rest is mostly supplied by the *Talmud*, to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of later date.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* observes, that the book is stuffed with

(1) *Preface to the 3d vol. p. 18, & seqq.*

rabbinic

2. THE *Shealoth* and *Teſhuboth*, or queſtions and anſwers, dialoguewiſe, of rabbi *Sherira*, ſurnamed *Gaon*, or the ſublime. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flouriſhed from the year 967 downward [h].

3. THE *Sedar Holam Zutta*, or leſſer chronicle, another epitome of hiſtory, from the creation to the year of CHRIST 552; but whoſe unknown author lived, as the book itſelf ſays, about the year 1123 [i].

4. *Sepher Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior*; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wiſe men, through whoſe hands the oral tradition paſſed, from *Adam* to *Moſes*, and ſo on to the compilers of the *Talmud*, and from thence to the year of CHRIST 1141 (C).

5. THE *Sepher Juchaſin*, or book of genealogies, from the creation to the year of CHRIST 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. THE *Shalſheleth*, or chain of the cabbala, of the ſame kind with the *Juchaſin*.

7. THE *Tzemach David*, or ſprout of *David*, treats on the ſame ſubject with the two laſt (D).

THESE, eſpecially the firſt ſeven, are the books which the *Jews* urge againſt our chronology, and from which

[h] Vid. WOLF. & PRID. ubi ſup. [i] Vid. Sepher Juchaſin, Shalſheleth, & Tzemach David, ap. WOLF. ubi ſup.

rabbinic fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*; from which he concludes, that it was written after it (2). To this we may add what a learned *Jew* tells us (3), that he had ſeen a copy of it, in which it was ſaid, that the author lived 760 years after the deſtruction of the temple.

(C) This author doth often abridge the fictitious *Joſephus Ben Gorion*, and is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, who brought that ſpurious author and his book into credit among the *Jews*.

(D) Theſe three are ſtill more modern, and leſs worth our notice (4). Beſides theſe, we find an apocryphal book, intitled, *Dibre hajamim*, or chronicle of *Moſes*; but which is univerſally rejected by the *Jews* as well as Chriſtians. As for the *Samaritan* chronicle, publiſhed by *Bernard* (5) and *Baſnage* (6), it is ſo ſhort, obſcure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is.

(2) *Prid. ubi ſup.* (3) *R. Azar. meor benaim, pt. 3.* (4) *Id. & Prid. ubi ſup.* (5) *Ap. Calmet, ſub voc. Cronic.* (6) *Hiſtoire des Juifs, t. vi. lib. viii. c. 6.*

they pretend to demonstrate, that CHRIST appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we say he did: but as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the *Talmud*, we shall spend no more time in coufuting either [n].

WE pass by also the *Jewish Targums*, or *Chaldee* paraphrases, because we have none upon the book of the *Judges* or of the *Kings*. But upon the whole, whatever small differences there may be between those chronological works, they all agree in the series and succession of their kings and judges, in the same order of time as we find them in those two sacred books, and that of the *Chronicles*. It is true, that this last sometimes jars with those of *Samuel* and *Kings* in point of numbers, whether of years, or other things mentioned in both. But such differences are scarce worth the pains which some critics have taken to reconcile them [o] (E).

[n] Vid. PRID. conn. ubi sup. & pt. i. lib. v. [o] Vid. int. al. WHISTON's chronology, and CARZOVIUS's learned answer to it.

(E) We shall have occasion, in the sequel of their history, to hint at some of the latter sort; and, as to the first, the only instance we are going to give, will easily convince the reader, that, in these cases, some errors have manifestly crept into the text, whether through the likeness of the numerical *Hebrew* letters, or the negligence of copyists, whatever the *Jews* may pretend to the contrary. The place we mean is, where the book of *Chronicles* says, that *Ahaziah* was 42 years of age when he began to reign (7), contrary to that of *Kings*, which makes him but 22 years old (8). It will be no hard matter to find where the mistake lies, since, according to the former author, that monarch must have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age (9). It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural solution of two or three authors, who have in vain endeavoured to solve the difficulty (10), against the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning the bigger number to be an error of the transcriber (11).

(7) 2 *Chron.* xxii. 2. (8) 2 *Kings* viii. 26. (9) 2 *Chr.* xxi. *ver. ult.* (10) *Usser in an. Broughton. Jun. in loc.* (11) *Jerom. Kimch. Abarban. L. de Dieu, Piscat. Cajet. Scalig. Grot. Capel. & al. mult. Vid. & Nort. Knatchbul. animadv. in N. T. in Act.* iv, *Le Scen. Essay on a new vers.* p. ii. *ch.* vi. §. 8, *& al. mult.*

THE

THE following is the liſt of the patriarchs, heads or chiefs, judges and kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael.* As for their chronology and ſynchroniſms, we ſhall refer them, as we have done hitherto, to their hiſtory.

The *Jewiſh* patriarchs were { *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and his 12 ſons.

The heads or leaders, { *Moſes*, *Joſhua.*

The *Iſraelitiſh* judges.

1. *Othniel*, ſon-in-law to *Joſhua* (A).
2. *Ehud.*
3. *Shamgar.*
4. *Deborah* the prophetеſs, and wife of *Lapidoth* (B), with *Barak* her general.
5. *Gideon*, or *Jerubbaal.*
6. *Abimelech* his ſon.
7. *Tolah.*
8. *Jair.*
9. *Jephthah* the *Gileadite.*
10. *Ibzan.*
11. *Elon.*
12. *Eli* the high-prieſt.
13. *Samſon.*
14. *Samuel* the prophet.

(A) *Joſephus* makes *Kenaz*, the father of *Othniel*, to have been the firſt judge (1); and takes no notice of his ſon, either as his collegue or ſucceſſor; but the text is againſt him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes that ſignal victory to him, for which he was raiſed to it, and adds, that he held it forty years (2).

(B) Some chuſe to render the words אשת לפידות *eſheth Lapidoth*, a woman of *Lapidoth*, as if that was the place of her abode; and others, becauſe *lapidoth* ſignifies properly lamps, will have her called ſo on account of ſome employment ſhe had about thoſe that burned in the ſacred place, for either of which there is not the leaſt foundation. *Deborah* was not the only propheteſs that had a huſband: witneſs *Huldah*, the wife of *Shallum*, mentioned in a former note. The text doth not tell us what tribe *Deborah* was of, neither doth the place of her reſidence determine it, the *thamar* or palm-tree, where ſhe dwelt, being ſituate on the frontiers of *Benjamin* and *Ephraim* (3), which were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) *Antiq. l.* v. *c.* 4. (2) *See Judg.* iii. 8, *& ſeq.* (3) *Ibid. c.* iv. *ver.* 5.

Jewish kings before *Jeroboam*'s revolt.

1. *Saul.*
2. *Ishboſheth.*
3. *David.*
4. *Solomon.*

Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, after the rupture of the two kingdoms:

Judah.	*Iſrael.*
1. *Rehoboam.*	1. *Jeroboam.*
1. *Abijam.*	2. *Nadab.*
3. *Aſa.*	3. *Baaſha.*
	4. *Ela.*
	5. *Zimri.*
	6. *Omri.*
4. *Jehoſhaphat.*	7. *Ahab.*
5. *Jehoram.*	8. *Ahaziah.*
6. *Ahaziah.*	
6. *Athaliah*, the uſurping queen.	9. *Jehoram.*
8. *Jehoaſh.*	10. *Jehu.*
9. *Amaziah.*	11. *Jehoahaz.*
10. *Uzziah*, or *Azariah.*	12. *Jehoaſh.*
	13. *Jeroboam* II.
	An interregnum of eleven years and half.
	14. *Zachariah.*
	15. *Shallum.*
	16. *Menahem.*
11. *Jotham.*	17. *Pekahiah.*
12. *Ahaz.*	18. *Pekah.*
13. *Hezekiah.*	19. *Hoſhea.*
14. *Manaſſeh.*	
15. *Amon.*	
16. *Joſiah.*	
17. *Shallum* or *Jehoahaz.*	
18. *Eliakim* or *Jehoiakim.*	
19. *Jechoniah* or *Coniah*, called alſo *Jehoiakim.*	
20. *Mattania*, called alſo *Zedekiah.*	

SECT.

SECT. V.

The Jewiſh *Hiſtory, from* Abraham *to* Moſes.

WE have had occaſion already to hint, that this celebrated patriarch was the father and founder of the *Jewiſh* nation [a]; though they were never, as we can find, called by his name; but either by that of *Iſraelites* or *Jews*, or by the more common one of *Hebrews* (A). But, as he was deſigned by the divine providence to fill up a more noble character, and to be, in a more eminent and exalted manner, the father of the faithful; and, as ſuch, was to give ſo many ſignal tokens of his faith and intire reſignation to the divine call, which brought him out of his native home into a ſtrange land, where he was to continue only a ſojourner; it was, doubtleſs, on that account chiefly, that the ſacred hiſtorian hath thought fit to give us a more *The deſign of the book of* Geneſis.

[a] See vol. i. p. 253, & ſeqq. ii. p. 380, & ſeqq.

(A) We have ventured here to call them *Jews*, in compliance with cuſtom, tho' that name was not given them till after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when the tribe of *Judah* became the moſt conſiderable, if not almoſt the whole of what was left of *Iſrael* (1). The firſt name that was given to *Abraham* and his children, was that of *Hebrews*, which ſome derive from *Heber*, the fifth in deſcent from *Noah* (2). But it is hardly probable, that *Abraham* would call himſelf by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predeceſſors, and we rather think, that it was given him by the *Canaanites*, becauſe he came thither from the other ſide of the *Euphrates*; the word עבר *Heber* ſignifying in the original, the other ſide, whether of a river, ſea, or any other thing: in which ſenſe ſome people are called *tranſmarine*, *tranſalpine*, and the like. What ſeems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew *Lot*'s misfortune (3); ſo that it is likely the meſſenger enquiring for *Abraham*, of the inhabitants, might deſcribe him by the word עברי *Hibri*, or one that came from the other ſide of the river. However, after *Jacob* had received the great name of *Iſrael*, they preferred that of *Iſraelites* to that of *Hebrews*, though the neighbouring nations ſtill called them by the latter.

(1) *See vol.* ii. p. 382, & *neſt.*
(2) *Gen.* x. 24. *D. Kimchi.*
(3) *Gen.* xiv. 13.

succinct account of his life, travels, and various trials, as well as of the wonderful means, by which the divine wisdom and goodness led him through them to the promised blessing, which was to crown them all. Neither was, in all probability, this surprising history thus circumstantiatedly penned without a view of exciting the too unbelieving *Israelites*, then in the same wandering condition, but designed for a more happy lot, to rely on the same infallible guide, which was speediby to conduct them to it, if their murmurings and disobedience did not put some obstruction to their promised happiness.

Year of the flood 427. Bef. Chr. 1921.

ABRAHAM the son of *Terah*, and the tenth in a lineal descent from the son and successor of *Noah* [b], was born in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* [c], and about seventy-four years of age when his father and he came from thence into *Haran* [d], where they had not been seated long, before *Terah* died in the two hundredth and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral

[b] Gen. x. 25, & seqq. See vol. i. p. 299, & seqq. [c] Gen. xi. 28, & seqq. [d] Vide vol. i. p. 257, & seqq.

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of *Terah*'s age, of which we have taken notice in a former volume (3), and which chronologers have variously endeavoured to remove. *Willet* and *Tremellius* think, that though *Terah* was but seventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he begat *Abraham*, and that those that were born before him, are purposedly omitted by *Moses*, that *Abraham* might have the honour of *primogeniture* for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with *Calmet*, choose rather to give him *Adar*, or *Azar*, for his father, and *Terah* for his grandfather, according to the *Arabian* history of that patriarch; and to fill up the chasm, suppose that *Adar* begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth year of his age (5); but besides the small reliance we can have on that history, the thing seems quite opposite to the text. Others more reasonably suppose, with Sir *Norton Knatchbull* (6), that there is an error crept into the original; and that *Terah* was either an hundred and thirty years old when he begat *Abraham*, or that if he was then but seventy years old, he died in the hundredth and fifty-fifth, and not in the two hundredth and fifth year of his age: for the text says, that *Abraham* was seventy-five years old when he

(3) *Vol.* i. *p.* 256, *& seqq.* (4) *Idem in loc. Willet. cb.* ii. *quæst.* 19. (5) *Calm. hist. Vid. Herbelot. biblist. orient. p.* 12, 13. (6) *Vid. essay on a new vers.*

last

funeral was ſcarce over when *Abraham* was commanded by GOD to depart thence, into a land which he ſhould ſhew to him; and GOD aſſured him, that he would bleſs, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his ſeed all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [e]: he readily obeyed, being doubtleſs well acquainted with the call, and taking *Sarah* his wife, and *Lot* his brother's ſon, with all his ſervants and cattle, went into the land of *Canaan*, and pitchied his tents near the city of *Sichem* [f] (C) then inhabited by the *Canaanites*, where he built an altar unto the LORD. Here GOD was pleaſed to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promiſes, and to aſſure him, that he would one day give that land to his poſterity. Soon after, a great famine, which happened in thoſe parts, forced him to remove into *Egypt*, which was then the only place where he might hope to find proviſion for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of *Sarah* his wife, who, tho' ſhe was paſt the ſixty-fifth year of her age, retained yet beauty enough to endanger the man's life who ſhould paſs for her husband, made him reſolve, after ſome heſitation, that ſhe ſhould paſs for his ſiſter, in every place they came to. And from

Abraham's call.

Year of the flood 428. Bef. Chr. 1920.

Goes into Egypt.

[e] Gen. xii. 2, & ſeqq. [f] Ibid. ver. 6.

left *Haran*, and that his father died but a little while before. But we chooſe to refer our reader for a more ſatisfactory ſolution to the learned *Capzovius*, eſpecially with the notes of *Marcus Moſes* in our *Engliſh* tongue.

It may not be improper to take notice here, that though *Haran*, the land ſo called, and *Haran*, the ſon of *Terah*, be ſpelt with the ſame letters in ours, and other verſions, from which ſome have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; *viz.* the former with a ח *cheth*, equivalent to the *Greek* χ, and might be more properly ſpelt *Charan*; whereas *Terah*'s ſon's name begins only with a ה *he*, which anſwers to our *h*.

(C) If we may credit *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, *Abraham* came with an army from *Chaldea*, ſtopt, and reigned ſome time in the country of *Damaſcus*, before he went to *Sichem* (7), and his name was ſtill famous there. *Joſephus* ſeems to have quoted his very words, adding, that *Abraham*'s name was to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was ſtill a village which bore the name of *Abraham*'s habitation.

(7) *Ap. Joſeph ant. l.* i. *c.* 8. *Euſeb. præp. l.* ix. *c.* 16.

this

this descent into *Egypt* the generality of chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. *Paul* [b], agreeably to what *Moses* says in another place [i], that *Israel* dwelt in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the LXX interpret it, that from the first coming of *Abraham* thither to the *exodus* should be four hundred and thirty years. We shall have occasion to resume this point in its proper place. *Abraham* had not been long in *Egypt* before *Sarah* charmed the *Egyptians*, and in the end captivated *Pharaoh* himself; who, for her sake, shewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother (E). In a short time *Abraham* saw himself possessed of vast numbers of sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid-servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things, which *Pharaoh* heaped upon him; though all too mean to recompense him for the loss of his wife: at length GOD was pleased to interpose on his behalf, and to deliver *Sarah* from the imminent danger she was in. *Pharaoh* and his house were infested with such plagues, as plainly convinced them on whose account they suffered. The king then sent for *Abraham*, and having sharply rebuked him for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any stain of disloyalty as he had received her; and gave orders, that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

Year of flood 429. Bef. Chr. 1919.

ABRAHAM made no stay in *Egypt* after this; the famine being ceased in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the same way; and, on the altar he had built before, offered a sacrifice of thanks for his happy escape, and safe return [m]. In the mean time, the herds of

Returns to Bethel.

[b] Galat. iii. 17. [i] Exod. xii. 40. [m] Gen. xii. pass. & xiii.

(E) Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to observe here, that *Pharaoh* was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to all the kings of *Egypt*. They had also other particular names, as *So*, *Necho*, *Shishac*, &c. but under which of the kings of *Egypt* this event happened, is impossible to determine, not only because his particular name is not mentioned by *Moses*, but likewise by reason of the great confusion we have observed in their chronology, and succession of their kings (8); however, abp. *Usher* ventures to call him *Apophis* (9).

(8) *See vol. ii. p. 38.* (9) *Sub A. M. 2084.*

Lot,

Lot, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, ſuch contentions aroſe between their ſhepherds, that *Abraham* reſolved in a friendly manner to ſeparate from *Lot*; and, having given him his choice of the whole country that lay before him, *Lot* choſe the fertile plains of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which he ſaw watered by the river *Jordan*, and parted from his uncle [n]. *Abraham* was no ſooner ſeparated from him, but GOD, who ſeems to have been the ſole conductor of this ſcene, that the promiſed bleſſings might fall on him alone, bid him caſt his eye round the horizon, and promiſed to give all that land he beheld, to him and his poſterity. *Abraham* ſoon after left *Bethel*, and went to dwell in the land of *Moreh*, which is in *Hebron*, where he built an altar unto GOD, and ſoon after contracted a friendſhip with three of the greateſt men of the place; *viz.* *Mamre*, *Aner*, and *Eſhcol*; the firſt of whom communicated his name to all the country †. This alliance proved very ſerviceable to *Abraham* in proceſs of time, and was the cauſe of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfortune which befel *Lot* about this time, who was taken captive by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies [o] *, forced him to muſter up all his forces and courage to reſcue him out of their hands. This diſaſter no ſooner reached *Abraham*'s ears than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, *Mamre*, *Aner* and *Eſhcol*. He readily obtained their aſſiſtance, and joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in purſuit of the conquerors, ſurpriſed them at *Dan* in the night, purſued them as far as *Hoba*, on the left of *Damaſcus*, and having reſcued *Lot* with all his family, ſervants, and cattle, brought him back to his old habitation. The king of *Sodom*, who was probably the ſon of him who had periſhed in the ſlime-pits, came out to congratulate *Abraham* upon his ſucceſs, and even offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refuſed to accept the leaſt ſhare of it. Here *Melchiſedek* met and bleſſed him, and he preſented that high-prieſt with the tythes of all the ſpoil [p].

Separates from Lot.

Lot *taken priſoner*; Year of flood 436. Bef. Chr. 1912.

and reſcued by Abraham.

AFTER this *Abraham* removed to *Mamre*, or *Hebron*, where GOD was pleaſed to appear to him a fifth time in

Removes to Hebron.

[n] Ibid. ver. 7, & ſeqq. Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 120. † See before, vol. ii. p. 412, & (K). [o] Geneſ. c. xiv. paſſ. * Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 120. [p] Geneſ. c. xiv. ver. 18. Sup. ibid. p. 196.

a vision, and to give him fresh assurances of his special favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. *Abraham*, who had hitherto hearkened to God's promises without any expression of distrust, ventured now, for the first time, to expostulate with him, not comprehending how they could possibly be fulfilled whilst himself continued childless, and to all appearance must leave all his substance to *Eliezer* of *Damascus*, overseer of his household. This was indeed a modest way to try whether God designed to bless him with a child; and God did not leave him long in suspense, but assured him, that not *Eliezer*, but a son of his own should be his heir; then commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. *Abraham* was now eighty-five years old, and *Sarah*, turned of seventy-four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the Scripture says, that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness[r]. God was pleased moreover, to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of *Chaldea*. Here *Abraham* could not forbear desiring of God to give him some certain token, whereby he might be assured that his seed should possess that land, and God was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him take an heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I), with

[r] Gen. xv. 1—6, & seqq.

(I) The word which we translate three years old, in the original is, משלשת *meshulesheth*, which rather signifies triplicated, or thrice told, being the *paul*, in the conjugation *piel*, as the grammarians speak. Accordingly *Onkelos* (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other *Jewish* commentators. One of them tells us (33), that *Abraham* was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt-offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering. However that be, it is from this action of dividing the victims, and passing thro' the midst to them, that the *Israelites* introduced the like ceremony in the ratifying their covenants either with God or men.

(32) *Vid. Mercer. Villet. Rob. Sal. & al. in loc.* (33) *Mos. Gerund. ap. Munst. in Gen. xix. sub nom. d.*

a pigeon

a pigeon and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. *Abraham* immediately took them, killed the three beaſts, clove them in the midſt; and joining the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilſt himſelf ſtayed to drive away the fowls from the ſacrifice. As ſoon as the ſun began to ſet, a deep ſleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkneſs; during which, it was revealed to him from GOD, that his poſterity ſhould ſojourn and be afflicted in a ſtrange land four hundred years' (K): at the expiration of which, GOD would puniſh

' Ibid. ver. 6. Rom. iv. 3, & alib.

(K) Expoſitors have given into various opinions, in order to make out theſe four hundred years. *Genebrard* a learned *Romiſh* chronologer has affirmed, that the *Iſraelites* dwelt in *Egypt* the full number of four hundred years (34), whoſe error may be eaſily confuted by the lives of *Kohath*, the ſon of *Levi*, who went down with *Jacob* (35), and died in *Egypt* in the hundredth and thirty-third year of his age (36): of his ſon *Amram*, the father of *Moſes*, who lived one hundred and thirty-ſeven years (37); and of *Moſes*, who was eighty years old when he brought *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; all which ſeveral numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we muſt ſubſtract thoſe which *Kohath* had attained when he went down into *Egypt*, and likewiſe the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made ſome reduce the number to leſs than two hundred and ten years (38), and others to two hundred; whereas we ſhall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. *Paul* reckons from the firſt promiſe made to *Abraham*, to the promulgation of the law, in the firſt year after the *exod*, four hundred and thirty years (39). Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when *Iſrael* came into *Egypt*, which is thus proved, 1. From the time of *Abraham*'s arrival in *Canaan*, to *Jacob*'s deſcent into *Egypt*, are but two hundred and fifteen years; *viz.* twenty-five from the time of the promiſe to the birth of his ſon *Iſaac*; 60 more to the birth of *Jacob*, who is affirmed by *Moſes* to have been 130 years old when he ſtood before *Pharaoh*, all which make but 215. 2. The laſt remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned: *Kohath* came down with *Jacob*, and,

(34) *Id. ibid.* (35) *Gen.* xlvi. 11. (36) *Exod.* vi. 18.
(37) *Ibid. ver.* 20. (38) *Chryſoſt. Homil. l.* i. *Nic. de Lyr. in Lc.*
(39) *Galat.* iii. 17.

according

niſh their oppreſſors, and bring his children into the land which he had promiſed him, whilſt himſelf ſhould be

according to *Euſebius*, begat *Amram* in his ſeventieth year, and *Amram* begat *Moſes* much about the ſame age; to which if we add the eighty years of *Moſes*'s age when he led them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be ſubſtracted five years, the ſuppoſed age of *Kohath*, when *Jacob* left *Canaan*, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in *Egypt*, namely, two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of *Abraham*'s ſeed ſojourning in a ſtrange land, muſt be reckoned, not from their coming into *Egypt*, but from the birth of *Iſaac*. For all the time of their ſojourning in the land of *Canaan*, *Gerar*, or any other, was ſtill in a ſtrange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of *Macpelah*. As to what is added, that they ſhall likewiſe ſerve and be ill treated, it is commonly underſtood to be ſpoken circumſtantially, and might be put in a parentheſis, thus; they ſhall ſojourn and be ſtrangers (and likewiſe ſerve and be oppreſſed) during the ſpace of four hundred years, as St. *Auſtin* and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly, we find *Iſaac* oppreſſed in *Gerar*, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himſelf forced ſtill farther from them *; and *Jacob* ſerved, and was oppreſſed by *Laban* near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppreſſion. The *Egyptian* ſervitude did not commence till after *Joſeph* and his brethren were dead (42): before that, the *Iſraelites* lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that *Levi* was forty-four years of age at his firſt coming into *Egypt*, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, he muſt have lived ninety-three years in *Egypt*, becauſe the text tells us, that he died in the hundredth and thirty-ſeventh year of his age (43). And theſe ninety-three years being ſubſtracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred and twenty-two years of thraldom, even ſuppoſing it to have begun immediately after his death. The natural ſenſe therefore of this prophecy to *Abraham*, can be only this, that his ſeed, from *Iſaac* on, ſhould be ſtrangers in a land that was not theirs, during the ſpace of four hundred years, during ſome part of which they ſhould be oppreſſed, afflicted, and at length

(40) *Villet. cap.* 159. 15. *Le Clerc in loc. Mercer. Munſter. De Lyra, & al.* (41) *Aug. quæſt. in Exod.* vi. 47. *Merc. jun. Munſt. Villet. ubi ſup. Grot. Le Clerc, & al.* * *See Geneſ.* xxvi. 13, *& ſeqq.* (42) *Exod.* i. 6, *& ſeqq.* (43) *Ibid.* vi. 26. *Vid. & Mercer. Jun. & al. in loc.*

brought

be gathered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, *Abraham* ſaw a ſmoking furnace, and a burning lamp, paſs between the victims, which in all probability conſumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between GOD and *Abraham*, who, highly pleaſed with all theſe promiſes, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife [r].

SARAH not dreaming that ſhe was to be the happy mother of the promiſed child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being paſt all poſſibility of having any of her own, reſolved to be at leaſt a mother by proxy, according to the cuſtom of that age and country. To this end ſhe perſuaded her husband to take her hand-maid *Hagar* to him, that if he had a child by her, ſhe might bring it forth upon her knees. *Abraham* acquieſced, and *Hagar* no ſooner found herſelf pregnant, than ſhe became haughty and inſolent towards her miſtreſs. *Sarah*, impatient to ſee herſelf inſulted by a ſlave, whom her kindneſs had raiſed, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints againſt them both; and *Abraham*, willing to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herſelf juſtice in what way ſhe ſhould think fit; which ſhe accordingly did; but with ſuch ſeverity, that *Hagar*, not being able to bear it, ſtole away from her, and went and ſat down by a fountain on the road to *Sur*, leading to *Egypt*. Here the angel of the LORD met her, and perſuaded her to return, and ſubmit herſelf to her miſtreſs; aſſuring her that ſhe would be ſoon delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe ſhould call *Iſhmael* (L); that his poſterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they ſhould prove fierce and warlike; that their hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's againſt them (M); and

Year of flood 437. Bef. Chr. 1911.

Hagar *is forced to fly from her miſtreſs.*

[r] Gen. xv. 9, & ſeqq.

brought under bondage; which term being expired, they ſhould find a happy deliverance.

(L) *Iſhmael* is compounded of the words ישמע and אל *jiſhmagh* and *El*, the LORD hath, or will hear. The reaſon of which name is immediately ſubjoined by the angel, namely, becauſe the LORD had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs*, *Iſhmael*'s deſcendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whoſe habitation

and

and that they ſhould dwell in the face of all their brethren [u]. *Hagar* hearing this comfortable news, was ſoon perſuaded to take the angel's advice; and, in memory of this ſurpriſing viſion, ſhe called the well *Beer-lahai-roi*, which ſignifies *the well of him that lives and ſees me*. This well was between *Cadeſh* and *Barneah* [w]. Soon after her return ſhe brought forth the promiſed ſon, and called him *Iſhmael*, according to the angel's word. *Abraham* was now eighty-ſix years of age, and did not expect another ſon, but brought this up as the heir of all his ſubſtance, and of all GOD's promiſes, and *Hagar*, whoſe intereſt it was not to undeceive him, thought fit to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; ſo that it was not till almoſt thirteen years after, that GOD plainly promiſed him a ſon by *Sarah* his wife.

Is perſuaded by an angel to return, and ſubmit.

Year of flood 437. Bef. Chr. 1911.

BY this time *Abraham* had attained to the ninety-ninth year of his age, when GOD was pleaſed to ratify his former covenant with him, by changing his name from *Abram* to *Abraham* (N); and by aſſuring him, that he would make him the father of many nations; that kings ſhould come out of him, and that his poſterity ſhould ſurely poſſeſs the land wherein he was a ſtranger. And, as a token, or rather trial, of his faith and obedience, GOD commands him to circumciſe all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that ſhould be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, ſhould be circumciſed on the eighth day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumciſed, that ſoul ſhould be cut off as a deſpiſer of GOD's covenant, from having any ſhare in the promiſed bleſſings deſigned for him and his poſterity. Laſtly, and to complete his happineſs, GOD was pleaſed to aſſure him, that *Sarah* his wife ſhould bear him a ſon, who ſhould be heir to all theſe bleſſings; and therefore, that

Abram's *name changed into* Abraham.

Year of flood 450. Bef. Chr. 1898.

[u] Gen. xvi. 12. [w] Ibid. ver. 14.

habitation is in tents, within the neighbourhood of *Judea*, *Idumea*, &c.

(N) Concerning the etymon of this twofold name, and the uncertain conjectures of the learned about it, we ſhall refer our reader to what hath been offered in a former volume †. As for the reaſon of it, it is plainly hinted in the text, *viz.* that he was to become the father of many nations.

† *Vid. ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 330 (K).

her

her name ſhould be no longer *Sarai*, but *Sarah* (P). Here *Abraham* falling on his face, probably to conceal his laughing, which either the ſtrangeneſs or improbability of what he heard, had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preſervation of *Iſhmael*, beyond which he thought it unreaſonable to aſk or wiſh for any thing: but the Almighty ſoon aſſured him, that theſe great bleſſings were not deſigned for *Iſhmael*, but for a ſon to be born of thé hitherto barren *Sarah*, whom he ſhould therefore name *Iſaac* (Q); that, as to the ſon of *Hagar*, he would indeed bleſs him with a numerous poſterity; but that *Iſaac* alone, whom *Sarah* ſhould bear within the year from that very day, was to be intitled to the covenant and promiſe, that in his ſeed all nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [x].

Year of the flood 451. Bef. Chr. 1897.

Abraham *and his family circumciſed.*

God was no ſooner departed, than *Abraham* took his ſon *Iſhmael*, and all the males in his family, and circumciſed them, as well as himſelf, without any regard either to his own age, which was almoſt one hundred years, or to the tenderneſs of his ſon, who was not above thirteen. All ſubmitted alike to the operation, and to God's command, on the ſame day (R); and it was not long before his

[x] Gen. xvii.

(P) *Sarai* שרי in *Hebrew* ſignifies *my princeſs*, and שרה *Sarah*, the name now given her, *princeſs*.

It is farther obſervable, that God, in the beginning of *Geneſis* xvii. (44), calls himſelf the firſt time, אל שדי *El ſhaddai*, which our verſion rightly tranſlates *Almighty* God. This compound word however, is variouſly canvaſſed by etymologiſts; but we think the moſt genuine derivation is from ש, uſed inſtead of אשר, for the pronoun *qui*, *who*, and די *dai*, *ſufficient*, or *ſelf-ſufficient*, an expreſſion very fit and proper to aſſure *Abraham* and *Sarah* of the certainty of his promiſe to them, which none but an all-ſufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) *Iſaac*, or according to the *Hebrew* יצשחק *Iſchakh*, ſignifies *he has, or ſhall laugh*.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumciſion was firſt introduced into the world, by the *Hebrews* or *Egyptians*, hath been much conteſted by antient and modern hiſtorians, critics, and others. *Herodotus*, who declares he had received all his knowlege of the affairs of *Egypt* from their prieſts, gives it indeed for the *Egyptians* (46); but he ſeems in ſome meaſure

(44) *Ver.* 1. (45) *Oken.* & *al.* (46) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 36.

his obedience was rewarded with a seventh and more remarkable visit from God. *Abraham*, who dwelt still at *Mamre*,

Abraham *entertains three angels.*

to retract, if not to contradict himself, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practised it, but what received it first from the *Egyptians*; and a little after owns, that he did not know which of the two had it first, the *Egyptians* or *Ethiopians*, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the rest of the antients, who are on that side the question, as they have blindly followed *Herodotus*, all their authority centres in him. However, it is certain, that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the *Jewish* excepted, did practise it universally. The priests were indeed obliged to be circumcised, but the rest of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it appear, that they practised it upon a religious account, as the *Jews* did. *Philo* (47) has given us the reasons why those nations used circumcision; namely, first, in order to avoid a distemper called a carbuncle, to which they, who were not circumcised, were often subject. Secondly, for the sake of cleanliness, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reason it was, that they shaved their bodies all over. The third is symbolical, and foreign to our subject. The last is, that circumcision is an help to fertility; and that those who are circumcised, are apter for procreation than those who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the *Christian* writers; these do not indeed affirm absolutely, that *Abraham* learned it from the *Egyptians*; but that it is possible he might have seen it in *Egypt*, and be so much taken with it, that God, in compassion to his infirmity, whose faith could not sustain itself without some outward and visible symbol, might sanctify this *Egyptian* ceremony, by retrenching all that was superstitious in it, and give it to him, and his posterity, as a sensible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only *le Clerc* (49) subjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the scale very much on the *Egyptian* side; for, says he, *Abraham*'s family, at his first coming into *Egypt*, was so inconsiderable, and his posterity afterwards so hated and despised by the *Egyptians*, that it is by no means probable, that proud nation should have received such a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? Was it not natural for the *Egyptians*, no less superstitious than haughty, to infer, that since it procured-

(46) *Idem ibid. c.* 104. *Vid. Calm. dissert. de circumcis.* (47) *Philo de circumcis. pag.* 810. *ap. eund.* (48) *Spenc. de leg. ritual. Jud. Le Clerc in loc.* (49) *Id. bibliot. an. & mod. par.* i. *p.* 250.

such

Mamre, was ſitting one day at the door of his tent, under a tree, when he beheld, afar off, three men, whom he took to

ſuch great and valuable bleſſings to that deſpiſed people, it could not fail of proving more ſucceſsful to them, if once they admitted it amongſt them? might not *Joſeph*'s time have been a proper criſis to recommend it to them? and were not thoſe motives we have mentioned out of *Philo*, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanlineſs, and health, ſufficient to recommend it? and, laſtly, might not this be the very reaſon which made the *Egyptian* women uſe it as well as the men? However that be, the notion of the *Hebrews* having received it from them, ſeems ſo contrary to the deſign and conduct of GOD to preſerve them from the ſuperſtitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and, indeed, it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that the *Egyptians* had it from ſome other nation, whether the *Arabs* (as *Bochart* thinks, by reaſon of the difference there was between the *Jewiſh* and *Egyptian* circumciſion), or from any other of their neighbours, or even, that they might ſtumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to ſuppoſe, that one muſt have it from the other; and that therefore the *Jews* might as well have it from the *Egyptians*. As for the reaſon of its being injoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the beſt we have met with is that of *Cunæus* (50); that children were not thought ſufficiently clean or perfect, during the firſt ſeven days, being ſtill full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of GOD's ordaining, that no beaſt that was offered to him, ſhould be leſs than eight days old (51). Circumciſion therefore being a kind of ſolemn offering of a child to GOD it ſeems highly reaſonable, that the ſame law ſhould be obſerved in it, as was injoined concerning victims. But, as to the eighth day being choſen rather than any other afterwards, without ſeeking for myſteries in that number, as ſome are fond of doing, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a neceſſity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that; becauſe the child is then leaſt ſenſible of the ſmart, and leaſt in danger of being hurt by it.

(50) *Cun. apud Baſnag. rep. Hebr. p.* 351. (51) *Leviticus* xxii. 27.

to be ſtrangers; he went to meet them, and in the moſt civil and reſpectful manner invited them to come and take

The laſt inquiry we need make upon this ſubject of circumciſion is, the reaſons of its inſtitution: and here we ſhall only mention one or two of thoſe that are thought moſt conſiderable. The firſt is topical; becauſe the heat of the climate required it, for the reaſons mentioned above. Secondly, political, in order to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were in the covenant of GOD, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumciſion of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, firſt, the ſymbol and ſeal of the covenant made between GOD and *Abraham*, and his ſeed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in CHRIST (52). To theſe reaſons we ſhall ſubjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will hardly meet with elſewhere: he writes thus: we reckon circumciſion amongſt the trials of *Abraham*'s faith. It is eaſy to obſerve, by very many circumſtances of that patriarch's life, that he was deſigned as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conſpicuous it became; the more difficulties he obſerved in the accompliſhment of GOD's promiſes, the more he ſhewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming thoſe obſtacles.—Why did not GOD give him *Iſaac*, till the laws of nature ſeemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith.—Why did GOD command him to ſacrifice that very ſon to whom ſo many bleſſings belonged, but to the ſame purpoſe? Why did GOD ſet ſo long an interval between the promiſe of a ſon, and the accompliſhment of that promiſe, that *Sarah*, thinking it impoſſible ſhe ſhould become a mother, did give him her maid *Hagar*? Why was *Iſhmael* born ſo many years before *Iſaac*, &c. but to make ſtill freſh trials of his faith? Why might not then GOD have the ſame views in injoining him to be circumciſed? He not only makes him wait for this ſon near twenty years, though promiſed in ſo ſolemn a manner; but, when that time is nearly elapſed, and *Abraham* thinks himſelf on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, GOD croſſes his hopes afreſh, and commands him to undergo an operation that ſeemed wholly to put an end to them. *Abraham* could not but look upon circumciſion as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and conſequently, that it muſt put him quite out of condition

(52) *Targ. Onkel. Villet. & al. Vejl.*

(53) *Saurin diſc. hiſt. de V.*

take a ſmall refreſhment with him; and, having obtained their conſent, ordered a feaſt to be got ready for them [y]. And in this interview it was, that his divine gueſt confirmed his promiſe of *Sarah*'s having a ſon within the year. *A ſon promiſed to Sarah*, who was liſtening at the tent-door, and thought herſelf paſt child-bearing, burſt out into a laughter; and the ſtranger aſked the reaſon of it in ſuch a ſerious tone, as ſtruck her with a fright. She would fain have denied it; but it was to no purpoſe, that ſhe endeavoured to hide any thing from the perſon that ſpoke to her, who diſmiſſed her with this gentle reproof, that ſhe was highly in the wrong to miſtruſt what he had ſaid to her, ſince nothing was impoſſible with GOD. The three heavenly gueſts (for ſuch they were) roſe up in order to proceed on their journey, and *Abraham* courteouſly accompanied them ſome part of the way. At length one of them, whom the original calls the LORD (T), as a further mark of his favour, began

[y] Geneſ. xviii. paſſ.

of ever being a father. The command of *his having the covenant in his fleſh*, ſeemed as oppoſite to the promiſe of his having a ſon, as that *of his ſacrificing that ſon*, was to the promiſe of his being the father of many nations. Notwithſtanding which, *Abraham*'s faith triumphed over this obſtacle alſo, he being fully perſuaded, that GOD could not only renew the ſtrength of an old man, but likewiſe make him fruitful after his having undergone an operation which ſeemed ſo contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph, that the Scripture obſerves, he was ninety-nine years old when he was circumciſed; and it was to preſerve the memory of it, that GOD injoined that ceremony to all his poſterity, &c. (54).

(T) The name *Jehovah* יהוה, by which *Moſes* calls the ſtranger that talked to *Abraham*, being looked upon by the generality of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, to be the incommunicable name of GOD, it is believed by the far greateſt part of the latter, that it was the Son of GOD who appeared in that form: however others, particularly ſome modern ones (55), maintain, that it was but an angel, who ſpoke to him in the perſon of GOD. But it is not probable, either that *Moſes* ſhould call an angel by that name, or that *Abraham* ſhould intercede with him as he doth, when he ſays, *That be far from thee, to deſtroy the good with the wicked; ſhall not the Judge of the world do right?* or laſtly, that an angel ſhould peremptorily

(54) Gen. xvii. 24. (55) Le Clerc comment. in loc.

began to reveal a moſt dreadful ſecret to him; which was, that the cry of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully reſolved to deſtroy them utterly, if, upon inquiry, he found their wickedneſs equal to the cry of it. Whether the remembrance that *Lot* was in one of thoſe cities, or rather his natural compaſſion, gave the good patriarch freſh courage to intercede for thoſe righteous men that might be found among the wicked; he did not ceaſe expoſtulating with him, till he had obtained a promiſe, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would ſpare it for their ſakes: upon which the LORD departed from him. The fate of thoſe cities, and *Lot*'s deliverance, have been already related[x]: as for *Abraham*, he ſaw the next morning the thick ſmoke of thoſe unfortunate places, aſcending like that of a furnace[y].

Abraham pleads for Sodom.

NOT long after, *Abraham*, leaving the plains of *Mamre*, probably to be out of the ſtench of the vale of *Siddim*, went and dwelt in the country of the *Philiſtines* between *Cadeſh* and *Shur*[z], where the ſame adventure happened to him which he had met with in *Egypt*. *Sarah*, whom neither her pregnancy, nor advanced age (ſhe being now ninety years old), had deprived of her beauty, was again deſired by *Abraham* to paſs for his ſiſter. *Abimelech*, king of that country, found her ſtill charming enough to invite her to his bed; but the LORD appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not immediately reſtore her untouched to her huſband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in conſequence of which, *Abraham* had his wife returned to him, with conſiderable preſents[a] (W).

Abimelech takes Sarah.

Is threatened by God, and reſtores her.

THE

[x] Supr. vol. ii. p. 121, & ſeqq. vid. vol. ii. p. 486, ſub not. alſo vol. ii. p. 225, & ſeqq.

[y] Geneſ. xix.

[z] De his, Geneſ. xx. per tot. See

ſay, If I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will ſpare it for their ſakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was CHRIST himſelf, who is emphatically called the Judge of all the world.

(W) There ſeems to be a double miſtake in our tranſlation, in *Abimelech*'s ſpeech to *Sarah*, which runs thus: *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand pieces of ſilver: behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes——and thus ſhe was reproved.* For it is plain, the king was purchaſing *Abraham*'s friendſhip, and not quarreling with him or his wife; and

THE time appointed being come, ſoon after their leaving the court, *Sarah* brought forth the long-expected ſon, and called his name *Iſaac*; and *Abraham* failed not to circumciſe him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happineſs. *Sarah* ſuckled the child herſelf, and weaned him at the uſual time; and *Abraham* made a feaſt to all his houſhold that day: but their joy could not laſt long without ſome mixture of grief, by the jealouſy which *Iſaac* cauſed to *Hagar* and her ſon. *Iſaac* was ſcarce ſeven years old, when *Sarah* obſerved *Iſhmael* ſhew ſome marks of contempt to him (Y); which made her reſolve to part them for ever, that *Iſhmael* might have no ſhare in the inheritance with her ſon. Tho' *Abraham*

Year of the flood 452. Bef. Chr. 1896. Iſaac *born.*

Year of the flood 457. Bef. Chr. 1891. Iſhmael *mocks* Iſaac.

and *Abraham* had already ſo far juſtified both himſelf and her, that the king was ſatisfied. And therefore the word נכחת *nokecheth*, ſhould not have been rendered *rebuked*, as *Kimchi* and others do, that think ſhe was blamed for the lye ſhe had told. *Pagninus* renders it *erudivit ſe*, i. e. ſhe learned more wit; whereas it is the participle of the verb נכח, which, though generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet as often ſignifies to ſearch, or inquire thoroughly into a thing. *Abimelech* therefore means no more, than that ſhe is acquitted after a full hearing; and the *Chaldee* paraphraſe hath tranſlated it accordingly. The other miſtake is *Abraham*'s being ſaid to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king ſeems to ſpeak of the thouſand pieces of ſilver which he gave her, as a token of her juſtification, the veil being looked upon as the ſymbol of womens modeſty (67).

(Y) The *Jewiſh* interpreters expound the word יצחק in the text, which ſignifies laughing or playing, by מלעג, which ſignifies to deride and deſpiſe; and not without good grounds, ſince *Sarah* did ſo highly reſent it. They think, that it happened on the day in which *Abraham* made the feaſt for the weaning of *Iſaac*; and that, whilſt the gueſts were congratulating him for having a ſon and heir in his old age, *Iſhmael* ſhewed ſome tokens of deriſion, which *Sarah* obſerving, went and complained of it to her huſband (68). However it is plain, it muſt have been ſomething worſe than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, ſince St. *Paul* calls it a perſecution (69). Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that *Iſhmael* is deſcribed by the angel (70), as a fierce and wild man; and conſequently, could not but begin to ſhew ſome tokens of that diſpoſition, being then upwards of twenty-one years of age.

(67) *Pfeifer Flacc. in loc. Le Srene eſſay.* (68) *Vid. Munſt. in loc.*
(69) *Galat.* iv. 29. (70) *Gen.* xvi. 12.

loved her to ſuch a degree, that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not forbear looking on her requeſt as cruel and unreaſonable; but GOD confirming what *Sarah* had ſaid, and promiſing moreover to protect *Iſhmael*, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, *Abraham* was at laſt prevailed upon to ſend him and his mother away the very next morning [z]. What befel them afterwards is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

Is ſent away with his mother.

Abimelech *makes a covenant with* Abraham.

ABRAHAM, in the mean time, entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with *Abimelech*, king of the *Philiſtines*, as we have related elſewhere [a]; upon which occaſion that place was called *Beerſhebah*, or the *well of the oath*, becauſe of the covenant which they had ſworn there. The pleaſantneſs of the place, and the friendſhip of the king, invited *Abraham* to ſojourn there many years. He planted here a ſtately grove, and built an altar to the LORD, reſolving to end his days in this part, unleſs GOD ſhould otherwiſe determine [b].

Abraham *commanded to ſacrifice his ſon* Iſaac:

BUT GOD had yet a further trial to make of *Abraham*'s faith and obedience, and ſuch an one as would put it to the utmoſt proof. *Iſaac*, the ſon of his old age, the promiſed head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of ſo many promiſed bleſſings, and the dear and only object of ſo much affection; this very *Iſaac* was now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain GOD was to point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-ſacrifice, by the hands of his own father (B).

Year of flood 477. Bef. Chr. 1871.

Abraham,

[z] Geneſ. xxi. 7—14. [a] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 225, & ſeqq. [b] Gen. xxi. per tot.

(B) As the age of *Iſaac* is not ſet down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was when *Abraham* was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of ſome learned *Jews* (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, ſince it would have been impoſſible for him to have carried ſuch a load of wood as he did. Others (75) ſay, that he was thirty-ſeven years old; but that was the year of *Sarah*'s death, whereas ſhe was alive when this happened. *Joſephus* makes him twenty-five years old (76): and ſome Chriſtians, antient and modern, conjecture, that he was paſt thirty; becauſe that was about the age in which CHRIST ſuffered, whoſe type *Iſaac* was, at leaſt in this tranſaction, in

(74) *Abenezra ap. Toſtat. antiq. l.* xiv. (75) *Ap. Villet. ubi ſup.* (76) *Joſ.*

which

Abraham, without expoſtulating about the illegality or ſeverity of the command, reſolved to obey: and leaving it to GOD to make good his own promiſes, ſet out the very next morning; and on the third day diſcovered mount *Moriah*, the place appointed by GOD for the dreadful ſacrifice (C). There, leaving his ſervants behind, he goes up to the mount, whilſt *Iſaac*, being laden with the wood, and other materials for a burnt-offering, and obſerving nothing of a victim, could not forbear queſtioning him about it in ſuch ſubmiſſive terms as might have ſtaggered a heart leſs firm than *Abraham*'s, who only anſwered calmly, that GOD would provide himſelf with one. He little thought how prophetically he ſpoke; for he had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but GOD was pleaſed to ſtop him, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenants afreſh, and bound them with an oath; and *Abraham* looking about, found a ram, the victim GOD was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick buſh; and, with the help of his ſon, offered it up inſtead of him: in memory of which, he called that place *Jehovah-jire*, the LORD will look to, or provide, alluding to the anſwer he had given to *Iſaac*'s queſtion. He rejoined his ſervants, and returned home to *Beerſheba*. Soon after this he heard the joyful news, that *Milcah*, his brother *Nahor*'s wife, had born him a numerous iſſue (D), which determined him to ſend thither for a wife for his ſon *Iſaac*[d].

But countermanded by an angel.

[d] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

ABRA-

which there were ſeveral circumſtances bearing a great conformity with thoſe that attended CHRIST's paſſion.

(C) This mountain is certainly the ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by *Solomon* (77); and therefore thoſe who affirm, that CHRIST was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill, but to the whole ridge of them. *Moriah* takes its name from the *Hebrew* ראה *raah*, to ſee: whence the LXX and *Aquila* tranſlate it γῆν ὑψηλὴν, an high or conſpicuous land. *Fuller* derives it from two *Hebrew* words מראה, viſion, and יה, GOD; and by contraction *Moriah*; becauſe GOD was ſeen upon it (78).

(D) The children of *Nahor* by *Milcah* were, 1. *Huz*; 2. *Buz*; 3. *Kemuel*; 4. *Chezed*; 5. *Hazo*; 6. *Pildas*; 7. *Jidlaph*; and, 8. *Bethuel*, who begat *Rebecca* the wife of *Iſaac*. He had ſome

(77) 2 *Chron.* iii. 1, 2. *vid. ſup. vol.* ii. *p.* 408.

(78) *Miſcel. ſacr. l.* ii. *c.* 14. *De hoc*

others

ABRAHAM lived in great peace with his ſon for ſome time; but it was at length diſturbed by the death of *Sarah*, which happened in the hundredth and twenty-ſeventh year of her age, in the city of *Arbah*, *alias Hebron*[c] (E). *Abraham* came thither to mourn for her,

Sarah's *death.*

Year of flood 488. Bef. Chr. 1860.

[c] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 199.

others beſides, from a concubine named *Reumah* (79). *Huz*, the firſt-born, is ſuppoſed by ſome, to have peopled and given name to the land of *Huz* (80), where *Job* dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already ſo called from *Huz* the ſon of *Aram* (82). From *Buz* came the *Buzites*; of which family *Eliſha*, one of *Job*'s friends, probably was (83). *Kemuel*, called in the text the father of *Aram*, is therefore thought the father of the *Aramites* or *Syrians*, perhaps the ſame with the *Camuelite* of *Strabo* (84), in the land of *Haran* (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this *Aram* is only meant a ſon of *Kemuel*, and not a race of deſcendents, much leſs of the *Syrians*, as the LXX and *Vulgate* read it; or of *Aram Nabarim*, as ſome; or *Aram Seba*, as others think (86); for the city of *Nahor* was in *Aram*. This city and nation therefore ſeem to have been more antient than *Kemuel*, and to have been ſo called from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem* (87). As for *Chezed*, if he was the father of the *Chaſdim*, or *Chaldees*, at leaſt of thoſe who dwelt on this ſide *Babylon*, as is ſuppoſed by the ſame author (88), 'tis certain, there were others more antient on the other ſide; for *Abraham* came from *Chaldea*. However, thoſe ſons of *Nahor* gave names to ſome cities and families of *Syria*, ſuch as *Buzan*, &c. mentioned by a *Latin* author (89). The children of his concubine were *Tebah*, *Gaham*, *Thahaſh*, and *Maachah*. From this laſt the city of *Maachah*, or *Abel Beth Maachah* (90), whoſe territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two *Lebanons*, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place. *Sarah* is ſaid to die at *Arbah*; and yet no mention is made of *Abra-*

(79) *Gen.* xxii. 21, & *ſeq.* (80) *Calmet, hiſt. Vet. Teſt. p.* 148. (81) *Job* i. 1. (82) *Gen.* x. 22. *Vid. Hieron. in loc.* (83) *Job* xxxii. 6. (84) *Strabo, l.* xvi. (85) *Calm. ubi ſupr.* (86) *Toſtat. Cajet. in loc.* (87) *Gen.* x. 22. (88) *Calmet, l.* i. *Vid. Jun. & Villet.* (89) *Ammian. Marc. l.* xviii. (90) *Deut.* iii. 14, & *ſeq.* *See before vol.* ii. *p.* 455. (91) *Calmet, ibid. p.* 148.

ham's

her, and to pay his laſt devoirs to ſo dear a wife; and, having given a ſufficient vent to his grief, his next care was to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore went to the gates of *Hebron* (F), in order to purchaſe a burying-

ham's removing from *Beer-ſheba* thither; only he is ſaid to have gone thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon ſome occaſion or other, and that *Sarah* went to *Arbah* whilſt her husband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking ſuch a ſeparation, think that he came only from his own tent into that of *Sarah* to weep over her; for, in thoſe days, perſons of his rank kept ſeparate apartments for their wives and maid-ſervants, whether they dwelt in houſes or tents.

(F) The gates of cities in thoſe days, and for many centuries after, were the places of judicature and common reſort. Here the governors, or elders of the city, met to hear complaints, adminiſter juſtice (92), make conveyances of titles and eſtates, and to tranſact all the affairs of the place (93). Whence that verſe in the *Pſalms* (94), *They ſhall not be aſhamed, when they ſpeak to their enemies in the gate*; i. e. when they are accuſed by them before the court of magiſtrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall, where the magiſtrates ſat, was over the gates, becauſe *Boaz* is ſaid to go up to the gate. The like did *David*, when he went to weep for the death of *Abſalom* (95). How conſiderable they became in time for largeneſs and ſumptuouſneſs, appears by the two kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* being preſent at one of them in all their royal ſplendor, and convening thither four hundred prieſts of *Baal*, beſides their own guards and officers (96). It ſeems as if theſe places had been at firſt choſen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more eaſily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any buſineſs. Theſe gates were likewiſe markets for proviſions, like thoſe of the *Romans*, as appears by the prophet *Eliſha*'s foretelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midſt of a famine, at the gates of *Samaria* (97). What the number of theſe magiſtrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from Scripture; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, ſince in the time of *Joſhua* (98) we can find but four

(92) *Gen.* xxxiv. 20. (93) *Ruth* iv. 1, *& ſeqq.* 2 *Sam.* xviii. 3?. (94) *Pſal.* cxxvii. *ver. ult.* (95) 2 *Sam.* xviii. 33.
(96) 1 *Kings* xxii. 10. 2 *Chron.* xviii. (97) 2 *Kings* vii. 1, 31.
(98) *Joſh.* xxiv. 1.

ſorts

burying-place from the ſons of *Heth*, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the moſt conſiderable in that place. He had no ſooner declared the occaſion of his coming, but they one and all told him, with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, that he might make choice of the beſt ſepulcre in the whole land; aſſuring him, that none of them ſhould withhold his own from him. *Abraham* returned their civilities, but begged to be permitted to buy the cave of *Machpelah* from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was then one of the aſſembly, and immediately made him a free offer of it [f]. But *Abraham* ſtill inſiſting upon paying the full value of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of ſilver (G), which he paid down in full weight: and, being become poſſeſſor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, he ſoon after depoſited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave [g].

Abraham buys the cave of Machpelah.

Year of the flood 491. Bef. Chr. 1857.

By this time *Abraham* was well advanced in years, and *Iſaac* in the fortieth year of his age. He thought it therefore high time to marry him to ſome of his own family during his life, which he then imagined could not laſt much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and moſt faithful ſervants, and, having made him take an oath to get his ſon a wife out of his own kindred (H), gave

Abraham ſends his ſervant to get a wife for Iſaac.

[f] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 199, & ſeqq. per tot.

[g] Gen. xxiii.

ſorts of them, *viz.* the *raſhim*, or heads of the people, the *ſophetim*, or judges, and the *ſoterim*, or officers. *Abraham*, therefore, could not make his purchace from *Ephron* the *Hittite*, without having recourſe to the city-gates.

(G) The learned *Prideaux*, who has given us the laſt and beſt eſtimation of *Hebrew* and *Attic* coins, reckons a ſhekel to be equivalent to three ſhillings of our *Engliſh* money; ſo that the ſum which *Abraham* paid for his new purchace will amount to ſixty pounds ſterling (97).

(H) The text tells us, that the ſervant took the oath by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the firſt time we read of that ceremony, but it was afterwards uſed by the patriarch *Jacob* (98), in *Egypt*, when he was dying. The oddneſs of it has inclined ſome judicious writers to think, that it implied a more ſolemn myſtery than men are aware of, *viz.* a ſwearing by the

(97) *Connect. pref.* p. 22.

(98) *Gen.* xlvii. 29.

great

gave him all neceſſary inſtructions and authority to conclude the marriage, and ſent him away with a train ſuitable to the embaſſy he was ſent upon; that is, with ten camels loaden with the richeſt preſents for the damſel's dowry; it being the cuſtom in thoſe days for the huſband not to receive, but to pay a dowry for the wife. The ſervant made the beſt of his way to *Haran*, where *Nahor* dwelt; and what by his preſents, what by his addreſs, and the favourable account he gave of *Abraham*'s grandeur and wealth, did eaſily obtain from him the beautiful *Rebecca* for his young maſter; and as ſoon as he had obtained her father's and her brother *Laban*'s conſent, he forthwith took out all the jewels of ſilver and gold, and fine raiment, which he had brought, and preſented them to her, making at the ſame time ſome conſiderable preſents to her mother and brother; after which, the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and mirth. The next morning *Abraham*'s ſervant, impatient to acquaint his maſter with the good ſucceſs of his negotiation, deſired to be diſmiſſed, and with ſome difficulty obtained it; and after they had wiſhed her all the uſual bleſſings, and ordered her nurſe to accompany her, they took their leave. The ſervant ſoon after brought her in ſight of his young maſter, who chanced that night to be taking a ſolitary walk in the neighbouring fields; and as ſoon as *Rebecca* was informed who he was, ſhe alighted; and, throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damſels then was, ſhe waited to receive his firſt compliments [h]. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleaſed with her extreme beauty, and modeſt carriage, as well as the kindred ſhe came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loſs of his mother. He had now nothing to wiſh for, but that ſhe might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that bleſſing; during which he comforted himſelf and

Rebecca *is given to* Iſaac.

Iſaac *takes her home.*

[h] Gen. xxiv. paſſ.

great MESSIAH that was to come, and the like (100). Some *Jews* think it was a ſwearing by the covenant of circumciſion; and that whoſoever violated the oath, loſt all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. *Kimchi* tells us, that it was ſtill obſerved all over the eaſt by thoſe of his nation (101).

(100) *Rab. Sal. in loc. Vid. Alix. in geniz.* *Aben Ezr. in loc.*

(101) *Kimchi apud*

her

her with the assurance of God's promises, and the example of *Sarah*, who remained childless till the ninetieth year of her age.

Year of the flood 495. Bef. Chr. 1853.

Abraham, *being* 141 *years old, marries* Keturah, *and has six sons by her.*

ABRAHAM could not but be pleased to see his son in the possession of so agreeable a wife; but that not proving sufficient to comfort him for the loss of his own, and finding himself still capable of making a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty-one years old, and had continued a widower several years, he took another wife, named *Keturah* (P); by whom he had six sons, whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with *Isaac*'s inheritance, and sent them to dwell towards the east. They went eastward of *Beersheba*, and the land of *Canaan*; and settled in both *Arabias*, the *Petræa* and the *Deserta* [i], where some footsteps of their names are still to be met with, of which we have given an account in a former volume [k].

[i] Gen. xxv. per tot. [k] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 150, & seqq.

(P) The *Jews* pretend, that this *Keturah* was the same with *Hagar*, whom *Abraham* sent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all these children. The reasons they give for it are, 1. Because the *Psalmist* calls the *Midianites*, which came of *Keturah*, *Hagarens* (108). 2. It is said elsewhere, they made war with the *Hagarens*, with *Jetbur*, *Naphish*, and *Nadab* (109), which were the sons of *Ishmael* (110). And, 3. Because *Ishmael*, *Hagar*'s son, is said to have assisted *Isaac* at the funeral obsequies of their father *Abraham* (111). To which they add, that *Hagar* being *Abraham*'s lawful wife, it was juster for him to marry her than another. But these reasons, and her name's being changed from *Hagar* into *Keturah*, which signifies incense, and is the emblem of continency, in which she had lived ever since she had been dismissed from *Abraham*, are rabbinical dreams, for she is still called *Hagar* in the same chapter (112). Besides, the text is plain against them, it being said, that *Abraham* added or proceeded to take another wife, which is inconsistent with his recalling the old one. Add to this, that *Hagar* was only a concubine, and is no-where called a wife, as *Keturah* is; and that *Hagar* must then have been about eighty years of age, and so too old to bear so many sons to so old a man (113).

(108) *Psal.* lxxxiii. 6. (109) 1 *Chron.* v. 10. (110) *Hieron. traditi. Hebr. in Gen.* xxv. 20. (111) *Gen.* xxv. 9. (112) *Ver.* 12. (113) *Jun. in loc. Villet. c.* 25. *quæst.* 3. *& al.*

CON-

Year of the flood 491. Bef. Chr. 1857.

Abraham's *death.*

CONCERNING *Abraham* we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundredth and ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers; and that his two ſons paid him their laſt devoirs, *Iſaac* having probably ſent for his brother *Iſhmael*, and buried him in the cave of *Machpelah*, near *Sarah* his wife. Hence it is plain, that *Moſes* has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before the birth of his two grandſons *Eſau* and *Jacob*, though he muſt have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q).

As

(Q) *Abraham*'s hiſtory has been embelliſhed with a great many notorious fictions by the *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. We have already touched on ſome of them in his life; and we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome few more that are remarkable, ſuch as his making a long abode in *Egypt*, and teaching aſtronomy, and other ſciences there (115); his inventing the *Hebrew* characters and tongue (116), the ſame that are now in uſe; his being the author of ſeveral books, and in particular the famous one mentioned in the *Talmud*, and highly valued by ſeveral learned rabbies, called *Jetzirah*, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is alſo an apocalypſe attributed to him by the *Sethians*, a ſort of heretics that ſprang up in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity (117). His aſſumption is mentioned by St. *Athanaſius*; and *Origen* tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced diſputing about his ſalvation or damnation (118). The *Jews* make him alſo the compoſer of ſome prayers, and of the ninetieth pſalm, and of a treatiſe againſt idolatry (119). The *Indian* fire-worſhipers, who think him to have been the ſame with their great prophet *Zoroaſter*, attribute his books to him, which they call the *Zend*, *Pazend*, and *Voſtah*, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. *Prideaux* mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls *Zendeveſti*; or, as the vulgar people pronounce it, *Zurdeveſtow*, or plain *Zund*. Which name, he tells us, ſignifies a *fire-kindler*, ſuch as a tinder-box is here with us; and was given it by the author to inſinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in thoſe who ſhould

(115) *Artapan. & Eupolem. ap. Euſeb. præp. l.* ix. *c.* 17, 18. *Juſtin. ex Trog. l.* xxxvi. *Joſeph. ant. l.* i. *c.* 8. (116) *Id. ibid. Suid. in Abraham. Iſidor. Hiſpal. l.* i. *c.* 3. *Origen, &c.* (117) *Epiphan. hæreſ. l.* xxxix. *c.* 5. (118) *Origen. homil.* xxxv. *in Luc.* (119) *R. Salom. in Bava Bathra, c.* 1. *Gemar. cod. Talm. tract. Abodah Zarah, c.* 1. (120) *Herbelot. biblioth. orient. p.* 16.

attentively

Rebecca's *pregnancy.* As for *Rebecca*, she continued barren above nineteen years; during which time *Isaac* ceased not intreating the LORD

attentively and devoutly read it (130).

The *Arabians* have likewise given us an history of this patriarch, though so altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were descended, as they are, from him by *Ishmael*.

Abraham, according to them, (131), was the son of *Azar*, and grandson of *Terah*; which account, could it be relied upon, would easily resolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have lately spoken of, p. 248,(B); since *Terah* might have begot *Azar* in the seventieth year of his age, and *Azar* have begot *Abraham* in the sixtieth of his; so that this last number, which is wanting in *Moses*'s account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. *Calmet* indeed thinks we might easily suppose two *Terahs*, one surnamed *Azar*, *Abraham*'s father, and the other his grandfather; but we dare not add with him, that there is nothing in such a supposition that contradicts the sacred text. The eastern heathens have also a long tradition of *Abraham*'s life, though vastly different from that of *Moses*, and fraught with many wonderful additions of their own invention, but which we think not worth a place in a book of this nature, and for which we shall refer our reader to the author quoted last in the margin (132). The *Persian* fire-worshipers to this day express a great veneration for him; they call him *Zeerdoost*, or *Zoroaster*, which signifies the friend of fire; because when he was thrown, as they pretend, into the furnace by *Nimrod*'s order, the flames, instead of consuming him, caressed and embraced him in a friendly manner (133). We may add, that *Calmet* (134) mentions a book in the *French* king's library, No. 792, written originally by St. *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, and translated from the *Syriac* into *Arabic*, upon *Abraham*'s journey into *Egypt*; in which book there is also a sermon on his death, preached by St. *Athanasius*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, on the twenty-eighth of *March*; on which day the *Coptic* or *Egyptian* Christians celebrate his festival. The antient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience; and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other saints, on the ninth of *October* (135). The church

(130) *Conn. p.* 317. (131) *Tarikmountecheb ap. cund. p.* 12. (132) *Id. ibid. p.* 13. *ex lib. Mallem.* (133) *Prid. connect. p.* i. *book* iv. (134) *Ex bibl. orient. p.* 16. (135) *Martyrol. Rom. Adon. Usuard, &c.*

LORD for her, who was pleaſed at length to hear his prayers, and ſend to him the long-deſired bleſſing. They now began to think themſelves truly happy; but *Rebecca*'s happineſs was ſhort-lived. The unnatural ſtruggling of the twins in her womb gave her an extraordinary uneaſineſs, till, after having conſulted GOD about it, ſhe was anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving in her, and that two ſorts of people ſhould be ſeparated from her bowels, one of which ſhould prove ſtronger than the other, and that the elder ſhould ſerve the younger.* Accordingly ſhe was ſoon

of *Rome* hath likewiſe ordered an office for him, and they addreſs him in particular for thoſe who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of *Abraham* having been diſcovered near *Hebron*, they found his body, and thoſe of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewiſe ſome gold and ſilver lamps hung up in the cave, which was viſited by multitudes (136). The *Moſlams* have ſuch a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jeruſalem*; and the Chriſtians built a church over the cave (137), which the *Turks* afterwards turned into a moſque, as has been already hinted (138).

Moſ. Ben Maimon (139), and after him the learned *Spencer*, tell us, that *Abraham* was brought up in the religion of the *Zabeans*, who are ſuppoſed to have been great aſtronomers, aſtrologers, *&c.* and, by diſcovering the power and influence of the ſtars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worſhip them. As to what *Maimonides* ſays, we ſhall only anſwer with *Meyer* (140), that it is impoſſible to prove, that the *Zabeans* were even as old as *Moſes*; much more that they were older than *Abraham*; for though it be granted, that there were ſome people called *Zabeans* before *Moſes*'s time, and that their idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the *Zabeans* we are ſpeaking of, were older than *Abraham*; and *Spencer* himſelf owns (141), that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover their beginning, which has given riſe to ſo many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is not improbable, that *Abraham*, being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that ſuperſtition, till GOD called him away from the one and the other.

(136) *Ben Sholmah ap. Herbelot.* (137) *Serm. quadrag. elmid.* l. ii. *p.* 773. (138) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 477, (A), *ad fin.* (139) *Maimon. tractat. more nevoch. part.* iii. *c.* 29 & 46. & *in Avodah Zarah, c.* 11, & 12. (140) *Meyer de feſt. dieb. Hebr. c.* 12. (141) *Spenc. de leg. Hebr. ritual.* l. ii. *c.* 1.

Year of the flood 510. Bef. Chr. 1838.

Eſau *and* Jacob *born.*

after brought to bed of two ſons, of whom the firſt, *viz. Eſau*, was all over hairy, and the ſecond came into the world holding him by the heel, and was therefore named *Jacob* (R). *Eſau* became a great lover of hunting, and conſequently the darling of *Iſaac*, who was very fond of his veniſon; but *Jacob* was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the bleſſings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intruſting him with the ſecret, though ſhe ſeems all along to have concealed it from her huſband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, when *Jacob* gave proof of his being acquainted with it, by making *Eſau*, purſuant to his mother's directions, ſwear away his birthright, as we have related elſewhere [l].

Eſau *ſells his birthright.*

Year of the flood 543. Bef. Chr. 1805.

Iſaac *goes to* Gerar.

A FAMINE, which happened ſome years after, obliging *Iſaac* to ſeek for another habitation, he reſolved to go into *Egypt*; when GOD appeared to him, and diverted him from it, bidding him go to *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, where *Abraham* had heretofore been ſo friendly entertained; promiſing, that he would protect and bleſs him; as he did accordingly in a wonderful manner, as we have ſeen in a former volume, till their repeated troubles and vexations he met with there obliged him to remove farther [m].

A covenant between Abimelech *and* Iſaac.

AT length he was ſued to by *Abimelech* in perſon [n], either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. *Iſaac* expoſtulated with him, and thoſe that attended him, upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land; but nevertheleſs prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them, and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requeſted. On the ſame day word was brought to *Iſaac*, that his ſervants had found water [o];

[l] See vol. ii. p. 162.
[m] See before, vol. ii. p. 228, & ſeq.
[n] See before, ibid. 230.
[o] Geneſ. xxvi. 32, & ſeqq.

(R) From the *Hebrew* word עקב, *bekeb*, which ſignifies the heel, is formed the verb עקב, to ſupplant; and by the addition of the י *jod*, one of the formatives of nouns, *Jaacob*, a ſupplanter; which name he in time made good. As for the name *Eſau*, the meaning is ſomewhat obſcure, unleſs we derive it, with ſome (142), from עשה, *baſſah*, to make, becauſe *Eſau* came out all hairy, and, as it were, perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is alſo ſuppoſed to have been called *Sheir* or *Sebir*, from שער, *ſhabar*, which ſignifies hair; and laſtly, *Edom*, from his ſelling his primogeniture for a meſs of *red* pottage; as we have ſeen elſewhere.

(142) *Kab. Sal. Mercer, & al.*

upon

upon which account he called the place *Beerſheba* (S). The tranquillity which this new alliance procured him, was ſoon after diſturbed by *Eſau* marrying two wives, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhemath* the daughter of *Elon*, both *Hittites* q. Year of the flood 589. Bef. Chr. 1759.

HOWEVER *Iſaac*, who beheld him ſtill as heir, was ſoon reconciled to him; and, if he knew any thing of his ſelling his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and wearineſs. Finding himſelf, therefore, grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty-ſeven years old, reſolved to bleſs him before he died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bad him get ſome freſh veniſon, and dreſs it to his palate, and told him he deſigned to confer his bleſſing on him that day. *Rebecca*, who overheard their diſcourſe, knowing the importance of the paternal bleſſing, laid hold on that favourable opportunity to procure it for her favourite ſon in the abſence of *Eſau*.

BY what ſtratagem ſhe accompliſhed it, notwithſtanding *Jacob*'s great reluctance, and fear of ſuch a diſcovery as would have brought a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing from the good old father, we have ſeen in a former volume r: but, whilſt the mother and ſon were congratulating each other, *Eſau* came to his father with the veniſon he had prepared for him. He invited him in the ſame dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to obſerve ſuch tokens of ſurprize and concern in his father's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on s, *Eſau* found he had been circumvented in his abſence; and a mournful ſcene enſued between the father and the ſon; which was cloſed up by *Iſaac*'s ſtrenuouſly inſiſting, that his bleſſing ſhould remain with *Jacob*. *I*

Jacob *gets his brother's bleſſing from him.*

q Gen. xxvi. p. tot. See alſo vol. ii. p. 163, & ſeqq.
r See Gen. xxvii. paſſ. See alſo vol. ii. p. 164, & ſeqq. s Vid. ſup. ibid. & ſeqq.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, ſince we have lately ſeen on what account *Abraham* called it ſo; though it is not improbable but the diſcovery of this new well might lead *Iſaac* into an alluſion to a third meaning of the word שבע, *ſhabah*, which ſignifies not only *to ſwear*, and *ſeven*, but likewiſe *to ſatisfy* or *ſatiate*; whereby he might intimate, that he had wells enough, and would reſt ſatisfied with them.

have bleſſed him, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed* [t] (T). Nevertheleſs, to aſſwage *Eſau*'s exceſſive grief, he bleſſed him in

[t] Gen. xxvii. 33.

(T) Whoſoever narrowly obſerves *Jacob*'s life after he had obtained his father's bleſſing, will own, that it conſiſted in nothing leſs than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country, for fear of his brother; deceived and oppreſſed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him, after a ſervitude of twenty-one years; in imminent danger, either of being purſued and brought back by *Laban*, or murdered by an enraged brother. Theſe fears are no ſooner over, but the baſeneſs of his eldeſt ſon, in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the *Sichemites* (145); and laſtly, the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuppoſed untimely end of his ſon *Joſeph*; all theſe overwhelmed him with freſh ſucceſſions of grief: and, to complete all, his being forced by famine to deſcend into *Egypt*, and to die in a ſtrange land; theſe, and many more, are ſufficient proofs, that his father's bleſſing was of a quite different nature, and conſiſted chiefly in theſe two particulars, *viz.* the poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, in right of primogeniture, which his brother had ſold him, and which rather belonged to his poſterity than to himſelf; the other and more glorious one was, that of the MESSIAH's being born of his race, and not of that of *Eſau*. As to the ſtratagem by which this bleſſing was obtained, though it appears ſomewhat harſh and unjuſt at firſt ſight; yet if we conſider, that theſe two brothers were deſigned by providence as types, *viz. Eſau* of the *Jews* (who were afterwards to be rejected for preferring a carnal and imaginary kingdom and MESSIAH to a ſpiritual one, which is, in fact, preferring a meſs of pottage to the nobleſt birth-right), and *Jacob* of the *Gentiles*, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we conſider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future ſtate, as hath been formerly ſhewn; but was confined wholly to the preſent (146); if we conſider theſe things, we ſhall not want the ſubtilies of the ſchools, to juſtify an action which was determined and conducted by a divine hand, unleſs men will affirm, that GOD could not in juſtice make ſuch an alienation; an aſſertion ſo bold and abſurd, that we don't think any man of ſenſe and common modeſty would venture to maintain it;

(145) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 20. (146) *See before, vol.* ii. *pag.* 266, (H).

in theſe words, *Thy dwelling ſhall be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. By thy ſword and thy bow ſhalt thou live, and ſhalt ſerve thy brother; and it ſhall come to paſs, that when thou ſhalt have the dominion, thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* This bleſſing was inferior to *Jacob*'s in the following particulars: 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine; from which ſome have inferred, that *Eſau*'s lot ſhould not be ſo fertile as his brother's [t]. 2. Here is no mention of GOD, as there is in the firſt, GOD *give thee*, &c. 3. There is a ſpiritual bleſſing promiſed to *Jacob*, that *they ſhould be bleſſed that bleſſed him*, &c. but no ſuch thing is ſaid to his brother. *Jacob* was for a while in danger of his brother's heavieſt indignation; which *Rebecca* dreading, ſhe found out a pretence for conveying him out of his reach as far as *Padan-aram*, where he might marry one of her kindred (U). Eſau *is alſo bleſſed.*

JACOB, in his way thither, was overtaken by the night near *Luz*, and forced to lie in the open fields with only a ſtone for his pillow. Here he ſaw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels aſcending and deſcending, whilſt GOD, who ſtood on the top, was pleaſed to encourage him, by promiſing, that he would bleſs and multiply him beyond meaſure [u]. *Jacob*, awaking from his dream ſurpriſed and frighted, cried out, *Surely* GOD *was in this place, and I knew it not!* Riſing therefore from his hard bed, he took the ſtone which had ſerved him for a bolſter, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this viſion called the place *Bethel* (the houſe of GOD); for it was called *Luz* before that time. Here he likewiſe made a vow unto GOD, that if he would Jacob *is ſent to* Padan-Aram

[t] See before, vol. ii. p. 165, & note.

[u] Gen. xxviii. 12, & ſeqq.

or would deſerve an anſwer, if he did.

(U) It is very probable, that *Iſaac* had likewiſe ſome ſuſpicion of *Eſau*'s ill deſign; elſe it is not likely, that he would have ſent *Jacob* away alone, and with only his ſtaff in his hand, when his father *Abraham* had ſent thither a ſervant in ſo noble a manner, unleſs it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reaſon which the mother alleged, was thought highly reaſonable; and *Jacob* was privately ſent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands, and his farther bleſſing; which done, he ſet out for *Padan-aram*.

grant him his protection, feed, cloath, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the LORD should be his GOD; that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the stone which he had reared should be GOD's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on chearfully the rest of his way, till he came to his journey's end [w].

Serves 7 years for Rachel.

HIS uncle *Laban* received him with joy; and, after a month's stay with him, *Jacob* falling in love with his youngest daughter *Rachel*, a beautiful virgin, they agreed that he should serve him seven years for her; at the end of which she should become his wife. *Jacob*, pleased with this promise, spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle *Laban*, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity seven years more. For when the time was come for his being put in possession of the wife he had so dearly earned, he conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter *Leah*'s apartment. *Jacob* did not discover the deceit till the next morning; when finding, instead of his beloved *Rachel*, her homely sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment in the strongest terms. *Laban*, who

Is cheated by Laban.

had his answer ready, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest, and that it would have been a great injustice to *Leah* to have preferred a younger sister to her: But, continued he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and consent to serve me seven years more for her sister, I am content to take your word for it, and to give *Rachel* to you as soon as the seven days are ended. *Jacob* could not but be troubled at such an unfair procedure; but he loved *Rachel* too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore consented to those hard terms, and at the week's end enjoyed the fruits of his servitude and constancy. What befel his brother *Esau* during that time, hath been already mentioned [x], and needs not be repeated here; only with respect to his wives, we beg leave to remove a difficulty, for which we refer the reader to the following note (X).

Marries Rachel.

IN

[w] Gen. xxviii. [x] See before, vol. ii. p. 166, & seqq.

(X) It will be proper to observe here, that *Moses* gives these three wives of *Esau* quite other names, when he comes to

In the mean time *Jacob* behaved very differently towards his two wives. *Rachel* had his heart and affection, whilſt *Leah* was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility; but God made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilſt her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. *Leah* was ſoon brought to bed of a ſon, and it being then the cuſtom of thoſe times for mothers to give names to their children, not without ſome particular reaſon or meaning, ſhe called him *Reuben*, intimating that God had ſeen her affliction, and had given her a ſon, which would probably engage her huſband's affection to her. She had another ſoon after him, whom ſhe called *Simeon*; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, the Lord had heard her complaint. Her third ſhe called *Levi*, hoping her huſband would be now cordially joined to her; and the fourth ſhe called *Judah*, thinking herſelf bound to praiſe God for her fruitfulneſs; after which ſhe left off bearing for a while[2].

Year of the flood 596. Bef. Chr. 1752.

Simeon, Levi, *and* Judah *born.*

Rachel by this time was ſo extremely mortified at her ſiſter's happineſs, that ſhe came one day in a fit of envy, and told her huſband, that, unleſs he gave her children

Year of flood 599. Bef. Chr. 1749.

[2] Gen. xxix. p. tot.

to ſpeak of the poſterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially, becauſe the fathers of the two former are likewiſe called by different names. Thus his firſt wife, *Judith* of *Beeri*, is afterwards called *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*; the ſecond, viz. *Baſhemah*, the daughter of *Elon*, is again called *Aholibamah*, the daughter of *Anah*, the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Hivite*; the laſt, called at firſt *Mahalah*, is now called *Bathſhemath*; but what ſhews, that theſe two latter names mean the ſame perſon, and that the ſame thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two (eſpecially conſidering, that *Eſau* is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that ſhe is called in both places, the daughter of *Iſhmael*, and ſiſter of *Nebaioth*. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was uſual to call them ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. Thus the mother of *Abijam*, king of *Judah*, who is called in one place *Maachah*, the daughter of *Abiſhalom* (148), is in another nam'd *Michaiah*, the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah* (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(147) *Compare* Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. *with* xxxvi. 2, & *ſeqq.*
(148) 1 *Kings* xv. 2. (149) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 2.

alſo, ſhe ſhould inevitably die of grief. *Jacob*, who could not forbear being provoked at ſuch a ſpeech, which ſeemed to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, anſwered her in a paſſion, that it was out of his power to do miracles; and that GOD, who had ſhut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was more apt to prevent, than to gain ſuch a bleſſing. This mortifying anſwer made her bethink herſelf of the uſual way, at that time, for women in her caſe to give their maids to their huſbands; ſhe therefore deſired him to take *Bilhah*, and try to make her a mother by her means; to which he conſented, and ſoon after had a ſon by her, which *Rachel* called *Dan*, meaning that GOD had judged in her favour. She called the other ſon, which *Bilhah* bore, *Naphtali*, to expreſs the violent ſtruggles ſhe had had with her ſiſter: after which *Leah*, thinking ſhe had quite left off bearing, gave her maid *Zilpah* alſo to *Jacob*, whoſe firſt ſon ſhe called *Gad* (a troop) expecting more to come, and the next ſhe called *Aſher*, to expreſs the happineſs ſhe now enjoyed.

Dan *and* Naphthali *born.*

Gad *and* Aſher *born*

BY this time *Reuben* being about ſix years of age, brought home one evening ſome mandrakes (Y), which he

(Y) What theſe mandrakes were, is not eaſy to gueſs: but they could not certainly be what we underſtand by that name; 1. Becauſe they had nothing inviting, either in ſmell, taſte, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much leſs could he chooſe them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text ſays, it was then wheat-harveſt, which in thoſe hot countries is about *May*, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very ſtrong ſtupefying ſmell, and is therefore called by the *Arabians jabrokim*; whereas the *dudaim*, or *mandrakes*, are commended for their fragrancy, in the only place of Scripture, where they are mentioned beſides (150). For this reaſon ſome have fanſied them violets (151); others lilies (152); others jeſſamin; others have rendered the word deſirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word *dudaim*, which ſignifies loves in the dual, or, the breaſts of a woman. Others again, and perhaps more probably, have gueſſed them to be citrons (154). That which has induced ſo many interpreters to ſuppoſe them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping con-

(150) *Cant.* vii. 13. (151) *Onkel. in loc.* (152) *Oleaſt.* (153) *Jun. in loc.* (154) *Bochart. Braun's vulg. err. Calmet comm. in Gen. cap.* xxx. *v.* 11.

ception,

he had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harveſt. *Rachel* no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. *Leah* hereupon anſwered, not over-complaiſantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her huſband and her ſon's mandrakes too: wherefore, to pacify her, and purchaſe the fruit, ſhe agreed, that *Jacob* ſhould lie with her that night (Z); and *Jacob* no ſooner came home, but *Leah* challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the conſequence of which was, that ſhe bore him a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called *Iſſachar* (the man of reward), alleging that he was a reward to her for giving her maid to *Jacob*. After which ſhe bore her ſixth and laſt ſon, and called him *Zebulun* (dwelling), in hopes that ſo many ſons would make her huſband dwell with her. She had likewiſe a daughter, whom ſhe called *Dinah*, which is the

Year of the flood 603. Bef. Chr. 1745.

Iſſachar.

Zebulun *and* Dinah *born.*

ception (155), which made *Rachel* willing to try the effects of them; but, beſides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that ſhe did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that *Leah* would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had ſuch a virtue, which perhaps was not diſcovered till a long time after; when it became known among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor *Julian* tells his friend (156), that he had taken a doſe to excite him to it. A modern author, in his hiſtory of *Ethiopia*, has confuted the notion of *dudaim* ſignifying mandrakes (157); and affirms, that it ſignifies a certain fruit, which the *Syrians* call *mauz*, not unlike the *banana*, or *Indian fig-tree*, in ſhape and taſte, and about the bigneſs of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one ſtem: but, whatever theſe *dudaim* were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they muſt have had ſomething pleaſant and inviting to a child, either in ſmell or taſte.

(Z) The cuſtom of thoſe countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in thoſe days for the huſband to take his wives by turns (158); the kings of *Perſia*, if we may believe *Herodotus* (159), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that ſhe ſold her turn for that night to her ſiſter, than that ſhe directed her huſband which of the four he ſhould lie with.

(155) *Epiph. ap. Villet.* (156) *Ludolph. hiſt. Æthiop. l.* i. *cap.* 72. (157) *Vid. Calm. in Gen.* xxx. 16. *Dict. ſub voc. Mandrag. Aug. l.* xxii. *cont. Fauſt. cap.* 29. (158) *Villet. Munſt. & al.* (159) *Herodot. l.* iii. *cap.* 69.

feminine

feminine of *Dan*; after which she bore no more. As for *Rachel*, her prayers at length being heard, she was happily brought to bed of a son, whom she called *Joseph*, in hopes that God would add another to him. By this time, *Jacob*, having finished his fourteen years servitude, and being desirous to revisit his old parents, desired his uncle to dismiss him and his family. But *Laban*, who had found no small advantage in having such a faithful servant, begged him to stay a little longer, promising, upon that condition, to give him what wages he should name. They soon came to an agreement about that; but *Laban*'s avarice put him on so many stratagems to defraud him of it, as obliged *Jacob* to use others in his own defence, and which the reader may see in the xxxth chapter under-quoted, and which succeeded so well to him, that his flocks throve greatly, whilst *Laban*'s dwindled visibly away.

Jacob's stratagem of the speckled sticks.

Laban, vexed at his heart to see such a great difference between the two flocks, and perhaps suspecting some trick, obliged him to invert the bargain. This arbitrary change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complained to him afterwards [a]; in spite of all which, *Jacob* grew exceeding rich; and with the money which he got by his fleeces, *&c.* bought men and women servants, camels, oxen, and asses; which raised such envy in *Laban* and his sons against him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting off with all he had [b]. He acquainted his wives with his design, and finding them of the same mind, he set them and their little ones upon camels, and, having got all his servants and substance together, began his journey towards the land of *Canaan*, whilst his father-in-law, who was at a pretty distance from him, was busy shearing his sheep; which gave *Rachel* an opportunity of stealing her father's gods (B). *Laban*, who did not hear of his flight

Jacob steals away from Laban.

Year of the flood 609. Bef. Chr. 1739.

[a] Gen. xxxi. 41. [b] Gen. xxx. p. tot.

(B) The word which we translate gods, in the *Hebrew* is תרפים *teraphim*, which all the *Jewish rabbies* own to be a word of no *Hebrew* etymology. The LXX translate it sometimes an oracle, and sometimes vain idols, and *Aquila* idols. Some think it to be an *Egyptian* word, and the same with *Serapis*; introduced by *Ham*, or his son *Mizraim*, who filled that country with idols (159). As to their shape,

(159) *Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. synt.* iv. *c.* 3. *Cunæus rep. Hebr.*

the

flight till the third day after, was full ſeven days before he could overtake him; by which time *Jacob* had already paſſed

the moſt received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or ſomething reſembling a human form, as a buſto, *terminus*, &c. though the *Jews* pretend, that it was the head of a firſt-born ſon, plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraved upon it; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a ſhelf, gave vocal anſwers (160): but theſe are rather to be looked on as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which *Michol* put in *David's* bed (161), which the original calls by the name of *teraphim*, ſhews, that it muſt have had an human ſhape. *Joſephus* indeed, who might think it a reflection on *David*, that there ſhould be found an image or *teraphim* in his houſe, has attributed a more ſubtle ſtratagem to *Michol*, though leſs credible (162). But, waving the improbability of this ſtory, we ſhall meet with ſo many inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein this author doth depart, from the Scriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour of his nation is concerned, that his authority will be of little weight in all ſuch caſes.

Theſe *teraphims* were afterwards univerſally known by the name of taliſmen, as they are to this day all over *India*. The *Perſians* called them *telephim*, a name not unlike *teraphim*. They were made of different metals and ſizes, caſt under certain conſtellations, with the figures of ſome planets, and magic characters, engraven upon them. What metal thoſe of *Laban* were, or how big, or how many, is not eaſy to gueſs; only this the text tells us, that ſhe hid them in the ſtraw, and ſat upon them. As for their uſe, it was chiefly to give anſwers, to foretel what was to come, to diſcover what was hid or loſt, and the like. Beſides this, they were alſo addreſſed to for temporal bleſſings, and to avert evils. They were to be conſulted and prayed to at certain times, under particular aſpects of the planets, from which, according to the *Jews*, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another rabbi goes further, and pretends that they gave their anſwers *viva voce* (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The teraphims have ſpoken vain things* (165). However, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all the *teraphims* were of the ſame

(160) *Jonat. targ. in Gen.* xxxi. *R. Tanhuma Eleaz. & al.* (161) 1 *Sam.* xix. 16. (162) *Ant. lib.* vi. *c.* 14. (163) *D. Kimchi ſub voc. Teraph.* (164) *R. Eleaz. cap.* 36. (165) *Zechar.* x. 2.

make,

passed the *Euphrates* (C), and was got up the mountains of *Gilead*, where he had pitched his tent for that night.

make, or for the same uses, even among the *Jews*. We shall have occasion to mention some of other sorts, when we come to speak of that of *Micah* (166): besides, as they came to be universal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at least an human head.

The last thing worth inquiring into, is, what induced *Rachel* to steal her father's gods. To which some answer, that she did it to repay herself for the damage which they had sustained by her father (167); others, that she thought by that means to prevent *Laban*'s inquiring of them, which way *Jacob* went (168); others, that she would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, against which *Jacob* had read his wives many a lecture (169). The learned *Shuckford* looks upon this theft to have been committed by her, out of a fond regard for her ancestors (170). And lastly, others think, that both she and her sister were still addicted to that superstition, and that their designing to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her husband (171); which seems the most probable, since *Jacob*, making a thorough reformation in his house, caused them to be taken from her, and buried them under a tree in *Sichem* (172).

(C) Though the text doth not say what river he passed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the *Euphrates*, which the Scripture sometimes calls the river *Perah*, sometimes the great river, and sometimes emphatically, *the river*, or flood (173); either because that and the *Nile* were the only two considerable ones they knew; or, because it was one of the four rivers of *Paradise*; or lastly, because it was the boundary of the promised land (174). However, *Jacob* must have made prodigious speed to have arrived at mount *Gilead* in 10 days, with all his family, cattle and lumber, it being little less distant from *Haran* than 250 miles; so that he must be supposed to have travelled at the rate of 25 miles a day, unless he had perhaps taken the advantage of two or three days journey, under pretence of fresh pasture before he set out for good. *Laban* and his company must have made still greater haste to have overtaken him in seven days, and have travelled at the rate of 37 miles a day; which plainly shews, that he was no less eager to wreak his resentment on him, than *Jacob* was to avoid it.

(166) *Jud.* xvii. 1, & *seqq.* (167) *Perer. Johnson, & al.* (168) *Abenezra in loc.* (169) *Theodoret. quæst.* 9. *Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. orat. de S. Pasch. & al.* (170) *Connect. vol.* i. *l.* v. *p.* 342. *vol.* ii. *l.* vii. *p.* 154. (171) *Cyril. in Gen.* lxi. *Chrysost. Cajet. Muse. Calv. & al.* (172) *Gen.* xxxv. 4. (173) *Vid. Josh.* i. 4. xxiv. & *alib.* (174) *Vid. Gen.* xv. 18.

It

It is evident, that he had ſome ill deſign againſt his ſon-in-law; but GOD, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any hoſtility or violence againſt him; ſo that he contented himſelf with expoſtulating with him, that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grandchildren, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſic and dances. *Jacob*, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; *Laban*'s deceiving him, and making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his ſalary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family; all theſe and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the bleſſings which GOD had heaped upon him for his ſake. *Laban* had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the ſtealing of his gods; and *Jacob*, ignorant of *Rachel*'s theft, deſired him to make the moſt diligent ſearch for them throughout his family, promiſing that the perſon on whom they were found, ſhould be immediately put to death. *Laban* loſt no time, but ſearched every tent, and laſt of all came to that of *Rachel*, who had hid the *teraphim* under the camel's litter, and had ſet herſelf down upon them. She kept ſitting whilſt he was curiouſly examining every corner, and excuſed it, with telling him, that the condition ſhe was then in, allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies. This prevented all further ſcrutiny; and *Laban*, departing with an heavy heart, acquainted his ſon-in-law with his ill ſucceſs. This cauſed ſome freſh expoſtulations; which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable ſubject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument as a ſtanding witneſs of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which *Laban* called in the *Syrian* tongue *Jegar-ſahadutha*, and *Jacob* in *Hebrew*, *Gilead*; both which ſignify the heap of witneſs [b]. Here they likewiſe ſwore, that neither would paſs over that monument to hurt the other; and *Jacob*, that he would uſe his wives and children with all becoming tenderneſs and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a ſacrifice offered upon the occaſion, *Jacob* feaſted the whole company the reſt of that day; and the next morning *Laban* having embraced and bleſſed the whole family, returned home to *Padan-aram* [c].

Laban overtakes them.

Searches for his gods

Makes a covenant with Jacob.

They rear a monument in memory of it.

Laban *returns home.*

[b] *Vid. ſup.* vol. i. p. 347, & ſeqq. & vol. ii. p. 292.

[c] Gen. xxxi. p. tot.

JACOB,

Jacob's vision. He calls the place Mahanaim.

JACOB, who thought his abſence a greater ſecurity than the oaths he had ſworn, was glad to have ſo well eſcaped; but one fear ſucceeded another, and the reſentment of his brother *Eſau* began now to give him a freſh trouble; but a viſion which he had of an hoſt of angels, who met him in his way to *Canaan*, allayed his anxiety for a while; and in memory of this viſion he called the place *Mahanaim* (two camps). But, being ſtill fearful of his brother [a], he reſolved to ſoften him with a ſubmiſſive meſſage; and though ſtill near 120 miles from him, yet to ſend a meſſage to acquaint him with the ſucceſs he had during his ſtay in *Meſopotamia*, the riches and multitude of wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, which he had acquired; and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had ſent him his beſt compliments (D). The meſſengers returned with the news, that *Eſau* was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to make him conclude, that he came with a deſign to deſtroy him, and all that belonged to him; but, recovering little from his fear, he ſet himſelf about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes that if the one periſhed, the other might eſcape; which done, he addreſſed himſelf to GOD in a very humble prayer, acknowlegeing his great mercies, and his own unworthineſs, and begging his future protection againſt his brother's ſword, and that he would fulfil all his former promiſes to him. After this he reſolved to try how far preſents would work upon *Eſau*'s temper; and, having ſet

He ſends ſome preſents to Eſau.

[a] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 166.

(D) As *Jacob* was ſtill ſo many miles from mount *Seir*, where *Eſau* then dwelt, this meſſage would have been ſuperfluous or premature, had he not deſigned, by acquainting him with the great wealth he had got in *Haran*, to have diſpoſſeſſed his brother of a prejudice, that he came empty-handed, and with a view only of inheriting his old father's ſubſtance, which might have rekindled his reſentment, and cauſed a freſh miſunderſtanding. It might moreover be done with a politic view, to inform himſelf how he ſtood affected towards him, in order to ſtop ſhort or ſteer another courſe, if he found him in no better temper than he had left him. And this, as a judicious divine rightly obſerves (172), ſufficiently accounts for *Jacob*'s meſſage, without ſuppoſing two lands of *Edom*, one nearer, and another farther from *Gilead*, as *Adrichomius*, and others after him, have done.

(172) *See Shuckford's connect. vol.* ii. *p.* 156, *& ſeqq.*

apart

apart two hundred ſhe-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty ſhe-camels, with their colts, forty cows and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten colts, he ſent them before him in ſeparate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were preſents ſent by *Jacob* to his lord *Eſau*, in order to intreat his favour and good will[b]. On the next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook *Jabbok* long before break of day, whilſt himſelf tarried at *Mahanaim*. Here appeared to him in the ſhape of a man, according to the prophet *Hoſea*[c], the ſame divine perſon that had before at *Bethel*, who wreſtled with him till the morning; and, not being able to prevail with him, touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint; then deſired him to let him go, ſince day appeared. *Jacob* then begged, that he might have his bleſſing firſt; upon which he changed his name from *Jacob* to *Iſrael*, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with GOD. But, when he was deſired to tell his own name, he refuſed, and departed from him (D). *Jacob* therefore

Jacob *is named* Iſrael *at Peniel.*

[b] Gen. xxxii. 14, 15. [c] Hoſ. xii. ver. 4.

(D) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to *Jacob* in the latter part of the 28th verſe, as if *Jacob* had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been ſo far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, *viz. Eſau* and *Laban*, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to a better verſion of theſe words, if the original can bear us out in it, which it will do without the leaſt violence; or rather, by following the moſt ſtrict and literal ſenſe of it, which runs thus, *Thou haſt acted or behaved prince-like* (in thy wreſtling) *with* GOD, *and thou ſhalt alſo prevail over men.* And indeed, what could be more comfortable to *Jacob* in the ſtreight he was in, about meeting his brother *Eſau*, than ſuch a promiſe? or what can more naturally account for this viſion, than to ſuppoſe, that it happened to him in order to diſpel his fears? This verſion is likewiſe more agreeable to the *Chaldee* paraphraſe, the *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgate*, which render it thus, *If thou haſt been thus far able to prevail with* GOD, *how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!*

Some of the antient fathers think it was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual, and not actual ſenſe (173). As to the perſon who wreſtled with *Jacob*, ſome have believed it to be an angel, only becauſe *Hoſea* calls him by that name in the place

(173) *Hieron. qu. Hebr. Orig. & al.*

therefore called the place *Peniel*, or the face of God; and, when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his posterity never eat of that joint[d]. And *Josephus* tells us, that neither *Jacob*, nor any of his posterity ever since, did eat that part of any creature[e]: and though the text mentions only the sinew that shrank; yet so scrupulous have some of the *Jews* been even to this day, that, for want of knowing which joint it was, they abstain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, less nice, abstain only from the thigh; and some again will eat even that, and content themselves with plucking the sinew out of it[f]. Some think, that *Jacob*'s lameness was soon over; others, that he halted all his life. However, the new assurances which the angel gave him inspired him with such fresh courage, that he marched on chearfully, till he had overtaken his family, and was come in sight of his brother.

Meets with his brother Esau. Year of the flood 609. Bef. Christ 1739.

How tender and affectionate their meeting was, and how contrary to *Jacob*'s expectation, we have already shewn[g] (E); which was closed with a kind invitation to his

[d] Gen. xxxii. 22—32. [e] Ant. l. i. c. 20. [f] Calm. O. T. in loc. [g] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 166.

above-quoted; whereas, when it is God or Christ, that appears like one, he is distinguished by the angel of the covenant, or some other word (177). But what follows in the very next verse of the prophet above-quoted, plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the* Lord God *of hosts*. That it was God who met him in *Bethel*, is plain, by his saying, *I am the* God *of Bethel* (178). The general opinion therefore of antient and modern authors is, that it was Christ who wrestled with *Jacob* here. 1. Because he blessed him; and, 2. Because *Jacob* says, *I have seen* God *face to face*, &c. and called the place *Peniel* (179).

(E) It is very probable, that *Isaac* and *Rebecca* had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's absence, that what *Jacob* and she had done, was by order of God himself, who had decreed the inversion of the succession before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime, for him to oppose the decrees of providence; and that, instead of recovering his brother's blessing, he would bring a terrible curse on his own head: by which, and other such-like

(177) *Pereir. in loc. & al.* (178) *Gen.* xxxi. 13. (179) *Tertul. lib.* ii. *cont. Marcion. Hilar. de Trin. l.* iv. *Ambr. de fid. l.* vi. *Chryfost. in cap.* viii. *actor. & al. Calv. Merc. Jun. & al. mult.*

arguments,

his habitation on mount *Seir*; but *Jacob* thought fit to turn towards *Succoth*, where he built him an houſe, and afterwards removed to *Salem*, a city belonging to the *Shechemites*, where he bought ſome ground of the children of *Hamor*, and ſettled there g (F), and built an altar to the LORD, which he called *El Elohe Iſrael*, or the mighty GOD of *Iſrael* h. This was in all likelihood the ſame place where *Abraham* had heretofore built one, ſoon after his firſt coming into the land of *Canaan* i. And here alſo was probably *Jacob*'s well near mount *Gerizim*, where CHRIST talked with the woman of *Samaria* k; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the *Shechemites* l.

Jacob *ſtopped ſome time at Succoth.*

Buys a piece of ground near Shechem.

HERE *Jacob* might have lived long in peace and tranquillity, being univerſally beloved and reſpected, had not the treacherous and inhuman maſſacre of the inhabitants by his two ſons *Simeon* and *Levi* m obliged him to withdraw from the place nearer to *Mamre*, where his father ſtill lived. *Jacob* reproved them for their barbarity;

Year of the flood 616. Bef. Chr. 1732.

g Gen. xxxiii. 18. Annal. USSER. ſub ann.
h Ibid. 20. CALM. hiſt. O. T.
i Gen. xii. 7. VILLET. & al.
k JOHN iv. 6, & ſeqq.
l Judg. ix. 7.
m Joſ. ant. l. i. c. 21.

arguments, they had wholly perſuaded him to acquieſce in the divine will, and to ſet aſide all animoſity againſt *Jacob*.

(F) We have here followed the *Engliſh* verſion, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived *ſafe* and *ſound*, or *peaceably*, at the city of *Shechem*; for the word *Salem*, or rather *Shalem*, bears that ſignification; whereas we find no remains of any place near *Shechem*, that is called by the name of *Salem*. Some have thought it to be that *Salem* of which *Melchizedek* was king (186), the ruins of whoſe palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. *Jerom*'s time; which ſhewed it, he ſays, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the ſame with *Salem* here ſpoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was ſo near *Shechem*, any more than the *Salim* where *John the Baptiſt* did frequent (188), which was near *Jordan*; whereas *Shechem* was at a diſtance from it. Beſides, *Joſephus* tells us, that the old *Salem* was the ſame as *Jeruſalem* (189). And the *Pſalmiſt* ſeems to intimate the ſame, when he ſays, *At Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the ſuppoſed *Salem* near *Shechem* muſt have been near thirty miles from *Jeruſalem*.

(186) *Gen.* xiv. 18. (187) *Hieron. quæſt. Hebr.* (188) *John* iv. 5. (189) *Ant.* l. 2. c. 11. (190) *Pſal.* lxxvi. 2.

and the rest of the inhabitants of the country would, no doubt, have made them pay dear for it, had not God interposed, and sent a panic fear amongst them, insomuch that they even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered *Shechemites*[n].

Jacob *is bid to go and dwell at* Bethel.

God was soon pleased to dissipate all *Jacob*'s fears once more by speaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to *Bethel*, where he had formerly appeared to him when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. Here *Jacob*, unwilling to profane that holy place by carrying with him any thing that might be displeasing to God, ordered his family to deliver to him all the idols they had taken from the *Shechemites*, or brought from *Padan-aram*, not indeed to be destroyed, as one might have expected, but to be buried in a deep hole, which he caused to be made under an oak near to *Shechem*. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they used to wear as talismans or charms against sickness and other misfortunes[o]. After which *Jacob* and his whole family set out with all they had, and arrived safe at *Luz*, afterwards called *Bethel*: none of the neighbouring inhabitants dared to pursue them. As soon as he came thither, he built an altar to God, and called it *El-Bethel*, or the God of *Bethel*: soon after which *Deborah*, his mother's nurse, died, and was buried under an oak at the foot of the hill of *Bethel*, and the place was called *Allon Bachuth*, or the oak of mourning. He made but a short stay at *Bethel*, being desirous to go to visit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not seen since he went to *Mesopotamia*: but, as he was marching towards *Ephrath*, *Rachel* fell in labour at a small distance from the place; and, perceiving that it would cost her her life, called the child *Benoni*, or the son of my affliction; but after she was dead, *Jacob* changed that name, too apt to revive his grief for her loss, into that of *Benjamin*, or the son of my right-hand. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, and a stone monument was reared over the grave, which was still to be seen in *Moses*'s time. This was not the only misfortune that *Jacob* met with in this place: for his son *Reuben* having taken a liking to *Bilhah*, his father's concubine, and *Rachel*'s maid, he did not scruple to comply with his wicked inclination: which

Their idols buried.

Year of flood 616. Bef. Christ 1732.

Deborah *dies.*

Rachel *dies, and is buried at* Ephrath.

Reuben's *incest.*

[n] Gen. xxxiv. per tot.

[o] See Calmet. comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4.

made ſo deep an impreſſion in his father's heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day P. Soon after this *Jacob* left that melancholy place, and came at length to *Mamre*, to his old father *Iſaac*, with whom he continued almoſt the ſpace of thirteen years, ſome ſay, nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old, having been almoſt blind and decrepit a conſiderable part of that time (H). His two ſons buried him in the cave of *Machpelah* with *Abraham* and *Sarah*; after which *Eſau* returned home, and *Jacob* continued at *Mamre* q.

Year of the flood 619. Bef. Chr. 1729.

Iſaac *dies, and is buried by his two ſons.*

HOWEVER, the happineſs which *Jacob* had enjoyed during his ſtay with his father, had not been without ſome allay. *Joſeph*, then about ſeventeen years of age, was become his darling, in regard of the excellencies both of his body and mind. But his fondneſs for him raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in his brothers (K). What increaſed it ſtill more

Year of the flood 632. Bef. Chr. 1716.

Joſeph *beloved by his father.*

P Gen. xlix. 4. q Gen. xxxv. p. tot. See alſo vol. ii. pag. 167.

(H) The *Jews* tell us, that the maſters who taught *Iſaac* the law of GOD, were the patriarchs *Shem* and *Heber*, who were ſtill living; and that, when *Abraham* took him with him to mount *Moriah* to ſacrifice him there, he told *Sarah*, that he was going with him to the ſchool of *Shem* (197). They likewiſe attribute to him the compoſing of the noon-prayers, which they conſtantly uſe: for they think *Abraham* was the author of thoſe of the morning, and *Jacob* of thoſe of the evening, and *Iſaac* of thoſe of noon (198).

(K) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, have made *Jacob* to love *Joſeph*, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age; whereas he had two ſons younger than he, *viz. Zebulun* and *Benjamin*, and this laſt was born above fifteen years after him. It ſeems, they have miſtaken the words בן זקנים *ben zekenim*, the ſon of ſenators or elders, as he is called here, for בן זקנה *ben ziknah*, the ſon of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it ſignifying, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the ſon or diſciple of ſenators; that is, becauſe he was endued with extraordinary wiſdom and prudence. Accordingly the *Samaritan*, *Perſic*, and *Arabic* verſions have rendered it, *becauſe he was a wiſe and pru-*

(197) *Sgambat. archiv. Vet. Teſt. l. ii. p.* 197. (198) *Fabric. apocryph. Vet. Teſt.*

Hated by his brethren.

more was, that *Joseph*, having observed some vile actions in the sons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, with whom his father had sent him to feed the sheep, in hopes that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and acquainted him with it. But he himself helped to complete their envy, or rather to turn it into an irreconcileable hatred, by innocently telling them some dreams he had, which seemed to foreshew, that he should one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he saw in a wheat-field his own sheaf standing upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he saw the sun, moon, and eleven stars, doing the like obeisance to him. This last he likewise told his father, who, though he could not perhaps but think it significative of some great fortune that would attend him; yet, observing with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him severely before them, asking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren, were to bow themselves to the earth to him? But this rather helped to increase their hatred against him, and made them resolve on his death.

His two dreams.

Year of the flood 619. Bef. Chr. 1729.

It was not long before an opportunity offered of executing their design. *Jacob*, being uneasy that he had not heard from them, since they were gone to *Shechem* with their flocks, sent *Joseph* to inquire after them; and these no sooner saw him, but they all agreed to rid themselves of the dreamer, as they called him, and make their father believe, that some wild beast had devoured him. They had executed their bloody design, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief which the news of his death would cause to their aged father, had not *Reuben* dissuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and advised them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or desire to make him die a

dent son; though even this comes short of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly translated, *because he had the wisdom or prudence of a senator* (198).

Justin in epitome of *Trogus* makes mention of his being sold into *Egypt* by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit, and, having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(198) *Vid. Le Scen. essay.* (199) *Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 2.*

more

more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit. In the mean time a troop of *Iſhmaelites* happening to paſs by, with ſpices and balm from *Gilead*, and bound for *Egypt*, *Judah* perſuaded his brethren to ſell him to them, ſince his death would do them no more ſervice than his being carried down into *Egypt* [r]. Accordingly *Joſeph* was ſold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to *Reuben*, whoſe deſign was to have got him out of the pit, and to have ſent him back privately to his father. The ſurprize and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced ſuch complaints from him, that they took the more care not to let him know what was become of him. Soon after, having dipped his party-coloured coat in ſome kid's blood, they ſent it home to their father; who no ſooner ſaw it, than, thinking that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by ſome wild beaſt, he took his ſuppoſed loſs ſo to heart, that he did not ceaſe mourning for him, till he heard the ſurpriſing news of his advancement in *Egypt* [s], where *Joſeph* happened to be ſold to an officer of the king's guard, named *Potiphar* (M). Here *Joſeph* ſhewed ſuch diligence and integrity, and proved ſo ſucceſsful in all he undertook, that his maſter ſoon committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been ten years in *Potiphar*'s houſe, when his miſtreſs, taken with the extraordinary comelineſs of his perſon, after ſeveral other unſucceſsful attempts to make him comply with her wanton deſires, accoſted him one day when the whole family was abroad, in ſo paſſionate a manner, that *Joſeph*, not thinking it ſafe to ſtay and expoſtulate with her, as he had frequently done, abruptly withdrew, leaving his upper garment, which ſhe had laid hold of, in her

He is ſold and carried down to Egypt.

Sold there to Potiphar.

Is ſolicited to an amour by his miſtreſs.

[r] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 153.

[s] Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

(M) It may not be improper to obſerve here, that though the text calls *Potiphar* an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX. render it, and the *Jews* fanſy; for though the *Hebrew* word סריס *ſaris* doth properly import an eunuch, yet it is often uſed to ſignify an officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's perſon. He is alſo called שר טבחים *ſar tabachim*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies the prince of the butchers, from *tabach*, which ſignifies ſlaughter. For which reaſon ſome have rendered it, the prince of the cooks (201).

(201) *Vid. Mercer. Jun. & al.*

hands. Not able to brook this affront, she vowed the ruin of the innocent youth; and accordingly having brought together with her outcries all who were within hearing, she charged *Joseph* with her own crime, confirming the charge by the dumb witness she had torn from him. By the time her husband came home, she had drest up her story so well, that she was easily believed. Had *Potiphar* loved *Joseph* less than he did, it is probable he would have sacrificed him that minute to his resentment; but he contented himself for the present with sending him into the king's prison [s], where we shall leave him for a while, to take a view of what passed in his father's family.

His refusal makes her accuse him.

He is sent to prison.

Judah's *marriage with a* Canaanite.

NOT long after *Joseph* had been sold into *Egypt*, *Judah* married the daughter of a *Canaanite*, whose name was *Shuah*, by whom he had three sons (N), *Er*, *Onan*, and *Shelah*. *Er* being cut off for his wickedness, before he had any children by his wife *Tamar*, *Judah* bid his second son *Onan* take her, according to the custom of that country, and raise a posterity to his brother. *Onan* obeyed seemingly; but, not brooking the thoughts, that his children should be esteemed his brother's, took such a wicked and unnatural way to prevent *Tamar*'s having any by him, that GOD was provoked to punish him with

Er's *death.*

Onan's *sin and death.*

[s] Gen. xxxix. p. tot.

(N) It is not easy to guess at what time *Judah* had these three sons by this *Canaanitish* woman; and, if we take the words in the original, *at that time*, in a strict sense, as if it happened about the time that *Joseph* was sold, he must have been too young, being but twenty-two years of age; for *Joseph* was seventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth son of *Leah*, and he and *Joseph* both born within the compass of seven years. So that the most that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before *Joseph* was sold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the story of his son's marriage and death, and the business of *Tamar*, happened during the twenty years that *Joseph* continued in *Egypt*. And therefore, though *Moses* relates all these events in the chapter preceding that which gives an account of his disgrace and imprisonment, it is most probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the story of those two brothers too much, and so has made an end of *Judah*'s adventures, before he went on with those of *Joseph*.

death

death alſo (O). *Judah* therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's houſe, till his third ſon was grown old enough to ſupply his brother's place; but the time being come, and *Judah* neglecting to ſend for her, as indeed he never deſigned it, leſt *Shelah* ſhould meet with the fate of his two brothers, ſhe reſolved to put him in mind of his engagement by ſome other way.

Judah *and* Tamar.

JUDAH, having buried his wife about this time, as ſoon as the uſual days of mourning were over, went to over-look his ſheep-ſhearers at *Timnath*, attended only by his friend *Adullam*. *Tamar* had timely notice of his deſign; and, thinking this a favourable opportunity to execute her own, ſhe diveſted herſelf of her widow's garments, covered her face with a veil, and in the attire of an harlot placed herſelf between the two ways that led to *Timnath*. *Judah* ſaw her, and, taking her to be what ſhe appeared, made his addreſſes to her, and prevailed. He won her conſent, by promiſing her a kid, and leaving with her, at her requeſt, his ſignet, his bracelets, and his ſtaff, as ſo many pledges for the performance of his promiſe. The kid he immediately ſent by his friend *Adullam*; but the pretended harlot had diſappeared, and no tidings could be heard of her.

Tamar *with child*

SOME months after *Judah* was informed, that *Tamar* was certainly with child. At this news he was not diſpleaſed, as her death would free him from his promiſe of marrying her to his ſon *Shelah*. He pretended, however, to be highly provoked at her incontinency, and condemned her accordingly to the flames (R); but,

Condemned to be burnt,

upon

(O) Though *Onan*'s ſin was in itſelf great enough, yet it is very probable, that it was aggravated with a worſe circumſtance; *viz.* his having an eye to the ſuppreſſing of the MESSIAH's coming, ſince he ſhould not have the honour to be numbered among his anceſtors (204), which might provoke GOD to cut him off.

(R) Some think that *Judah*, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the *Canaanites*, in whoſe country they dwelt, would give a ſtranger ſuch a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that ſhe ſhould be brought before a court of judicature, and ſentenced according to the laws of the country. But, whether judge or proſecutor, it was an inhuman

(204) *Vid. Alix. in pentat.*

upon her producing the above-mentioned pledges, and declaring that the owner of them was the father of the child, *Judah*, in the greateſt confuſion and ſurprize, owned, that ſhe was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in with-holding *Shelah* from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time came ſhe brought forth twins; but the manner of their birth was very ſurpriſing; for one of them putting forth his hand, the midwife tied a ſcarlet thread round it as a token of his being the firſt-born: but he withdrew his hand, and, his brother ſhewing him the way into the world, he was called by his mother *Phares*, or breach, by reaſon of the breach he had made between his brother and him; the other was called *Zarah* [t].

But abſolved.

A ſtrange birth.

Joſeph. Year of flood 632. Bef. Chr. 1717.

JOSEPH in the mean while was got into ſuch favour with the keeper of the priſon, that he intruſted him with the care of all the priſoners. To two of them, men of ſome diſtinction, *viz. Pharaoh*'s chief butler and baker, *Joſeph* not only interpreted the dreams they had had, but told them alſo the preciſe time when they ſhould ſee them fulfilled. Accordingly three days after the butler was reſtored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). *Joſeph* took

Dreams of two priſoners explained.

[t] Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

inhuman thing to put a woman to death before ſhe was delivered; and the *Romans*, bad as they were with reſpect to children, whom they uſed to expoſe when they thought fit, had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerneſs to be rid of her, made him ſpeak more unadviſedly than he would have done, had ſhe been a more indifferent perſon. And it is plain, that *Joſephus* looked upon all the tranſactions mentioned in this chapter to be ſo little for the credit of *Judah*, and his ſons, that he has ſuppreſſed them all. This is one, though far from the only inſtance of his ſuppreſſing any thing that caſts a reflection on his nation: the reſt will occur in the ſequel.

(S) Our tranſlation has rendered the expreſſion which *Joſeph* uſes to the butler and the baker, *ſhall lift up thy head*, too literally, ſince that would imply the ſame fate to them both, contrary to the event. The words in the original mean, that in three days *Pharaoh* would have them brought to their trial, in which caſes the priſoner was ſet up on high

(209) *Ælian. l.* v.

took this opportunity of addreſſing himſelf to the former, and to beg his aſſiſtance and intereſt to get him out of priſon, telling him at the ſame time how he had been ſold out of his country, and falſly accuſed by his miſtreſs, and what elſe he thought proper to move him to comply with his requeſt [u].

THE former, being ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his place, never remembred his fellow priſoner till two years after, when the two famous dreams of *Pharaoh* forced him, in a manner, to call him to mind, and to recommend him to the king, as one who had a much greater talent at interpreting dreams, than any he had yet conſulted. Upon his recommendation, *Joſeph* was ſent for out of priſon; and he no ſooner appeared than *Pharaoh* told him his dreams; and promiſed him a conſiderable reward, if he could give him an interpretation of them. *Pharaoh* had dreamed, that he had ſeen ſeven luſty fat cows feeding on the banks of the *Nile*; ſoon after which ſeven others, lean and ill-favoured, came and devoured them; and yet looked neither the fatter or bigger for it. His ſecond dream was much of the ſame kind; *viz.* ſeven full ears of corn devoured by ſeven blaſted ones. *Joſeph* anſwered the king, with his uſual modeſty, that the ſeven cows and ſeven ears ſignified the ſame thing; that the dream being repeated, was only a ſign, that the thing was to happen immediately after: that the ſeven fat cows and full ears ſignified ſeven years of exceſſive plenty, which would nevertheleſs be quite forgotten in the ſeven ſucceeding years of famine, ſignified by the ſeven lean cows and blaſted ears [x]. He thereupon adviſed the king to appoint a wiſe and expert man over his whole kingdom, who ſhould take care to build granaries, and ſend officers into every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the ſeven plentiful years, againſt the ſucceeding years of famine.

Pharaoh's 2 *dreams interpreted by* Joſeph. Year of flood 633. Bef. Chriſt 1715.

THE king and all that heard him were ſurpriſed at the wiſdom of this young ſtranger, who was then but thirty years old; and concluded that he was the fitteſt perſon to be ſet over the kingdom, and to put his propoſal in execu-

Joſeph's *advancement and glory.*

[u] Ibid. xxxix. [x] Ibid. xl. per tot.

to be eaſily ſeen by the judges and court (210). The ſequel ſhews this to have been the true meaning, ſince, after ſuch examination, the one was hanged, and the other reinſtated.

(210) *See* 1 *Kings* xxi. 9.

tion,

tion. He was thereupon made maſter and overſeer of *Pharaoh*'s houſe; and orders were given, that he ſhould be obeyed in all things, as if he had been *Pharaoh* himſelf. The king took his ſignet off his finger, and gave it to him, cauſed him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; telling him, that he appointed him ſuperintendant over the whole kingdom, and the next to himſelf in authority: he gave him moreover the name of *Zaphnaph-paaneah*, which ſignifies a revealer of ſecrets (T); beſtowed on him in marriage the daughter of *Potipherah*, prieſt or prince of *On* (U); and made

His marriage.

(T) Theſe are not *Hebrew* words, as ſome rabbies dream (210), who render it by רעפונות מגלה; for though the firſt word may be derived from צפן *zaphan*, to hide; yet the original of *paaneah* is not to be found in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* and others think it ſignifies a SAVIOUR of the world in the *Egyptian* tongue (211); but it is moſt probable, that it ſignifies the revealer of ſecrets, and is accordingly ſo rendered by moſt *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian expoſitors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that *Joſeph* ſhould ſo ſoon have forgotten his religion (213), as to have married the daughter of an uncircumciſed perſon, whether prince or prieſt, on the one hand; and, on the other, *Potipherah* could not but be deſirous to purchaſe ſo advantageous an alliance at any rate; this might have given the former a fair opportunity of introducing circumciſion into the latter's family, and thence by degrees, among all the *Egyptian* prieſts and laity. However that be, we muſt not miſtake the city of *On* for that of *No*, threatened with deſtruction by *Ezekiel* (214), which was *Alexandria*. *On* therefore was *Heliopolis*, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by *Ptolemy*, *Onium* (215), diſtant about twenty miles from *Memphis*, the metropolis of the kingdom (216). Nor muſt we confound this *Potipherah* with that to whom *Joſeph* had been ſold, as St. *Jerom* has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two diſtinct perſons: 1. Becauſe the names are differently written; the firſt *Potiphar*, and the other *Potipherangh*, ending with the letter ע (*ain*). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other prieſt or prince of *On*. 3. The former therefore muſt have his reſidence in the capital, to be al-

(210) *Maimon.* (211) *Hieron. in loc. Eugubin, &c.* (212) *Targ. Onkel. in loc. Joſ. Ant. l.* ii. *c.* 6. LXX. *Grot. Jun. in loc. & al.* (213) *Gen.* xlii. 18. (214) *Ezek.* xxx. 16. (215) *Vid. Hieron. loc. Hebr.* (216) *Vid. ſup. vol.* i. *f.* 411.

ways

made him ride in his ſecond chariot, while the men that ran before it cried, *Bow the knee* (W). *Joſeph*, being raiſed to this height of power, took a progreſs through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and ordered all things with ſuch prudence and application, that, before the ſeven years of plenty were over, he found his ſtores filled above numbering. During this time he had two ſons born of his wife *Aſenath*: the firſt of whom he called *Manaſſeh*; intimating, that GOD had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called *Ephraim*, becauſe GOD had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

Years of plenty. Year of flood 633. Bef. Chr. 1715.

Manaſſeh *and* Ephraim *born.*

THESE ſeven plentiful years were ſucceeded immediately by the other ſeven of famine; nor was the ſcarcity confined to the land of *Egypt*, but was felt all over the land of *Canaan*, and all the nations round about it. As ſoon, therefore, as the *Egyptians* came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied to *Pharaoh*, who commanded them to repair to *Joſeph*; upon which he immediately ordered his ſtores to be opened, and corn to be ſold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of *Egypt*, but from all the neighbouring countries [u].

The years of famine. Year of flood 640. Bef. Chr. 1708.

BY this time *Jacob*, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in *Egypt*, ſent ten of his ſons thither to buy ſome, and kept only *Benjamin* with him. Theſe, upon their arrival

[u] Gen. xli. p. tot.

ways about the king; the other lived at *On*, or *Heliopolis*: and laſtly, it is not likely, that *Joſeph* would have married his maſter's daughter, leſt ſhe ſhould have proved like her mother, whoſe incontinency he had ſo ſeverely ſmarted for (216).

(W) The *Jews*, *Kimchi* excepted, unwilling to ſuppoſe, that ſo religious a man as *Joſeph* would ſuffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word אברך *abrek*, and read it אב רך *ab rak*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies tender father; by which they underſtand, that he was a father in reſpect of his conſummate wiſdom, and tender in reſpect of his years (217); the *Hebrew* being capable of both ſenſes, tho' *Joſephus*, probably for want of underſtanding the *Hebrew*, was forced to follow the *Septuagint*, which renders it, *Bow the knee*.

(216) *Auguſt. quæſt. in Gen. l. 36. Chryſoſt. homil. 63. in Gen. Mercer. Jun. Muſcul. & al.* (217) *Targ. Onkel. R. Jebud. & al.*

in

Joseph's *brethren come to him for corn.*

in *Egypt*, were directed to *Joseph*, for an order; and, as soon as they saw him, they prostrated themselves before him, and begged they might be supplied with some corn. *Joseph* knew them immediately; though he was so altered, that they could not call him to mind: he put on a severe look, and, in an angry tone, asked them, whence they came? and, upon their answering, from the land of *Canaan*, he charged them with being spies, who were come to discover the weakness of the land. Such an unexpected accusation forced them to justify themselves, by assuring him, in the most submissive terms, that they were all one man's sons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, besides another who was now no more. This was what *Joseph* wanted, who, in a surly commanding tone, told them, that unless one of them fetched this youngest son, whilst the rest were kept in safe custody, he would not be persuaded but that they were spies, and would punish them accordingly. To shew that he was in earnest, he sent them all to prison, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he sent for them; and, in a milder tone, said to them, *This do, and live*; *for I fear* God: let one of you remain a prisoner with me, whilst the rest go home with provision for your family; and, when you bring your youngest brother hither, he shall be delivered up safe, and you justified. He then commanded *Simeon*, who had been perhaps one of his most zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and sent to prison, whilst he had the pleasure to hear them confess their inhumanity towards their brother, whose bitter cries had not been able to soften them into pity; acknowleging that this misfortune had befallen them as a just punishment for it. Here *Reuben* had an opportunity of justifying himself, by reminding them of the pains he took to dissuade them from the horrid fact, not imagining, any more than his brethren, who heard them; for *Joseph* spoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he dismissed them, not without contriving a fresh occasion of surprize to them after they were gone; having bid the officer, who was to fill their sacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the sacks. Accordingly, when they came to bate, and to give some provender to their beasts, they were not a little frighted to find all their money in their sacks, and failed not to make all the dismal reflections upon it that their fear could suggest to them; concluding, that the haughty *Egyptian* lord had

Joseph's *rough behaviour to them.*

Simeon *kept bound.*

Their money returned.

done

done it, that he might have a pretence to enſlave them at their next coming. As ſoon as they were got home, they acquainted their father with all theſe adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his ſon *Simeon*, was much more ſo, when he found, that *Benjamin* muſt go down to redeem him. He withſtood all their perſuaſions as long as he could [w]; till at length, the famine increaſing, and the proviſion being almoſt ſpent, *Judah* prevailed with him to part with his favourite ſon for a time, promiſing to bring him ſafe back, or elſe to be anſwerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmoſt reluctancy

[w] Gen. xliii. p. tot.

(X) The whole conduct of *Joſeph*, from his being firſt brought into *Egypt* to his diſcovering himſelf to his brethren, having been very much canvaſſed and diſapproved, it will not be amiſs to inquire how far it deſerves it, and how far it may be juſtified, even abſtracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. Firſt, then, he is blamed for not having ſent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of *Memphis*, where he was ſold, not being above eighty miles at moſt from *Hebron*, where *Jacob* dwelt. To this it may be anſwered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would, in all likelihood, have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the firſt opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And, ſecondly, that *Egypt* being the place where he expected the preferment which his dreams had foreſignified to him, it was by no means adviſeable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjuſt uſage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, ſavours of the rankeſt revenge. But, if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for it: whereas it is plain, he had a much better deſign in it; namely, either to bring their heinous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did (218); or, 2. in order to inform himſelf of the ſtate of his family, eſpecially of his father, and of his brother *Benjamin*; or laſtly, to make them reliſh his future kindneſs the better, by the rough uſage they had met with before. The laſt, and indeed the moſt conſiderable thing he is blamed for, is, his ſending for his brother *Benjamin*, which he knew, his former behaviour conſidered, would cauſe an in-

(218) *Gen.* xliii. 21, *& ſeqq.*

finite

stancy that *Jacob* consented to this separation, so he failed not to give his sons the strictest charge about him, to take all the proper measures for their safe return, and to gain the favour of the proud *Egyptian* lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready such presents as they thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and, having

Jacob's *presents to* Joseph.

finite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart: and if he refused to send him, the whole family must starve at home, and *Simeon* remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, *Joseph* had it still in his power to have remedied it, since, if he had found, that his other brethren stayed longer than ordinary, he could but have sent *Simeon* home with what message and supply he pleased. But, as for the other part of his behaviour, his causing *Jacob* to pass so many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that so dear a son's absence and danger could cause; it cannot easily be justified any other way, than by supposing, that *Joseph* did certainly foresee what would happen, and that his father's grieving some time for *Benjamin*, would be so far from endangering his health, that it would only increase his joy when he saw him again, and give a greater relish to the news of his own advancement and success in *Egypt*. Without this supposition, 'tis plain, such a sudden transition from an excess of sorrow to one of joy, was of itself sufficient to have endangered his life, or his senses.

(Y) It is to be feared, the generality of our expositors have not been very happy in their translation of some of the presents which *Jacob* sent into *Egypt*; which has induced some learned critics of a later date (217), to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them; such were the honey, nuts and almonds, which could be no great rarities in *Egypt*, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of *Gilead*, and of great price all the world over, a small quantity of which was a present worth accepting; but as for resin and wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth sending.

Bochart indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either resin or turpentine, rather than balm of *Gilead*; because *Gilead* was on one side *Jordan*, and *Jacob* was then at some small distance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be sent for upon such an occasion. He adds indeed, that *Josephus* affirms balm to have been unknown in *Judea*, till the queen of *Sheba* brought some of it to *Solomon* from *Arabia*

(217) *Bochart. pass. Le Scene's essay towards a new translation of the Bible, and others.*

Felix:

having intreated heaven for their good ſucceſs, diſmiſſed them; little dreaming what glorious news he ſhould hear at their return, to make him amends for his ſon's abſence. They no ſooner appeared before *Joſeph*, with their brother *Benjamin*, but he commanded his ſteward to conduct them to his houſe, where he deſigned they ſhould dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themſelves to fear, began to ſuſpect that ſome ill deſign was hatching to enſlave them upon account of the money which they had found in their ſacks; to prevent which they, aſſured the ſteward, that they had brought it back with a new ſupply to buy ſome freſh proviſions; who, ſeeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehenſions about it, and brought them into the houſe, and ſoon after their brother *Simeon* unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted

Felix: but *Joſephus* may be miſtaken. Beſides, how came *Gilead* to be ſo famous for it afterwards? The queen hardly brought the trees thither; and, if *Solomon* had ſent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but, whatever it was, 'tis plain that reſin and turpentine could not be a preſent worth *Joſeph*'s acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the antients, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*, for a delicious food (218); but, unleſs that of *Canaan* was better than ordinary, it was hardly worth ſending to an *Egyptian* prime miniſter, ſince 'tis hardly poſſible that country ſhould be without it. It is moſt likely therefore, that they were dates, which are called by the ſame name (דבש *debeſh*), as the *Jewiſh* doctors obſerve, and which, when full ripe, yield a ſort of honey, not inferior to the other. The *Arabic* calls dates *duboos*, and the honey of them *dibo* or *dibis*, to this day; and it is plain, that *Judea* abounded in palm-trees of all ſorts, more eſpecially about *Jericho*, if we may believe *Joſephus* and *Pliny* (219). The next is what we tranſlate ſpices; but the *Hebrew* word נכאת *nekoth* doth rather ſignify ſtorax than ſpices, being a noble aromatic gum, that was put into all precious ſpicy ointments (220), *Myr*, or as it is in the original לוט *lot*, is rather the ſtacte or ladanum of the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*, the laſt name coming nearer the *Hebrew* word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypreſs-tree, and was one of the aromatics in the perfume preſcribed by God to *Moſes* (221).

(289) 1 *Sam.* xiv. 27. 2 *Sam.* xvii. 29. *Cant.* v. 1. *Homer. Iliad.* λ. ver. 630. *Odyſſ.* μ. ver. 69. *Sueton. de Neron.* c. 27, *& al.* (219) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 388, *& ſeqq.* (220) *Vid. Bochart, hierozoic. lib.* iv. *col.* 531, 532. (221) *Exod.* xxx. 34.

them,

them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they set themselves about making ready their presents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmost reverence, as soon as he came home. *Joseph*, having saluted them round, began to inquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngest brother that stood before him. *Benjamin* bowed his head to the ground, and *Joseph*, having blessed him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them sit down by themselves, and to be served according to their rank and seniority, whilst he sat at a table by himself, and his *Egyptian* guests at another by themselves; it being an abomination to the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* (Z). *Joseph*, according to the custom of the country, and of those times [x], sent dishes from his own table to all his brethren, and they were not a little surprised to see how exactly he served them according to their seniority; but much more so, when they saw *Benjamin*'s portion five times larger than any of the rest, which was an usual mark of honour to the person to whom it was sent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going

Benjamin and his brethren dine with Joseph.

[x] Vid. Zenoph. in vit. Cyr. lib. viii.

(Z) This extreme aversion of the *Egyptians* to eat with the *Hebrews* has been variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the excessive pride of that nation, which despised all but themselves; others, to the *Hebrews* being shepherds, and so eating of the sheep and other cattle which the *Egyptians* worshiped (222). Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that shepherds were also an abomination to the *Egyptians*, whether *Hebrews* or otherwise; and *Moses* tells *Pharaoh*, that they could not sacrifice in *Egypt* what was an abomination to them (224); that is, to kill and eat part of those beasts which they worshiped (225); others think the reason of this aversion to shepherds, and to the *Hebrews*, as such, was the great oppression and tyranny under which they had groaned, when the *Hyksos*, or king-shepherds, as the word signifies, poured in upon them, enslaved, and held them in subjection some hundred years; of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226). But we think it improbable, that it began so soon (227.

(222) *Muscul. Munst. Tremel. & al. in loc.* (223) *Gen.* xxxvi. 24. (224) *Exod.* viii. 26. (225) *Chald. paraph.* (226) *Vid. sup. vol.* ii. *p.* 39. *Vid. Manetb. apud Joseph. cont. Apion.* (227) *See Shuckford, vol.* ii. *l.* viii.

about

about their other affairs[y]: but *Joſeph* had yet one fright more in reſerve for them before he diſcovered himſelf. He bid his ſteward put his drinking-cup into *Benjamin*'s ſack, and to overtake them at ſome diſtance off the city, and, after a thorough ſearch, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may eaſily imagine their ſurprize and concern, when the ſilver cup was produced out of the ſack of their younger brother. They made all poſſible haſte to load their aſſes again, and returned to *Joſeph*, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindneſs and civility to them; which he concluded however with aſſuring them, that though he might juſtly puniſh them all, yet the perſon only upon whom the cup was found ſhould remain a ſlave, whilſt the reſt might go home in peace. After they had expreſſed their grief and ſhame in the humbleſt manner, *Judah*, who had taken *Benjamin* under his care, addreſſing himſelf to *Joſeph* in the moſt ſubmiſſive and pathetic terms, acquainted him with his father's extreme fondneſs for the lad, the great difficulty they had to perſuade him to part with one he ſo tenderly loved, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loſs of him. He likewiſe offered himſelf at the ſame time as an equivalent for his brother, with ſuch zeal and concern, that *Joſeph* was no longer able to contain himſelf. His[z] bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow ſo faſt, that he was forced to ſend all the by-ſtanders away, whilſt he made himſelf known to his brothers. He no ſooner had told them, that he was *Joſeph* their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all ſtruck with ſuch mixture of joy and ſurprize for a conſiderable time, that they could make him no anſwer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themſelves whether it was really he. By this time *Joſeph* having recovered himſelf, deſired them to draw nearer to him; he embraced them all round with ſurpriſing, tenderneſs; and, to diſpel all their further apprehenſions, told them, that their ſelling him into *Egypt* having been directed by an unſeen providence, and proved the means of ſo much good both to himſelf, to them, and to all *Egypt*, he would be ſo far from reſenting it, that they ſhould never hear it ſo much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilſt this was doing, ſome of the *Egyptians*, one of whom might be the interpreter,

Joſeph's *cup found in* Benjamin's *ſack.*

Judah's *ſpeech to* Joſeph.

Joſeph *diſcovers himſelf.*

[y] Gen. xliii. p. tot. [z] Gen. xliv. p. tot.

went and acquainted the king, and the whole court, that *Joseph*'s brethren were come to buy corn. *Joseph*, who only sent the *Egyptians* out of the room, that he might be without witnesses whilst he discovered himself to them, went himself with the news of it to *Pharaoh*, who is supposed to have been *Thusimares* king of *Lower Egypt* [z]; who told *Joseph*, that since his father had such a numerous family, and the famine not half over, he might send for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promising him that they should never want provisions, nor any other favour he could shew them. He likewise ordered him to send them a fresh supply of grain, and such other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and best moveables; telling them that they needed not regard the ordinary stuff, since the good of the land was before them. *Joseph* gladly obeyed the king's orders, and besides the chariots and provisions, sent to his father ten asses loaden with the choicest commodities of *Egypt*; he likewise presented his brethren with changes of garments, and distinguished *Benjamin* by the addition of a large sum of money; after which he dismissed them with a strict charge, that they should not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted but their journey was performed more briskly this time than the last. They found their father alive and well, whose first care was to look out for his favourite son, whom having joyfully received, he thought himself at the height of his happiness. But when they acquainted him with *Joseph*'s grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had caused them such mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear so much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and, being come to himself, doubted whether it was not a dream. At length, when they shewed him *Joseph*'s presents, and the *Egyptian* chariots, his doubts and fears vanished, and he cried out in an excess of joy, *It is enough for me, that my son* Joseph *lives; I have now nothing more to wish, but to go down and see him once more before I die* [a].

Pharaoh's *orders to* Joseph.

Joseph *sends for his father,* &c.

This great desire of seeing so dear a son, whom he had so long mourned for, in all his *Egyptian* glory, spurred him up to hasten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and

[z] Sir Robert Marsh. Shuckford, & al. [a] Gen. xlv. 16, & seqq.

all

all the other lumber of houſhold-ſtuff, laid in his way (A).

JOSEPH was no ſooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father; and their mutual joy upon this occaſion was ſuch, as is better imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon as this tender greeting was over, *Joſeph* told them, that he would go out of hand to give *Pharaoh* notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curioſity to ſend for them, and to inquire after their occupation; in which caſe he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their forefathers, were ſhepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation, which the *Egyptians* abominated, as we have ſeen in a former note; but *Joſeph* had his ends in it, being afraid, leſt *Pharaoh* ſhould detain them in his ſervice, inſtead of ſending them into the land of *Goſhen*, where he was deſirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of

Joſeph *acquaints* Pharaoh *with it.*

(A) However, as his gratitude to GOD for all the mercies he ſaw himſelf bleſſed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him ſafe into *Egypt*, demanded ſome freſh act of religion from him, he choſe to go to *Beerſheba*, to offer ſome ſacrifices there; both becauſe it was the place where *Abraham* and *Iſaac* had lived ſo long and ſo happily, and becauſe it was in his way to *Egypt*, being the utmoſt boundary of *Canaan* towards the ſouth. Here GOD appeared again to him, and bid him not fear to go down, ſince he would be with him, and protect him, and in due time bring his poſterity out of it to enter into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land; adding, that as for him, he ſhould have the comfort to live near his ſon *Joſeph*, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes cloſed by him. *Jacob*, thus comforted and encouraged, haſted his way to the metropolis of *Egypt*; and, when he came within ſome ſmall diſtance from it, he ſent *Judah* before, to acquaint *Joſeph* with his arrival, and to deſire him to come to him in the land of *Goſhen*; where he had promiſed to ſettle them (227).

This *Goſhen* was ſituate between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *On* or *Hieropolis* (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful ſpot of ground, and fit for cattle; and therefore, *Joſephus* tells us, that *Pharaoh* kept his own there (229): it was ſeparate from *Egypt*, and therefore fitteſt for *Jacob* and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians* (230).

(227) *Gen.* xlvi. 1——8. (228) *Joſeph. ant. l.* ii. *c.* 7.
(229) *Id. ibid.* (230) *Vid. Jun. Merc. & al.*

his brethren were brought before the king, and asked what their profession was; they answered him as *Joseph* had bid them, adding, that the famine which raged in *Canaan*, had forced them to come with all their cattle into *Egypt*, and begging that he would be pleased to appoint them the land of *Goshen* to dwell in; which *Pharaoh* readily granted. *Joseph* likewise presented his father to him, who wished the king abundance of happiness; and, being asked how old he was, answered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expressing, perhaps, some wonder to see a man so old, and in so good a case, *Jacob* added, that his life had been so full of trouble, that he came vastly short of the years of his ancestors. After this *Joseph* conducted him, and the whole family, to the land of *Goshen*; where he took care to supply them with all the necessaries of life during the whole time of the famine. *Pharaoh* likewise ordered *Joseph* to choose some of the ablest of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did [b]. It will not be amiss to give here the names of *Jacob*'s children and grandchildren, which came down with him into *Egypt*. As to the difficulties in adjusting the account of them, and reconciling it with some other places of Scripture, we choose to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the history (B).

Jacob *stands before* Pharaoh.

Year of flood 642. Bef. Christ 1706.

A lit

[b] Gen. xlvi. p. tot.

(B) *Moses* makes mention of two numbers of souls in *Jacob*'s family, exclusive of his daughters-in-law, *viz.* sixty-six (231) and seventy (232): he likewise reckons thirty-three souls to *Leah*, including *Dinah* (233); and to *Zilpah* her handmaid sixteen souls, including *Serah*, *Asher*'s daughter, and *Beriah*'s two sons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of *Rachel* (235), and the two first sums of sixty-six and seventy, it is to be observed first, that, in the number sixty-six, *Jacob* is not reckoned, but only the souls that came out of his loins; but, in the number of thirty-three, he seems included; else we shall find but thirty-two, *viz.* *Leah*'s twenty-nine sons, two grandsons by *Phares*, and *Dinah*, in all thirty-two; but that *Jacob* is reckoned in this number, seems intimated by the eighth verse of the chapter, in the words *Jacob and his sons*, *viz.* by *Leah*. Accordingly *Josephus* gives us a list of them, to the number of thirty-two, including

(231) *Gen.* xlvi. *ver.* 26. (232) *Ver.* 27. (233) *Ver.* 15. (234) *Ver.* 18. (235) *Ver.* 22.

A list of *Jacob*'s sons and grandsons.

A list of Jacob's family.

The sons of *Jacob*, and their sons,

By *Leah*,
- *Reuben*; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, *Hezron*, *Carmi*.
- *Simeon*; *Jemuel*, *Jamin*, *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zobar*, *Shaul*.
- *Levi*; *Gershon*, *Kohath*, *Merari*.
- *Judah*; *Er*, *Onan*, *Shelah*, *Phares*, *Zerah*. The two first died in *Canaan*.
- *Issachar*; *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron*.
- *Zebulun*; *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel*.

By *Zilpah*,
- *Gad*; *Ziphion*; *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Esbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Areli*.
- *Asher*; *Jimnah*, *Ishuah*, *Isui*, *Beriah*, *Serah*, a daughter.

By *Bilhah*,
- *Dan*; *Hushim*.
- *Naphtali*; *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, *Shillem*.

cluding *Dinah*; yet sums them up thirty-three, without acquainting us that he includes *Jacob*; though it is plain, by the amount, that he does. This being premised, the whole account will stand thus:

Leah	33	including *Jacob*.
Zilpah	16	
Rachel	11	excluf. of *Joseph* and his 2 sons.
Bilhah	7	
	67	

Out of which deduct *Jacob*, because *Moses* reckons here only those that came out of his loins, and there will remain sixty-six.

The

To which add *Jacob*, *Joseph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh*; because this second reckoning is of all the souls of *Jacob*'s family, in which case he may be included, and the whole amount will be seventy souls (236): but, if we reckon *Serah*, *Asher*'s daughter, as *Josephus* has done (237), and in all probability *Moses* too, since he mentions her in his list, we need not include *Jacob* in the number; for it will be seventy complete without him.

It is true, that St. *Stephen* (238) reckons the whole number of them seventy-five, which disagrees with that of *Moses*; but it must be remembered, that the apostles, and first preachers, made use of the *Sep-*

(236) *Villet. cap.* 36. (237) *Jos. ant. l.* ii. *c.* 7. (238) *Acts* vii. 14.

The sons of *Phares*, *Judah*'s son; *Hezron*, *Hamul*.
The sons of *Beriah*, *Asher*'s son; *Heber*, *Malchiel*.

By

tuagint version, as being the only one then universally understood by the *Jews*; which version adds five more to *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, namely, *Machir* and *Gilead* sons of *Manasseh*, *Sutalam* and *Tuhan* sons of *Ephraim*, and *Eden*, *Sutalan*'s son. But, besides that they differ from the *Hebrew*, by reading eighteen instead of fourteen souls to *Rachel* (239), they likewise differ from themselves; for fourteen, and the five, which they add, will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some antient fathers, thinking this knot insoluble, have endeavoured to pick some mysteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the *Septuagint* version from error, which doth in so many instances differ from the original. However, there is still another rational way to account for this difference between St. *Stephen*'s reckoning, and that of *Moses*, which is as follows: That St. *Stephen* follows the first number of *Moses*, *viz.* sixty-six; out of which he excludes *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and his two sons, to which he adds nine of their wives; for *Judah*'s wife was already dead, and *Benjamin* is supposed to be still unmarried, and *Joseph*'s wife out of the case; so that, if we add these nine wives, which, though not of *Jacob*'s blood, yet belonged to his family, and to *Joseph*'s kindred (which is the expression St. *Stephen* makes use of), to the number of sixty-six, it will amount to seventy-five (241).

Some antient and modern writers have supposed, that all these grandsons were not born when *Jacob* went down into *Egypt*, but either soon after, or at least during his life; for which reason they think *Moses* made no scruple to set them down with the rest (242). So far are they from thinking, for instance, that *Benjamin* had ten sons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The same thing they suppose of *Phares*'s two sons, alleging, though falsly, that *Phares* was but one year old at *Jacob*'s departure (243). But all these suppositions are point-blank contrary to the text; and, if *Moses* must have reckoned all those that were born in *Egypt* before *Jacob*'s death, we don't know why he might not almost as well have reckoned seven hundred as seventy; since they must have increased very fast there, and married very young, else they could hardly from seventy have increased to upwards of six hundred thousand, in the space of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time

(239) *Gen.* xlvi. 22. (240) *August. quæst. in Gen.* clii. *Euebar. & al.* (241) *Berruyer. hist. du. peup. de Dieu, p.* 373, 374. 4to edit. *Kidder. in penat.* (242) *Calmet comm. in Gen. in loc. & histoire des Juifs, p.* 245. *Berruyer. loc. citat. St. Aug. quæst.* (243) *Perrer.*

of

By *Rachel*, *Benjamin*; *Belah*, *Becher*, *Aſhbel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ehi*, *Roſh*, *Muppim*, *Huppim*, *Ard*.

In all threeſcore and ſix, exclusive of *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter by *Leah*, and of *Joſeph*, and his two ſons, which being added to the number, will amount to ſeventy ſouls.

Three things are to be obſerved in the liſt which *Moſes* has given us in this chapter; namely, 1. That the wives are not ſet down; becauſe they were not deſcended from him, any more than his ſervants and ſlaves. 2. That he doth not ſet them down according to the order of their birth, as in other places [c]; but mentions thoſe that were born of *Leah* and her maid, and then thoſe of *Rachel* and her maid. And, 3dly, That the number ſixty-ſix, in one part of the liſt, is only of the ſouls which *came out of* Jacob's *loins*, and the ſecond number of ſeventy is that of *all the ſouls* which belonged to the *houſe of Jacob*: to which

[c] Gen. xxxv. 23, & ſeqq. & alib.

of their abode in *Egypt*. It will therefore be more reaſonable to ſay, according to *Moſes*'s account, that *Phares*'s two ſons were then born, though very young; for *Phares*, being begotten of *Judah* in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at fourteen or fifteen, and ſo have two ſons before *Jacob* left *Canaan* (245). The ſame may be likewiſe ſaid of *Benjamin*, who might have a number of children, and two grandchildren, at the age of thirty-one. We ſhall in the ſequel give ſome inſtances of men, if they may be called ſo, who have had children when they were ſome years younger than we ſuppoſe theſe; ſo that there is no reaſon to depart from the plain text of *Moſes*, to fall into more difficult ſuppoſitions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty that is raiſed againſt this genealogical liſt, is the difference of the names here mentioned, and in other places of Scripture, where the ſame genealogy is rehearſed, as in 1 *Chronicles* and *Numbers* (246); but we have lately obſerved, that it is very common for men to have two names in the Scriptures, and to be called ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by the other. Concerning which, the reader may conſult our commentators at their leiſure; as well as about ſome of theſe perſons mentioned in *Moſes*'s liſt, which are omitted by the author of the book of *Chronicles* (247).

(245) *Mercer. Villet.* (246) 1 *Chron.* iv. 24. *Numb.* xxvi. *paſſ.*
(247) *Vid. Villet. in loc. See alſo Shuckford's connect. vol.* ii. *p.* 180, & *ſeqq.* 196, & *ſeqq.* & *al.*

therefore *Joseph* and his two sons, and a grand-daughter named *Serah*, *Asher*'s daughter, must be added, in order to make the number of seventy complete, as the reader may see by the last note.

The Egyptians sell their lands and themselves for corn.

WHILST *Jacob* and his family were kept in peace and plenty by the provident care of his son, the *Egyptians* felt the dismal effects of the famine, which, increasing daily upon them, and *Joseph* holding up his corn at an high rate, soon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to sell their cattle, houses, land, and at length their very selves for subsistence. By this means he bought all their lands and persons for the king's use, and from that time they all became slaves to the crown, except the priests, who had a sufficient quantity of provisions allotted to them out of the royal stores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that *Joseph*'s zeal for the king's interest carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence; and that he did not consider, that whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family, or their posterity, would one time or other severely groan, as they effectually did. The text, as well as *Josephus* [d], tell us, that he transplanted the people from one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miserable multitude went some one way, and some another [e], submitting to any misery rather than starving. However, when the seventh and last year of scarcity was come, *Joseph* acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop against the next year; that the *Nile* would overflow, and the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition nevertheless, that from thenceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands should go to the king, and the rest be theirs. The poor people were glad to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all set about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them; and from that time it past into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of *Egypt* should belong to the crown; which law continued in force for several centuries after, till a new regulation and division was made [f]. As

Year of the flood 644. Bef. Christ 1704.

And are transplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The fifth part of the product of their lands assigned to the crown.

[d] Gen. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 7. [e] Vid. Heb. Chald. & Arab. vers. [f] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 459, & seqq.

for

for the lands of the prieſts, we have already obſerved, that they were unalienable (C).

WHILST he was enjoying the fruits of his great ſucceſs and policy, his family at *Goſhen*, whom he failed not to viſit frequently, did wonderfully increaſe, both in children and wealth. At length *Jacob*, by that time he had lived there ſeventeen years, finding himſelf grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, ſent for his ſon *Joſeph*, and ſpoke to him to this purpoſe: Though the deſire of ſeeing a ſon, ſo dear to me as you are, raiſed to the height of *Egyptian* glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was viſited, made me willing to come down into this ſtrange country; yet *Canaan* being the inheritance which GOD promiſed to

(C) A late right honourable writer hath from this circumſtance taken occaſion to obſerve, in his uſual way, "to "what height of power the "eſtabliſhed prieſthood was "arrived even at this time, "ſince the crown offered not "to meddle with the church-"lands, and that, in this great "revolution, nothing was at-"tempted ſo much as by way "of purchace or exchange, in "prejudice of this landed "clergy; the prime miniſter "himſelf having joined his "intereſt with theirs, and en-"tered by marriage into this "alliance (1).' But his lordſhip ſeems to have forgot, 1. That the prieſthood in thoſe days, was confined to the heads of families, who were perſons of the higheſt rank and power, almoſt equal to the king, conſulted upon all matters of conſequence, and, who, upon a vacancy, were often raiſed to the throne. 2. That in conſequence of their birth and dignity, and not of their prieſthood, this great privilege was founded long before *Joſeph*'s time, and not by his indulgence or partiality to them (2). 3. That out of their eſtates they defrayed all the charges of the ſacrifices, ornaments, utenſils, and other religious ceremonies, which were here performed with the higheſt and moſt coſtly ſplendor (3). And 4thly, that they were the king's chief aſſiſtant counſellors, miniſters, recorders, *&c.* as well as the profeſſors and teachers of all arts and ſciences, and the judges, chief magiſtrates and officers of the kingdom; whoſe eſtates therefore, how great ſoever we ſuppoſe them, could hardly exceed the expence neceſſary to ſupport them in all thoſe dignities. So that it could not but have been unjuſt, as well as imprudent and dangerous, for the king, or his prime miniſter, to have made any ſuch attempt to have alienated them (4).

(1) *Lord Shafteſbury's character. vol.* iii. *miſcel.* i. (2) *Gen.* xlvii. 22, *& ſeqq.* (3) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 66. *Vid. & vol.* i. *p.* 457, *& ſeqq.* 459. (4) *Vid. Shuckford's conn. vol.* ii. *p.* 182, *& ſeqq.*

Abraham

Abraham and his posterity, and where he lies interred with my father *Isaac*, and some others of our family, in the ground which he purchased of the inhabitants; my last and dying request to you is, that you will not suffer me to be buried here, but that you will swear to me to see me carried to *Machpelah*, and there deposited with my ancestors: your great power with the king of *Egypt* will easily obtain you and me that favour, which is the last I have to ask of you. *Joseph* did not make his father wait long for that satisfaction; he promised and swore to him, that he would fulfil his desire; and *Jacob*, who in all probability had sat up upon his bed whilst this ceremony lasted, bowed down his head towards his bed's tester, in token of adoration and gratitude for the satisfaction which his son had now given him [t].

Jacob's *request to* Joseph.

Year of flood 659. Bef. Chr. 1689.

Not long after, word being brought to *Joseph*, that his father was dying, he took his two sons *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*, and went to present them to him, begging him that he would give them his blessing before he died. *Jacob*, at the sight of them, found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up upon his bed, and, addressing himself to *Joseph*, spoke with such chearfulness, and in such strong and lively terms, as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promises which God had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of *Canaan*, and concluded with the death of his dear *Rachel*; for whose sake, added he, I will now give you a further proof of my affection: you have two sons born in this strange land, which, according to the usual order of inheritance, should have only the portion of grandchildren in the division of the promised land; but I will do more for them, and they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and as heads of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of *Joseph*, they shall be called the two tribes of *Manasseh* and *Ephraim*. But if you have any more sons after them, they shall only be allotted the portion of grandchildren. He then desired his two grandsons to be brought to him, which *Joseph* accordingly did, placing the eldest at *Jacob*'s right-hand, and the youngest at his left: but *Jacob*, crossing his arms, laid his right upon the younger, and his left on the elder; which *Joseph* ascribing to a mistake, was going to rectify it; but his father told him,

Joseph *brings his two sons to* Jacob.

Ephraim *and* Manasseh *are made two tribes in* Israel.

Jacob *blesseth the younger before the elder.*

[t] Gen. xlvii. per tot.

that

that he acted by divine direction; and in bleſſing the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderneſs, he not only preferred *Ephraim* to *Manaſſeh*, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew how exactly this prophecy of *Jacob* was verified in thoſe two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve §.

By this time *Jacob*, finding himſelf grow faint, and his death approaching, reſolved to conſecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his ſons, whom he had gathered about him, what ſhould happen to them in the latter days; and as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we ſhall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible ſtile, than we have it in our verſion, without departing from the ſenſe of the original; and, where any difficulty occurs, we ſhall acquaint them with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premiſe here, that what *Jacob* pronounces, or rather propheſies, concerning his ſons, is not ſo much to be underſtood as foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what ſhall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till ſome time, at leaſt, after their entrance into the promiſed land. Thus, for inſtance, when he ſays that *Zebulun* ſhall dwell along the ſea-coaſts, or that *Naphtali* is a well-ſpread tree, yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain that he means by the firſt, that the lot of the tribe of *Zebulun* ſhould be by the ſea-ſide; and by the laſt, that the *Naphtalites* ſhould prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event has fully verified, and what ſhall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a moſt pathetic preface to draw their deepeſt attention, began with the firſt-born in theſe words:

" REUBEN, thou art my firſt-born, and waſt once the
" firſt-fruits of my might and my ſtrength; and, as ſuch,
" thou waſt intitled to the right of primogeniture, the
" beſt portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the
" prieſthood, and the ſupreme authority over thy bre-
" thren: but all theſe prerogatives, like the unſtable wa-
" ters, that paſs by, and return no more, are gone from
" thee; becauſe thou, little regarding the ſacredneſs of
" thy father's bed, didſt defile it, and alienate it from

Jacob's *laſt bleſſing to his* 12 *ſons.*

Reuben.

§ Gen. xlviii. p. tot.

" me.

" me [h]. For which crime, though thou continue ſtill
" to be a tribe in *Iſrael*, yet thou ſhalt ever be far in-
" ferior to the reſt of thy brethren, in number, wealth,
" or ſtrength (E).

Simeon *and* Levi.

" SIMEON or *Levi* might have ſucceeded to the right of
" primogeniture, which their brother's inceſt has juſtly
" deprived him of, had they not proved ſuch inſtruments
" of treacherous cruelty. May my ſoul be for ever pre-
" ſerved from ſuch bloody counſels, and my honour un-
" ſtained from their horrid guilt! for the fierceneſs of
" their anger hurried them to commit murder, and the
" impetuouſneſs of their fury made them break through
" all obſtacles that oppoſed them. Curſed be their fury,
" for it was violent; and their malice, for it was inhuman!
" This cruel diſpoſition of theirs forces me to divide their
" tribes, that they may never be rejoined in *Iſrael* [i]."

Thus far the good old patriarch performed a ſevere and ungrateful taſk, and his prophecy againſt thoſe tribes was exactly verified in due time (F). Then caſting his eyes on *Judah*, he addreſſed himſelf to him thus:

" JUDAH,

[h] Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. MUNST. in loc. [i] Gen. xlix. ver. 5, 6, 7.

(E) The ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory ſhews, that the tribe of *Reuben* ſtill remained in obſcurity, and without any of the marks of diſtinction, which uſed to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, ſuch as a double portion, ſupreme authority, and the prieſthood. Accordingly the *Jewiſh* expoſitors, eſpecially the *Bereſhith Rabbah*, or large comment on *Geneſis*, tell us (260), that he fell from a threefold dignity, *viz.* primogeniture, prieſthood, and royal dignity. But becauſe thou art fallen, continues that commentator, thy primogeniture is given to *Joſeph* (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him), the prieſthood to *Levi*, and the ſceptre to *Judah*. And where it is ſaid of this laſt (261), *thy brethren ſhall praiſe thee*, he paraphraſes it thus: והיו כל אחיך נקראים על שמך, Thy brethren ſhall be called by thy name, *i. e.* they will not ſay I am a *Reubenite*, or a *Simeonite*, but a יהודי *Jehudi*, a *Jew*.

(F) *Jacob*'s words imply a double diſperſion, *viz.* of the two tribes from one another, and their being interſperſed among the reſt. And accord-

(260) *Bereſh. rab. ſect.* 98. *p.* 382, (B). *See before, ibid. p.* 484.

(261) *Gen.* xlix. 8. *Vid. vol.* ii.

ingly,

" JUDAH, thy name ſignifies praiſe [k], and accordingly Judah.
" thou ſhalt have the praiſe of all thy brethren. They
" ſhall fall proſtrate before thee, as before their king and
" ſovereign, and thine enemies ſhall be forced to ſubmit
" their necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion ſhall my
" ſon fall upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce
" lioneſs ready to ruſh upon it: who ſhall dare to rouſe
" him up? The ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*,
" nor the lawgiver from between his feet, until *Shiloh*
" be come, and the people be gathered unto him (G);
" his

[k] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 476, & ſeqq.

ingly, *Levi* had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of *Canaan*, but had a certain number of cities aſſigned to it in every tribe. As for that of *Simeon*, it had properly but a portion of *Judah*'s inheritance (262), if we except ſome few places which they got upon mount *Seir*, and in the wilds of the valley of *Gedor* (263).

(G) The ſenſe, as well as completion of this noble prophecy, being very much diſputed between the *Jews* and us, we have endeavoured to render the latter part of the verſe more agreeably to the original, which in its plain and obvious ſenſe affirms, that the ſceptre ſhall not depart from *Judah*——till both *Shiloh* was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to his obedience. This verſion is further proved by the event; for the *Jews* did not loſe their ſceptre, or *Sanhedrim*, which was their בית דין *beth din*, or higheſt court of judicature, and ſupreme legiſlative power, as will be fully ſhewn in the 2d part of this *Jewiſh* hiſtory, till the heathen became converts to chriſtianity, of whom *Cornelius* was the firſt (264): and the *Jews* themſelves own, that this ſupreme court did ſtill ſubſiſt from the time of *Moſes* the founder of it, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*. They likewiſe own, that the word שבט *ſhevet*, which we tranſlate *ſceptre*, doth not always ſignify the royal power or dignity, but ſometimes only the legiſlative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The later *Jews* therefore, finding themſelves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretations of the antients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various abſurd notions, which they are not aſhamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus ſome will have the meaning of this paſſage to be, that the MESSIAH ſhall not come, till

(262) *Joſh.* xix. 1, & *ſeqq.* (263) 1 *Chron.* iv. 39 & 40. *See before, vol.* ii. p. 484. (264) *Acts* x. *paſſ.* (265) *Vid. in Mede's works, a ſermon on that text, and Saurin's diſcours hiſtoriques, &c. diſc.* xli.

Shiloh,

" his portion ſhall abound with ſuch fertile vineyards,
" fruitful trees, and paſture-grounds, that he ſhall tie his
" aſs

Shilob, the place ſo called, be deſtroyed, or the *Jewiſh* monarchy be at an end (266). Others by *ſhevet* underſtand a tribe, which that word alſo ſignifies; and think the meaning to be, that *Judah* ſhould not ceaſe to be a tribe till the coming of MESSIAH (267): in which they have been alſo followed by ſome Chriſtians (268); becauſe that tribe did viſibly ſubſiſt as ſuch till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; but ſo did that of *Levi*. However, many of our modern *Jews* ſtand ſtifly to this ſenſe; and ſcruple not to affirm, that it has ſubſiſted not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed. Others add, that it retains ſtill a kind of ſceptre, or royal power, beyond the river *Euphrates*; and that the *naſſi*, or head of it, is a prince, lineally deſcended from *Judah*, whoſe ſplendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269): but *credat Judæus*. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewiſe diſagree not only with us, but even among themſelves, about the meaning of the word מחקק *mechokek*, lawgiver. Concerning which, we ſhall refer our readers to the two laſt-mentioned divines for further ſatisfaction (270).

As to the word שילה *Shilob*, though it be almoſt univerſally owned to mean the MESSIAH; yet, as to its original ſignification, there is no ſmall diſagreement. St. *Jerom* reads it *Shaloach*, from שלח *ſhalach* to ſend, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שלה *ſhalah* to be peaceable (272), and underſtand by *Shiloh* a peacemaker. A modern critic takes the word *Shilob* to ſignify the *end*, and the ſenſe of the words to be, that from the time the ſceptre comes into the tribe of *Judah*, it will continue in it, till that tribe be at an end (273); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the abovementioned Monſ. *Saurin*, in an elaborate diſcourſe on that ſubject (274). Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from *ſhulah*, to fatigue, be tired, ſuffer, and to be applied to the ſufferings of the MESSIAH (275): but, without fatiguing our readers any further, the moſt probable ſenſe of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the *Septuagint*, *Onkelos*, and ſome others (276), who read it שילו *ſhelo*, that is,

(266) *Abenezra in loc. & al.* (267) *Vid. Munſt. in loc.* (268) *Oleaſt. Jun. Villet. & al. in loc.* (269) *Benj. de Tudel. itiner. & al.* (270) *Mede & Saurin. loc. citat.* (271) *Hieron. quæſt. Hebr.* (272) *Mercer. & al.* (273) *Le Clerc in comm. pentat. in loc.* (274) *Saurin. loc. citat.* (275) *Gouſſet onom. ling. Hebr. ſub voce* שלה *fatigare. Vid. Calm. ſub voce Shils.* (276) LXX. *Targ. Onkel. in loc. Mornay ver. Jud. Otraſt. & al.*

be

" aſs to the vine and palm-tree, and waſh his garments
" in the juice of the grape, and his teeth with the milk
" of his kine [k] (H).

" ZEBULUN's (I) dwellings ſhall ſpread themſelves Zebulun.
" along the borders of the ſea, and he ſhall ſtretch the
" number of his commodious havens as far as the city of
" *Zidon* [l].

[k] Gen. xlix. 8, & ſeqq. [l] Ibid. 13.

he to whom it belongs, ו and ה being often interchanged in the ſacred book (277). The ſenſe will be plainly this, that the ſceptre, or legiſlative power, ſhall not depart from *Judah*, until the right owner, or he, *ſhelo*, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This ſenſe ſeems the moſt eaſy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the moſt applicable to CHRIST the King of Kings.

(H) *Judah*'s lot did exactly anſwer this prediction: it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble paſture-ground for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of *Eſhcol*, or the *brook of the grape*, was; a bunch of which was brought by two of the ſpies whom *Moſes* ſent to ſearch the land, as a ſpecimen of the richneſs of that ſoil: here was likewiſe the brook or torrent of that name, along whoſe banks were the moſt delicious paſture-grounds (278): and ſome travellers aſſure us, that there are ſtill very large grapes to be met with in the valley of *Hebron*, which may be probably that, along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) *Zebulun* is mentioned next, though *Iſſachar* was elder than he; for which no certain reaſon can be aſſign'd, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the patriarch had a prophetic eye to the lot which was to fall to *Zebulun*, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the MESSIAH; for *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* were in that tribe, and himſelf was denominated a *Nazarene*, from the firſt of theſe cities (280); but this is only a conjecture. Certain it is, however, that if *Jacob* had been preſent at the diviſion of the promiſed land, he could hardly have given a more exact deſcription of *Zebulun*'s lot, than he did then, above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, to the lake of *Genezareth* on the eaſt ſide.

(277) *Vid.* 2 *Sam.* xvi. 10. & 18. *ap. Munſt. in loc.* (278) *Num.* xiii. *paſſ. Calvin. Mercer. Jun. Grot. & al.* (279) *Vid. Calmet comm. in Numb.* xiii. *ver.* 24, 25. *See alſo before, vol.* ii. *p.* 458, & (W). (280) *Matth.* ii. *ult.* & *cap.* iv. 13, & *ſeqq. See alſo before, ibid. p.* 476, & *ſeqq.* & *notes.*

" ISSACHAR,

Iſſachar. "ISSACHAR, like a ſtrong, but indolent aſs, ſhall "chooſe to carry burdens in the midſt of his brethren, "rather than be deprived of his beloved eaſe, in the plea- "ſant land of his inheritance, and prefer ſervitude and "tribute before the fatigues of war and conqueſt[m] (K)."

FROM the ſix ſons of *Leah*, *Jacob* paſſes to thoſe of *Bilhah*, *Rachel*'s maid. He begins with intimating, that the ſons of the handmaids ſhould have the ſame privilege with thoſe of the miſtreſſes, and be heads and judges of

Dan. their own tribes. Then, alluding to the name of *Dan*, a *judge*, he declares, "that he ſhould judge his people" (that is, his own tribe, like the reſt of the twelve): and then adds, "that like a ſerpent hid in the high-way, or "a viper in the ſand, which doth not openly aſſault its "enemy, but bites him by the heel; ſo *Dan* ſhould over- "come more by policy and ſtratagem, than by valour "and open force[n] (L)." Here the prophetic patriarch breaks

[m] Gen. xlix. 14. [n] Ibid. 16, & ſeqq.

(K) No leſs wonderful and exact was he in the deſcription of *Iſſachar*'s tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The *Chaldee* paraphraſt, who is alſo followed by the generality of *Jewiſh* rabbies, gives a quite different turn to this prophecy: they read it thus, "*Iſſachar*, "finding that his lot is fallen "in a fertile land, ſhall ſub- "due the inhabitants of it, "and bring them under tri- "bute;" but the firſt ſenſe is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event; for that tribe had one of the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpot in all the land of *Canaan*, but was often infeſted and ſubjected by ſtrangers, eſpecially in the time of the judges (280).

(L) The נחש *nachaſh*, in the original, ſignifies a ſerpent in general; which having no ſuch qualities as are here deſcribed, the *Septuagint* have tranſlated it by the word *ceraſtes*, which is a kind of ſerpent, ſo called from its having two fleſhy horns: its inſtinct is to hide itſelf in the ſand, and by faſtening on the horſes heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The *Jews* think, that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled, when *Samſon*, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which cruſhed him and the *Philiſtines* to death (282). Others, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, ſuppoſe that *Jacob* deſigned to intimate by it, that, though *Dan*'s tribe was but ſmall, he having

(280) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 450, *&* notes. (281) *Vid. Bochart. hierozoic. lib.* i. *col.* 28. (282) *Vid. Munſt. in loc. Villet. c.* 49.

had

breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy ſalvation, O* LORD (L).

" GAD," continued he, " ſhall be often infeſted by bands of robbers and plunderers; but he ſhall conquer them at laſt [r] (M). Gad.

" ASHER'S

[r] Gen. xlix. 19.

had but one ſon, yet it ſhould produce one of the moſt famous judges of all *Iſrael* (283). As for thoſe who apply this prophecy to Antichriſt, as if he was to come out of that tribe; becauſe he is omitted in the Apocalypſe, in the liſt of the tribes that were ſealed (284); they are ſcarce worth confuting, ſince they may as well fetch him out of that of *Simeon*, which *Moſes* omits, when he bleſſes the reſt (285). Beſides, *Jacob* pronounces theſe words as a bleſſing, not as a curſe, to *Dan*, whoſe tribe moreover was diſperſed, if not extinguiſhed, a thouſand years before Antichriſt appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(L) The meaning of which ſeems to be this, that whether his poſterity were preſerved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their ſucceſs to the drawn ſword of *Judah*, or the hidden ſnares of *Dan*; yet their ſafety and happineſs did chiefly depend on the gracious promiſes of GOD, on whom he did rely. Others think, however, that *Jacob* foreſeeing either the grievous oppreſſions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually did from the *Amorites* (286), from which nothing but a miracle could ſave them, or their defection from the true worſhip of GOD, that tribe being the firſt that ſet up the public worſhip of idols (287), did breathe out this ſhort prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that *Jacob* might have a much higher view than any of theſe; and that his comparing *Dan* to a viper, might bring into his mind that univerſal ſalvation, which was to be wrought by the ſeed of the woman, which was to bruiſe the ſerpent's head, and to have his heel bruiſed by it (288).

(M) What was propheſied of *Gad*, was likewiſe exactly verified. His lot happened on the other ſide *Jordan*, where he was continually expoſed to the excurſions of the plundering *Arabs*; but, by the continual watchfulneſs and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but ſometimes alſo caught and plundered in their turn by the *Gadites*. So that the prophecy ſeems to refer chiefly to the continual

(283) *Chald. paraph. Jun. in loc. Calmet. hiſt. O. T.* (284) *Perrer. contr.* 1. (285) *Deut.* xxxiii. (286) *Jud.* i. 34. *Vid. Tremel. in. loc.* (287) *Ibid. cap.* xvii. & xviii. *paſſ.* (288) *Gen.* iii. 15.

Asher. "ASHER's portion shall make him happy; it shall "abound with excellent corn and oil; the bread and "dainty meats that shall be made of them, shall be fit "for a king's table (N)[s]".

Naphtali. "NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well-spread, or "having grafts, which shoot out pleasant branches." Or, according to our *English* version, *Naphtali*, like a hind newly escaped, or let loose, shall excel his brethren in swiftness, and be remarkable for the sweetness of his eloquence[t] (O).

THESE

[s] Ibid. ver. 20.

[t] Ibid. ver. 21.

conflicts they had with the *Hagarenes*, that is, with *Nephish*, *Jetur*, and *Nodab*, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thousand camels, two hundred and fifty thousand sheep, and an hundred thousand men prisoners (286). This sense is likewise more agreeable to the character which *Moses* gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(N) The blessing spoken to *Asher* is capable of a double sense, and both verified by the event; namely, either that his country should be the most fertile, and produce the noblest corn in the whole land of *Palestine*, which it actually did; or else, that it should abound with the finest and most delicious oil, fit to be mixed in all kinds of pastry-work, which his portion was also remarkable for, insomuch that its oil was the most famed of all *Canaan*'s, as we have shewn elsewhere †; for which reason we have chosen to word it in such terms as should express the two excellencies of that noble soil, rather than to confine the sense to either particular: though *Moses*, in his blessing of that tribe, seems to intimate the latter, when he says, that *Asher* should dip his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have also given this prophecy in both the senses which the original will bear; but as that which our *English* version gives us, is somewhat uncouth and unintelligible, we have endeavoured to make it plainer. Though that reading be the most generally received, both by antient and modern expositors; and the first part applied to *Barach*'s overcoming *Sisera*, and the latter, to the sweet words which *Deborah* and he sang in the noble canticle which was made on that occasion (289); yet as we have observed, that *Jacob*'s blessings have a more general scope, we prefer the first reading, which compares him to a well-

(286) 1 *Chron.* v. 19——21. *Vid. Munst. Mercer. Villet. Jun. & al.*
(287) *Deut.* xxxiii. 22, & *seqq.* † *See vol.* ii. *p.* 456, & *seqq.*
(288) *Deut. ubi sup. vers.* 24. (289) *Judg. c.* iv. & v. *p. ult.*

THESE four laſt were the ſons of the two handmaids, from whom he paſſes with a ſeeming joy to thoſe of his beloved *Rachel*; and *Joſeph*, whoſe turn came next, heard his bleſſing pronounced in the moſt pompous and endearing terms.

JOSEPH, ſaid the good old father, ſhall increaſe daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair ſex, the damſels ran upon the walls to ſee him (P). Or, according to our verſion, he ſhall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well-ſide, whoſe branches run up and ſpread againſt the wall. Men armed with the poiſoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning *his brethren*, have cauſed him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he truſted, proved his ſtrong ſhield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out of priſon, to be a father and protector Joſeph.

ſpread oak; which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of *Naphtali*, who had but four ſons when he came into *Egypt*; yet could muſter up more than fifty-three thouſand men, fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; *i. e.* in leſs than 220 years. The reader may ſee our verſion proved by ſome learned men (291), which is agreeable to the *Septuagint*, *Chaldee*, and *Arabic* verſions.

(P) The original has בן פרת *ben porath*; which if derived from the root פרה *para*, he has fructified, as ſome do, the ſenſe will be, *Joſeph* is a fruitful ſon; and then the word בנות *banoth* (daughters) muſt be underſtood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chuſe to derive the word from פאר *paar*, to make, or be, beautiful, the א being quieſcent in *boleim*, as the grammarians ſpeak; and then the literal ſenſe will be, *Joſeph is a ſon of beauty*; the daughters ran upon the walls to ſee him: and this reading has by far the moſt votes.

(Q) Our *Engliſh* verſion, and ſome others, render this verſe thus; *but his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were made ſtrong*: but this interpretation is ſomething forced. The literal ſenſe runs thus; *but he continued in the ſtrength of his bow; and the bands of his arms (not weapons, but the arms of his body)* ויפוזו *japhuſu*, were (not ſtrengthened, as it is there rendered, but, according to the literal *Hebrew*) broken, ſcattered; which therefore may be more

(290) *Numb.* i. 43. *new tranſlat. & al.*

(291) *Bochart. hieroz. Le Clerc. eſſay on a*

protector to the house of *Israel*; for this the LORD, even the GOD of thy father, shall bless thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatness of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous posterity, and the fruit of the breast, and plenty of all sorts of cattle. May all the blessings promised to me, and to my forefathers, be doubled upon *Joseph*'s head, even upon his crowned head (R)! may they out-top and out-stretch the everlasting mountains, and prove to him more fruitful and lasting than they [n]!

Benjamin. BENJAMIN, the last of all *Jacob*'s sons, who had been so great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a suitable blessing from him; but whether it were that *Jacob* foresaw no extraordinary merit or happiness attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of *Judah*, would make it share in all its blessings, he contented himself with describing him by his fierce and warlike disposition, who, wolf-like, should shed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their spoil (S). Having thus

[n] Gen. xlix. ver. 22, & seq.

applicable to his fetters, in which sense the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, *Chaldee*, &c. have taken it.

(R) We have here likewise ventured to depart from the *English* version, which renders the words נזיר אחיו *nazir achauf*, *him that was separate from his brethers*: for though the verb נזר *nazar* signifies to separate, whence the word *Nazarite* comes; and *Joseph* was really separated from his brethren when he was sold into *Egypt*; yet it is not probable, that *Jacob* would have couched so barbarous and unnatural an action in such soft terms, when the original abounds with more expressive: besides, *Nazar* doth rather signify a separating upon a religious account: it is therefore more probable, that he used the word *nazir*, which signifies *crowned*, in allusion to the superintendents of the king's houshold, in all the eastern empires, who were called *nazirs*, and probably wore some kind of diadem about their heads, by way of distinction and grandeur (293). This sense will be more agreeable likewise to the solemn and pompous style, which the patriarch uses throughout all *Joseph*'s blessing.

(S) The warlike and untameable disposition of this tribe was sufficiently verified afterwards in many instances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, first, by the fierce battles which they

(293) *Vid. Calmet hist. Old Test. in loc. & auct. ab eo citat.*

fought

thus pronounced his prophetical bleſſing to every tribe, he reminded them, eſpecially *Joſeph*, that they ſhould bury him with his anceſtors in the cave of *Machpelah*; and they having renewed their promiſe to him, he laid himſelf again in his bed, and ſoon after expired [w], being 147 years of age, ſeventeen of which he ſpent in *Egypt*, in the land of *Goſhen* (T).

HERE

[w] Gen xlix. p. 101.

fought againſt the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cauſe, the *Levite*'s abuſed concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, tho' vaſtly inferior in numbers (295); and ſecondly, by the war, which the houſe of *Saul*, who was of that tribe, had with *David* and the houſe of *Judah*, for the kingdom (296); on which account they are deſcribed in Scripture, as the fierceſt warriors, and experteſt archers in *Iſrael*.

(T) Beſides theſe prophecies of *Jacob*, which *Moſes* has preſerved to us, and which have been ſufficiently verified by their events, the *Jews* attribute ſome other works to him, ſuch as the treatiſe, intitled, *The ladder to heaven*; in which there is an explanation of that which he ſaw in a dream at *Bethel*; and which the *Ebionites* adopted as canonical; and a teſtament called by his name, *The Teſtament of* Jacob, reckoned by pope *Gelaſius* among the *Apocrypha*. The *Jews* do likewiſe uſe ſome prayers every night, which they pretend to have been compoſed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the 14 gradual pſalms, and ſome others, whilſt he lived with *Laban*; all which are only fit for a *Jewiſh* creed. However, as to the great praiſes which they give him, no one can blame them for it; all which the author of *Eccleſiaſticus* has ſummed up in few words (1); but *Euſebius* gives us a much larger account of him from profane authors, particularly from *Demetrius*, who took it from the annals of *Alex. Polyhiſtor* (2).

The *Mohammedans* allow him to have been not only a prophet, but alſo the father of all the prophets, who were all deſcended from him, except *Job*, *Jethro*, and *Mohammed*. They likewiſe believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his poſterity till the times of *John the Baptiſt* and JESUS CHRIST; and that the twelve tribes of the *Jews* did ſpring from him, as their own twelve tribes did ſpring from *Iſhmael*. *Jacob* gave name to two places, *viz.* the well and the ford of *Jacob*: the former was ſtill known by that

(294) *Judg.* xix. *p.* 101. (295) *Ibid. c.* xx. (296) 2 *Sam. paſſ.* (1) Ch. xliv. *verſ. ult.* (2) *Præp. evang. l.* ix. *c.* 21. *See alſo Shuckford conn. vol.* ii. *b.* 18 *vii. p.* 190.

Year of flood 659. Ant. Chr. 1689.

HERE *Joseph*, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with his tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length, remembring his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The *Egyptians*, on their part, mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, *viz.* seventy days; the ceremony of which was performed in the manner we have described in a former chapter [x].

His being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged some of *Pharaoh*'s officers to acquaint him with his father's death, and with his last commands; who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's just request, and ordered moreover the chief officers of his houshold, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. All *Jacob*'s family likewise attended it, none staying behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade consisted of a great number of chariots, and a vast multitude of men on horseback. As soon as they had crossed the river *Jordan*, and were entered into the land of *Canaan*, they made a halt of seven days at the threshing-floor of *Atad*, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the *Canaanites* call the place *Abel Mizraim*, or the mourning of the *Egyptians*. They then continued their march till they arrived at *Machpelah*, where *Israel*'s sons deposited him in the cave, and then returned to *Egypt* with the rest of their company [y]. It was then that *Joseph*'s brethren, fearing his resentments, sent an humble message to him, to acquaint him, that it was their father's earnest request to him, that he would forget all past injuries, and take them still under his protection: the result of which was, that *Joseph*, who could not refrain his tears, whilst the messenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in, sent immediately for them, and received them with the same

[x] Vol. i. p. 489, & seqq.

[y] Gen. l. 14, & seq.

name in our SAVIOUR's time; and we read of a famous church formerly built there, in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. *John the Baptist*; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers, to drink some of its water for the recovery of their health. As for the ford, the situation is too uncertain for us to say more about it.

affection as when *Jacob* was alive; excuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably very much amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers.

He outlived his father about ſixty years; and when he found his death approaching, ſent for his brethren, and told them, with the ſame prophetic ſpirit that *Jacob* had done before, that God would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of *Egypt* into the land of *Canaan*: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, to depoſit it in ſome ſecure place, and to carry it away with them, and bury it in the ſpot of ground which *Jacob* had given to him by his laſt will. He gave up the ghoſt ſoon after [z], and his brethren took care to fulfil his laſt requeſt, having firſt cauſed his body to be embalmed, after the manner of the *Egyptians*. The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews how punctually their poſterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed (X). He was 110 years old, when he died, an age

Year of flood 713. Bef. Chr. 1635.

[z] Ibid. ad fin.

(X) The *Talmudiſts*, and other rabbies, have added a great number of fabulous and abſurd ſtories to this great patriarch's life, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with; but only add, upon the teſtimony of St. *Jerom* (308), that the *Iſraelites* raiſed a moſt noble monument to *Joſeph*'s memory, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his days. It ſtood in *Shechem*, in the field which *Jacob* bought of *Hamor*, and which he afterwards gave to him; in which *Joſeph* was actually buried (309).

Mohammed, in his *Koran*, *Sarat* xii. gives us a long hiſtory of *Joſeph*, which he has ſtuffed with many fabulous circumſtances, and which the eaſtern people have ſtill more enlarged upon (310). The *Mohammedans* pretend to have ſeveral books of his amours with *Zelikah*, *Pharaoh*'s daughter, his maſter *Potiphar*'s wife, which they make uſe of to kindle the love of God in their hearts, it being among them, what the *Canticles* are with the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that is, an allegory of the love of God, and a pious ſoul. As for *Mohammed*'s hiſtory, tho' it differs much from that of *Moſes*, yet the reader may not think it amiſs to have a ſketch of it. It is to this purpoſe:

(308) *Hieron. qu. Hebr. in Geneſ.* (309) *Joſh.* xxiv. 32. (310) *Vid. Marac. notes on the Alcoran, Herbel. dict. in the word Jouſeph.*

age which came very short of that of his ancestors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way

Joseph (311) having acquainted his father with his dream, of the sun, moon, and twelve stars falling down before him, *Jacob* forbid him to tell it to his brethren, lest the devil should put it into their heads to conspire against him, adding, that *Joseph* would be the chosen one of God, &c. but his brethren seeing that he was better beloved than they, resolved to murder him; to which end they persuaded their father to send him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diversion to him, promising at the same time, that they would take great care of him. *Jacob* answered, that he was afraid lest they should be careless of him: to which they replied, Are you afraid the wolves should come and eat him in our presence; or that we shall not have strength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well: they came home that same night, and told him, that whilst they were playing and running a race, and *Joseph* was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and, finding that *Jacob* was hard to credit their story, they shewed him *Joseph*'s bloody shirt: upon which *Jacob* told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly answer for it before God; after which he endeavoured to bear his loss patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted water, let down their bucket into the well; and *Joseph*, laying hold on it, was drawn out: they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into *Egypt*, where they sold him for a little ready money. The person who bought him, gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove useful, and be instead of a son to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his mistress *Zeleikah* became so excessively in love with him, that she shut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her passion to him: *Joseph* rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door; but before he could open it, she caught hold on his shirt, and tore it off his back: her husband happened to be behind the door, and she no sooner saw him, but she began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by *Joseph* against her chastity, whom she therefore desired to be severely punished, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what she said: the child readily answered, that if the shirt was torn before, he was guilty, and she innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and she accused

(311) *Bibl. et. orient. Jeusuph ben Jacub.*

him

way of living from theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur, to which *Pharaoh*, or rather his great wiſdom and merit, had raiſed him. However, he had the pleaſure to ſee of his offspring to the third generation; which none of his fathers did, *viz.* *Shuttelah* and *Tachan*, the ſons of *Ephraim*, and *Hadan* the ſon of *Shuttelah*; as likewiſe *Machir* the ſon of *Manaſſeh*, and

him falſly. The ſhirt, upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted *Joſeph*, and diſcovered the ill intention of his miſtreſs.

The whole city was ſoon filled with the noiſe of this adventure; and *Zeleikab*, being informed, that the ladies ſpoke of it much to her diſadvantage, reſolved to invite them to a feaſt, and, whilſt they were eating, to introduce *Joſeph* to them. She did ſo, and he no ſooner appeared, but his beauty aſtoniſhed them beyond meaſure; inſomuch that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers inſtead of their meat, and whiſpered to one another, that he muſt be an angel, and no man! By this means ſhe put a ſtop to their reflections; but it was not long before ſhe made another puſh at her ſervant, though with as little ſucceſs; which ſo enraged her, that ſhe got him ſent into priſon, where he expounded the butler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret *Pharaoh*'s dream, which he did ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he was made ſuperintendent of all his finances.

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the ſtory of his brethren coming to buy corn, *&c.* which he hath no leſs embelliſhed with fables after his manner. We ſhall ſay nothing of them, and only add what *Ebn Batrick*, otherwiſe called *Eutychius*, patriarch of *Alexandria* writes of him, *viz.* that he married *Azimah*, the daughter of the *Kahen* of *Aen Shem*, that is, the *prieſt*, or *diviner of the fountain of the ſun*, which was the name of the city of *On*, called alſo by the *Greeks*, *Heliopolis*. He aſſures us likewiſe, that the *Nilometer*, which is in the city of *Memphis*, the deſcription of which has been given in a former chapter (1), *&c.* and the canal in the city of *Cairo*, for the diſcharge of the waters of that river, were *Joſeph*'s own works. In a word, they attribute to him all the curious wells, ciſterns, aqueducts, and public granaries, as well as ſome obeliſks, pyramids, and other antient monuments, all which are ſtill called by his name; and pretend, that he had ſomething ſhining like a ſtar upon one of his ſhoulders, which was an indeleble character of the gift of prophecy, and a ſure token of his future grandeur (2).

(1) *Vol.* i. *p.* 414, *&* *ſeqq.*

(2) *D'Herbelot bibliotb. tit. ubi ſup.*

Gilead,

Gilead, *Machir*'s ſon. Theſe five are thoſe whom the *Septuagint* verſion adds to the number of the ſeventy that came down into *Egypt*, though 'tis plain they were not born till ſome time after, as we have lately ſhewn.

How the *Iſraelites*, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the *Egyptians*, as they grew numerous and powerful, till they were at length brought under moſt cruel ſlavery, will be ſeen in the next ſection. In the mean time we hope our readers will not be diſpleaſed, if we make a ſhort retroſpection to their forefathers, and add ſome few obſervations on the ſimplicity of their religion, and manner of living, which were neither ſo obvious, nor could be interſperſed in their hiſtory, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with thoſe of the moſt polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, ſuch as were the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the diſtances of time, place, and other obvious circumſtances, they will appear to be the moſt natural and perfect pattern of civil ſociety, and of an happy life. If therefore their poſterity, after they became poſſeſſors of the promiſed land, did ſo ſtrangely deviate from them, it can be attributed to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy which their long and horrid thraldom had cauſed in them, and which took ſuch deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, nor the wholſome laws which Providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which *Moſes* had ſet before them in ſuch lively colours, nor, laſtly, all the heavy judgments which their invincible obſtinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

Simplicity of life of the old patriarchs.

It muſt be owned, however, that, unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that partial fondneſs which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn, not only thoſe of the antient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have cloſely followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have commended them for it: that part of their religion, which conſiſted in the butchering of a number of living creatures; their plainneſs and ſimplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their ſeeming contempt of arts and ſciences; their real one of eaſe, luxury, and high titles; all theſe, and many more, will be apt to be cenſured by the lump, and every deviation from

from them will be looked upon as an improvement in ſociety, and a refinement on their dull inſipid taſte. But it is not to ſuch partial judges that we appeal, for the juſtneſs of theſe remarks, but to the more thinking and unprejudiced ſort, whoſe judgment is not warped by emulation, cuſtom, and example.

Abraham learns it from the antediluvians.

AND here we need remount no higher than where we began our hiſtory, that is, to *Abraham*. He had converſed with ſome of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather, he had been educated in it, and was ſo great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of thoſe nations he lived amongſt, and brought up his children in the ſame way. For here we muſt remember, that in thoſe days every family did, as it were, compoſe a kingdom or free ſtate, of which the chief was, in all reſpects, if we except the name and ceremony, ſupreme and abſolute monarch; and, as ſuch, made either war or peace, and alliances offenſive or defenſive, with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit [a]: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter began betimes to live in walled and fortified towns; whereas the former choſe to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other reſpects, it is plain, they were inferior to none of the cotemporary princes, though they deſpiſed thoſe pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours ſo much affected.

Their high power.

THEIR riches conſiſting chiefly in a prodigious quantity of cattle [b], ſuch as ſheep, oxen, camels, and aſſes (horſes we read not of), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of ſervants and ſlaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that *Abraham* was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-ſervants to *Lot*'s reſcue, beſides thoſe he left behind to guard his ſubſtance, and his old men, women, and children [c]. As for gold, ſilver, jewels, and ſuch-like valuable things, we do not find, that he was poſſeſſed of any till after his return from *Egypt*, where *Pharaoh* had heaped thoſe rich preſents on him; though they might probably barter ſome of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in thoſe days; but neither did this, nor his other kinds of riches, exempt him or his poſterity from a laborious life; to which their chooſing to live in tents, for the benefit of often

Paſtoral life.

Number of ſervants and cattle.

[a] Gen. xiv. 13. ibid. xxvi. 26, & ſeq. [b] Gen. xiii. 6. & ſeq. ibid. xxxii. 16, & ſeq. [c] Gen. xiv. 14, &c.

shifting their habitations for the sake of their numerous herds, unavoidably obliged them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances, permitted (A). And, how distasteful soever this primitive simplicity may appear to our present age, yet *Homer*[f] will tell us how much and how long it was imitated by the *Greeks*, whose politeness is to this day so admired; insomuch that the chief employment of the seven sons of *Eetion*, king of the *Sicilians*, was the keeping of their father's flocks[g]: and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in *Sicily* and *Greece*, but likewise in *Syria*, and other countries, above 1500 years after *Abraham*, in some of the most beautiful pastorals of antiquity.

Imitated by Homer's *heroes.*

This laborious life seldom failed to keep both men and women in a good state of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digestion, so they were the more simple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth, were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a dish of venison, were reckoned a rich feast; and one would think, that *Homer* had drawn the pictures of his heroes in his *Odysseis*, after that of the pa-

[f] Homer. Iliad. Δ. [g] Idem, Iliad. Σ.

(A) Thus we find *Isaac* sowing his land in the country of *Gerar*, where the situation, and the king's friendship, invited him to make a considerable stay (3); but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries where water was scarce, and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the complaint which *Jacob* made to his father-in-law (4). Nor were the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it: and though *Abraham*'s posterity doth not afford us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female; *viz.* *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter, and she only mentioned for her fatal curiosity; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in *Padan-haran*, we shall find, that neither their birth, youth, or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their flocks, at proper seasons. This we find to have been the case of *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and other fair damsels of that country, and of *Jethro*'s daughters some hundred years after them.

(3) *Gen.* xxvi. 11, 12, *& seq.* (4) *Gen.* xxxi.——40, *& seq.*

triarchs;

triarchs; ſo far was he from thinking ſuch a life unworthy of the greateſt men (B).

THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigour, but was likewiſe an effectual means to lengthen their days. and to make their deaths ſweet and eaſy. If we except *Iſaac*, who is deſcribed rather as a contemplative than a laborious man [k], and began to fail in his ſtrength much ſooner than the reſt; we read of no diſeaſes they were ſubject to, nor of any phyſicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All thoſe whoſe age is ſet down by *Moſes*, lived to above 150 years, except *Joſeph*, whoſe courtly way of living may probably have ſhortened his days [l]. *Laborious and healthy lives.*

THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwiſe ſoever it may appear at firſt ſight: *Abraham* lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring eſteemed one of the greateſt earthly bleſſings; he ſaw himſelf unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and, though maſter of vaſt poſſeſſions, yet choſe to make his ſervant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither did he take *Hagar* to his bed, till he was promiſed an heir that ſhould come out of his loins, and was perſuaded to it by his wife [m]. The

[k] Gen. xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1, & ſeqq. [l] Ibid. l. 26.
[m] Gen. xv. 3. ibid. xvi. 2.

(B) Whoever conſiders that *Jacob* had been his mother's favourite, and conſequently more tenderly brought up than his brother *Eſau*, will no doubt wonder at his being ſuffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles (for ſo far it was at leaſt from *Beerſheba* to *Padan-haran*) without a ſervant, or any other conveniency for traveling, than his bare ſtaff; but yet it appears, that he had been ſo well inured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himſelf down in the open field, as ſoon as night came upon him, and taking the firſt ſtone that came to hand to ſerve him for a pillow (5). That he took care to breed up his ſons in the ſame hardy way, is plain, by his ſending his favourite *Joſeph*, at the age of 16, as far as *Hebron*, to inquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from *Mamre*, where he dwelt. Neither did *Joſeph*'s hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles further, diſcourage him from continuing his journey till he had met with them (6).

(5) Gen. xxviii. 11. (6) Ibid. xxxvii. 17.

children

children that he had by *Keturah*, after *Sarah*'s death, shew that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. *Isaac*, and his promised posterity, had the noblest title to all the blessings that were denounced to *Abraham*; *Rebecca* proves barren for a considerable time, and had but two sons at last; and yet we do not find, that ever he express'd a desire of taking another wife [n] (C).

[n] Gen. xxv. 21, & seq.

(C) It must indeed be owned, that *Jacob* was unwarily drawn in to marry two sisters, and afterwards to take their maids to be concubines; but whoever considers how contented he would have been with *Rachel* alone; that *Leah* was, as it were, forced upon him; that *Rachel*'s barrenness, and desire of children, and his fondness for her, made him accept of her handmaid; that, when he had once done it for one sister, he could not decently refuse it to the other (7); that it was the custom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as consistent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I say, considers all these, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealousies and discords between the two sisters, and probably between the mistresses and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his sons to follow his example, since we do not read of any that did not rest contented with one wife. *Judah* indeed is justly taxed with incontinency; but it must be remembered, that his adventure with *Tamar* was wholly accidental, and unsought for by him; and that he did not give himself that liberty, till after his wife's death (8). However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much less do we intend to write panegyrics upon them; for which reason we shall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hospitality to strangers, their faithfulness to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conspicuous for; and shall content ourselves with adding a few words concerning their religion; and shewing, that that, joined to their primitive simplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and an happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively instance of the early depravity of mankind, but casts no reflection on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and absolute sway over his whole family, obliged him to train them up in the knowlege and fear of the true God, and a strict observance to his laws, which was the most effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that ease and tranquillity, for which they are so justly admired.

(7) *Ibid.* xxix. & xxx. *passim.* (8) *Ibid.* xxxviii. 12, & *seq.*

As

As for their religion, it was not only the freeſt from idolatry and ſuperſtition, but the ſimpleſt and pureſt in the world, or, at leaſt, that the world was then capable of. It conſiſted chiefly in a ready obedience to GOD's commands, under whoſe immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promiſes under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowlegement for all his bleſſings and deliverance. This laſt part ſeems to have introduced the religious cuſtom of tythes, if they were not of a much elder date (D).

THEIR ſacrifices had indeed ſomething ſhocking and unnatural, as we obſerved before; and when we conſider how ſoon they began, and how univerſally they ſpread themſelves, reaſon will be at a loſs how to account for their introduction and progreſs, any other way than by ſuppoſing them to be of GOD's own inſtituting, as types of that grand ſacrifice which CHRIST was to offer up for the ſins of the world: but this is rather a point of divinity than hiſtory, and ſo out of our ſphere. In all other caſes, it is plain, their religion was pure, ſimple, and uniform, and might have continued ſuch after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, had not their degeneracy and ſtubbornneſs obliged the Divine Lawgiver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing thoſe of other nations with their own, as the ſequel of their hiſtory will ſhew. We ſhall only add, that as other nations ſeem to have received from the ancient patriarchs the ceremony of ſacrificing beaſts to their gods, that is, of ſubſtituting an innocent lamb, ſheep, *&c.* in their guilty ſtead, without retaining the notion of the deſign, or typical inſtitution of them; ſo it is very probable, that the intended ſacrifice of *Iſaac* by the father

(D) This ſeems to be the moſt probable, ſince we read of *Abraham*'s giving the tenths of all the ſpoils of his late-gotten victory to *Melchiſedek* (9); and that *Jacob* vowed the like portion of all his poſſeſſions to GOD, if he would bleſs him, and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe (10). How theſe were at firſt paid, or to whom, is not eaſy to gueſs; whether to *Shem* or *Eber*, or any of their deſcendants, who ſtill held the high-prieſthood; or, as is moſt likely, by conſecrating a tenth part to religious uſes, ſuch as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of ſacrifices to GOD; ſince ſuch things as are conſecrated to GOD's worſhip, are, in the language of Scripture, ſaid to be given to GOD.

(9) *Gen.* xiv. 20. (10) *Ibid.* xxviii. *ult.*

of

of the faithful, by which he gave such a glorious testimony of his faith, and reliance on GOD's promises, may have given birth to the bloody custom of sacrificing of children, which became afterwards so universal, not only among all other nations, but even among the *Israelites* themselves. The notion of its being injoined to that patriarch only, as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembred of it, than the great applause and blessings he received upon that account; from which they might conclude, as it were, *a fortiori*, that if his bare intention proved so meritorious, much more would the real sacrificing of their own children be: and when they had once imbibed the notion, that the main merit of such a bloody ceremony consisted chiefly in the stifling all sense of humanity and natural affection, it was easy for them to infer, that the more they did so by the deaths they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the sacrifice: but this we submit to the reader's judgment.

SECT. VI.

The history of the Jews *from their* Egyptian *bondage, to their entrance into the land of* Canaan.

The great increase of the Israelites *in* Egypt.

WE return now to the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, who did so prodigiously increase, both in number and strength, during the 215 years of their abode there [a], that the jealous *Egyptians* had long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not a formidable people. And indeed, if we consider, that the seventy souls, which came down with *Jacob*, were increased, as *Moses* tells us, to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards [b], all able to bear arms; besides those under twenty years of age, old men from sixty to an hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer; and women, which may be reasonably supposed to have been at least as numerous as the men; I say, if we consider this wonderful increase (which, in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought seventy wives with them, which is the utmost that can be supposed, will be as 140 to 280,000, that is, as 200,000 to one), we shall not wonder at *Egypt*'s fearing lest they should in a short time cover the whole face of the country. Nor need we have recourse to miracles,

[a] Exod. i. 7. [b] Numb. i. 46.

as the *Jews* do [b], for this prodigious increaſe (A). We have already given, in a former chapter, a table [c] of the probable increaſe of mankind in any number of years; and, if this ſeems to outdo that calculation, it muſt be remembered, that they had a peculiar promiſe for it, and a peculiar bleſſing from GOD attending them. Neither was their courage or ſtrength leſs to be feared than their number. The ſons of *Ephraim* had already given a proof of it to the *Egyptians*, when they made that bold, though unſucceſsful attempt upon the *Gathites*, in one of the cantons of the land of *Canaan*, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in *Egypt* [d]. This adventure might eaſily let the *Egyptians* ſee what the united force of twelve ſuch fructifying tribes might do in proceſs of time, when a ſingle one, of ſo ſhort a ſtanding, could venture upon ſuch an

The ſons of Ephraim's incurſion on the Gathites.

[b] Vid. ABEN EZR. & MUNSTER. in loc. [c] Vid. vol. i. p. 232, ſub not. [d] 1 Chron. vii. 21. OSIAND. in loc.

(A) St. *Auſtin* (2) thinks, that this prodigious increaſe of the *Iſraelites* was altogether miraculous, in which many of the *Jews* agree with him. *Aben Ezra* tells us, that they brought forth 3 or 4 at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as ſeven children at once (3). This he ſeems to have taken from *Ariſtotle* (4), or from *Trogus*, who ſays, that in *Egypt* the women were ſometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourſe to ſuch prodigious births, which happen but ſeldom, we need but ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites*, both men and women, were very fruitful; that they began ſoon, and continued long in begetting, which has been ſhewn, in the former ſection, to have been the fact. We ſee no impoſſibility for 70 males, in the compaſs of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to *Simler's* computation, 70 perſons, if they beget a child every year, will, in 30 years time, have above 2000 children; of which, admit that one third-part only did come to procreate, in 30 years more, they will amount to 9000; the third-part of it will, in 30 years more, be multiplied to 45000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be, at leaſt, 2,760,000. If, therefore, there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was that they ſhould be able to multiply at that rate, notwithſtanding their hard labours, and cruel bondage.

(2) *Aug. de civit. lib.* xviii. *c.* 7. (3) *Aben Ezr. ap. Munſt. in loc. Pelican. & al.* (4) *Hiſtor. animal. l.* vii. *c.* 4.

hazardous enterprize. However, it is not easy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when *Moses* was born: sure it is, that from, or even before that time, they began to be more and more cruelly oppressed by the *Egyptians*, whose unheard of treatment of that oppressed people might be owing to more causes than one (B). But the main, and indeed sufficient motive mentioned in the text, was their being grown more mighty than the *Egyptians*, and the danger there was, lest upon any war they should join their enemies, and drive them out of the land [c]. This last made such an impression upon them, that though they were resolved to crush them as much as possible, if not totally to destroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kind of oppression, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

Year of flood 775. Bef. Chr. 1573.

THIS

[c] Exod. i. 9, 10.

(B) Such as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the *Israelites* both as shepherds, and as *Hebrews*, who killed and lived upon those beasts that were worshiped in *Egypt*; the great difference of religion; envy to see them so successful; and the like.

(C) It is to be observed, that the original words שרי מסים *sare massim*, which we translate task-masters, properly signify tax-gatherers; the burdens are mentioned afterwards under another name; so that they laid heavy tributes upon them, to impoverish, and heavy burdens, to weaken them. *Philo* tells us (5), that they were made to carry burdens above their strength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and servers; that they were employed in brickmaking, digging, and building; that, if any of them dropped dead under their burdens, they were not suffered to bury them. *Josephus* tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into chanels; to wall whole towns, casting up dykes and banks to keep off inundations; nay, to erect fantastical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn several laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual restless labour. Another author tells us (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the *Egyptians*, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourselves further than with what *Moses* tells

(5) *Philo in vit. Mosis.* (6) *Antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (7) *Eupolem. ap. Euseb. præp.*

 us,

THIS terrible perſecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king [f], who knew not *Joſeph* (D), or had forgot the great ſervices which

Their cruel bondage.

[f] Ibid. ver. 8.

us, we ſhall find their work hard enough (8). They were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and ſeek for ſtubble inſtead of ſtraw, without the leaſt diminution of their tasks, of which if they chanced to come ſhort, which could not poſſibly be avoided, their overſeers were ſeverely beaten for it (9). Thus they tried by theſe three ways to bring them under; *viz.* by exacting a tribute to leſſen their wealth, laying heavy burdens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increaſing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulneſs, taking the words of *Moſes* in their literal ſenſe; if we conſider, that kings were then only elective, and all the ſubjects looked upon as their ſlaves (10). Archbiſhop *Uſher* mentions ſeven kings between *Joſeph*'s death, and this who knew not *Joſeph*, i. e. in about 60 years, which was more than ſufficient to obliterate all his ſignal ſervices. Who this new king was, is not ſo eaſily agreed. *Cajetan* thinks him to have been an *Aſſyrian* born, from the words of the prophet (11), *My people went down into* Egypt *to ſojourn, and an* Aſſyrian *oppreſſed them.* But we don't find, in the *Egyptian* chronicles, any *Aſſyrian* kings, either before *Moſes*, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be *Mephres*, in whoſe ninth year *Joſeph* is ſuppoſed to have died, and the bondage to have begun (12); becauſe *Levi* outlived *Joſeph* above 23 years (13); whereas the thraldom did not commence till all the patriarchs were dead. Some, therefore, ſuppoſe, that it was *Amenophis*; becauſe *Euſebius* thinks, that *Moſes* was born in the eighteenth year of his reign; and ſo does St. *Jerom* (14). Archbiſhop *Uſher*, after *Mercator*, thinks it was *Rameſes Miamun*. This king the above-mentioned primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frighted at the number and ſtrength of the *Iſraelites*, he began to oppreſs them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, beſides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building alſo of royal magazines, ſtorehouſes, and the whole cities of *Ramaſis* or *Rameſis*, and *Pithom*; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (15): but we ſhall find a great difficulty here, *viz.* how to recon-

(8) *Exod.* i. 14. (9) *Ibid.* c. v. *paſſim.* (10) *Diod. Sicul. l.* ii, c. 1. *Gen.* xlvii. 19,-20. (11) *Iſai.* liii. 4. (12) *Vincent. in loc.* (13) *Exod.* vi. 16. (14) *Euſeb. Hieron. in Chronic.* (15) *Uſher ſub A. M.* 2427.

which that glorious minister had done both the crown and nation of *Egypt* (E); and who, when he found by the experience

cile that learned prelate with what *Pliny* says (16), that this *Rameses* reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, that is, about 300 years after the death of *Moses*. A late author (17) hath taken a great deal of pains to prove, that this persecution happened soon after the invasion of the shepherds mentioned formerly, and probably under one of their first kings; and these being utter strangers both to *Joseph* and his people, will account still better for the cruel treatment which their jealousy made them inflict upon the latter. But, upon the whole, the reader is desired to remember what we said in the history of *Egypt*, concerning the difficulty of adjusting their chronology; and, particularly, who those kings were, under whom the *Israelites* suffered this slavery (18). As for those who pretend, that the *Israelites* continued above 400 years in *Egypt*, as *Genebrard* (19); or that they groaned under that slavery all that time, as *Josephus* (20); they will send us still farther to seek for a king that will fit them; but we hope we have sufficiently proved their error, in our notes in the former section, p. 253, 254, not. (K); and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(E) This we need not wonder at, after so many years, when *Ahasuerus* could so soon forget *Mordecai*, who had so lately saved his life (21): tho' it must be owned, that, had *Joseph*'s merit been ever so fresh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically considered, had nothing strange or uncommon, since it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man that had been dead above 50 years, had prevented his taking all the cautious measures to secure his own kingdom against the danger it seemed threatened with from a people, who, from an indigent family, were become such a numerous and formidable host. The religion of the *Israelites*, so opposite to *Egyptian* idolatry; their strict union among themselves; the great riches they had heaped up during *Joseph*'s life; their indefatigable industry in feeding their numberless herds, in trade and agriculture; their bodily strength, and warlike temper; in all which, and many other respects, they seem to have been far superior to the *Egyptians*; all these, we say, did sufficiently justify *Pharaoh*'s fears, if not in some degree authorize those violent measures which he took against them. We have seen, in our days, christian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions a-

(16) *Plin. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 8. (17) *Shuckford connect. vol.* ii. *p.* 206.
(18) *Vid. sup. vol.* ii. *p.* 37, *& seqq.* (19) *Genebrard chronogr. p.* 11, *sub an. m.* 2660. (20) *Antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (21) *Esther* vi. 23.

gainst

experience of at leaſt ten years, that neither the hardſhips he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people uſed towards them, could prevent their multiplying as faſt as ever [i], ſent for the two chief *Hebrew* midwives, *Shiphrah* and *Puah* (F), and ſtrictly charged

Pharaoh's *cruel order to the* Hebrew *midwives.*

[i] Exod. c. i. paſſ.

gainſt their own natural ſubjects, of whoſe fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs than ever the kings of *Egypt* had from the children of *Iſrael*; and yet theſe perſecutions have been juſtified, nay, canonized, whilſt *Pharaoh*'s have been branded with the worſt of epithets, and are not mentioned without horror.

Had indeed the *Egyptian* court been leſs a ſtranger to the *Iſraelites*, they would have had little cauſe to fear being driven out of their own country; againſt which theſe were ſo far from deſigning any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themſelves but as ſojourners in it for a while, ſtill waiting for the happy time when God ſhould call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wiſely concealed this ſecret from the *Egyptians*, who would be too loth to loſe the ſervice of ſuch a numerous people, not to prevent their going, by all poſſible means. Beſides, had it been known, there was ſtill ſome danger of their joining their enemies, upon any war or invaſion, in order to facilitate their eſcape.

(F) Though *Moſes* mentions but two midwives, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they could ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt number of women. Some therefore think, that theſe two only attended on the nobler ſort of *Hebrew* women, whoſe children *Pharaoh* chiefly intended to cut off (23): whereas his charge was, to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think, that the *Hebrew women, being ſtrong, and eaſily delivered* (24), might probably ſhift with two midwives; but it is to be conſidered, that this was not ſo much the real fact, as an excuſe of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable, that theſe two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the reſt (25): and that there was ſuch a precedency or ſuperiority among midwives, whatever *Cajetan* ſays to the contrary, appears very probable at leaſt from what *Plutarch* tells us; that, among the *Grecians*, there were ſome to whom the care of that buſineſs was committed; and that public ſchools were kept for that purpoſe (26).

(23) *Cajet. in loc.* (24) *Exod.* i. 9. (25) *Pelican. Vatabl. Outran, & al.* (26) *Vid. Jun. in analyſ. Villet. & al. Shuckford connect. vol.* ii. *l.* vii.

Year of the flood 775. Bef. Chr. 1573.

They are reproved for their disobedience;

them, that, when they performed their office to the *Hebrew* women, they ſhould deſtroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But theſe women, who feared GOD, and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. *Pharaoh*, extremely provoked at their diſobedience, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone aſked them, how they dared to diſobey his orders? The women had not their anſwer to ſeek; for they readily told him, that the *Hebrew* women did not, like the *Egyptian* ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being luſty and ſtrong, and bringing forth more like the beaſts of the foreſt than women (G); ſo that their children were born before they could come

(G) The word חיות *chaioth*, which we tranſlate *lively*, doth likewiſe ſignify wild beaſts; and may be taken in that ſenſe in this place, ſeeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beaſts of the field, needed no help to be delivered; and it is very probable, that the *Hebrew* women, who were kept more ſtrictly than the looſe and maſterly *Egyptian* dames, might have much eaſier labours than they, and ſo have leſs need of midwives. Their anſwer might therefore be true in part, tho' not in the whole; and, as to their ſtretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good deſign, they had the examples of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, who made their wives paſs for their ſiſters, though they were only ſo in a far-fetched ſenſe: accordingly we find their proceeding approved and rewarded by GOD, who bleſſed them, and multiplied them into conſiderable families; for that is the plain meaning of what our and other verſions render *the* LORD *made them houſes*. The verb בנה *banah*, from which that of בן *ben*, a ſon, is derived, ſignifies to build, in a moſt extenſive ſenſe, ſuch as to build houſes, families, eſtates, &c. ſome inſtances the reader may ſee in the places quoted in the margin (9). A learned modern doth indeed declare himſelf largely againſt this ſenſe; and is rather of opinion, that it was the *Egyptians* who built thoſe houſes, to ſhut up the pregnant women in, that the king's decree might not be eluded by the midwives (10): this both he and others conclude from the pronoun *la-hem* being maſculine, whereas it muſt have been *la-hen*, if it had related to the midwives; but, if that had been the caſe, he muſt rather have built large cities to have ſufficed ſo vaſt a multitude of pregnant *Hebrew* women: be-

(9) *See D. Kimchi, Perrer. le Scene, &c. vol. ii. l.* viii. *p.* 212, *& ſeqq.*

(10) *Shuckford connect.*

ſides,

come to them. *Moſes* tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that GOD bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity [k], a reward beſt ſuited to the temper of that carnal people.

and rewarded by GOD *for their piety.*

HOWEVER, *Pharaoh*, finding that theſe underhand ſtratagems proved ineffectual, reſolved to act more openly againſt the *Iſraelites*, and to make the parents become the executioners of their own children. To this end he iſſues out an order, under the ſevereſt penalties, that every *Hebrew* male child that was born, ſhould be caſt into the *Nile*, and that none but the females ſhould be ſuffered to live; by which the people ſaw themſelves obliged either to drown their own children, or to ſee them drowned by the *Egyptians*, as ſoon as they were diſcovered, and themſelves ſeverely puniſhed for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted *Iſraelites*, too prone naturally to deſpond of GOD's promiſes. But the divine providence, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated either by the private artifices, or open violence, of the king of *Egppt*, made him the inſtrument of bringing up that very child, whom he deſigned to be the deliverer of his people [l].

The Iſraelites *commanded to drown all their male children.*

AMRAM, the ſon of *Kohath*, and grandſon of *Levi*, had married *Jochebed*, the daughter of *Levi*, his own

[k] Exod. c. i. ver. 21, & ſeqq. [l] GREGOR. lib. viii. moral.

ſides, the very places quoted out of *Geneſis*, *Deuteronomy*, and *Ruth*, but eſpecially the laſt verſe of Pſalm cxiii. plainly confine the ſenſe to fructifying, or increaſe of family. Accordingly others think, that it was the *Iſraelites*, and not the midwives, that were ſo multiplied: becauſe, ſay they, women cannot be ſaid to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the bleſſing which is given to *Ruth* (41), that *ſhe might prove like* Rachel *and* Leah, *which two did build the houſe, or family, of* Iſrael. We therefore think it more probable, that the maſculine is here put for the feminine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the maſculine relative is applied to *Jethro*'s ſeven daughters, and many other places beſides (43), and given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the ſacred tongue.

(40) *Simler. Jun. Villet. in loc.* (41) *Ruth* iv. 11. (42) *Exod.* ii. 17. (43) *Vatabl. Piſcat. Munſt. & al. in loc.*

aunt (I); by whom he had two children before the king's edict, *viz.* *Miriam* and *Aaron* [1] (K); but *Moses* not being born till some time after the promulgation of it, and he proving a lovely and beautiful child, GOD inspired them with a more than ordinary reluctancy to obey it; so that they ventured to keep him privately during the space of three months (L), till at last fearing the extreme danger

Moses is born.

Year of flood 777. Bef. Chr. 1571.

and concealed three months.

[1] See Exod. vi. 20.

been one of the two midwives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expositors, who make her but ten years old, at most, when *Moses* was born.

(I) We have ventured to call *Jochebed Amram*'s aunt, tho' the Septuagint, Vulgate, and, after them, many learned expositors, both papists and protestants, have thought that she was no more than his uncle *Kohath*'s daughter, and consequently his cousin-german, because the marriage of an anut was afterwards forbidden in the *Levitical* law (1). For tho' the word דוד *dod*, in the original, sometimes signifies an uncle's son (2), and דודה *dodah* an uncle's daughter, or cousin-german; yet, seeing *Moses* tells us (3), that she was born unto *Levi*, and accordingly calls her *Amram*'s aunt (4) in another place, we thought we might safely give her that name, after many learned men (5).

(K) Though *Moses* mentions nothing of the age of his sister, either when she was born, or when she died, yet it is plain she was the eldest of the three, because she was old enough to watch *Moses* when he was exposed; whereas *Aaron* was but three years older than he: but, that she should be so old as the *Jews* make her, *viz.* to have

(L) This pious concealment is sufficiently justified by St. *Stephen*, and the epistle to the *Hebrews* (8), not only on the account of the child's beauty, which is also mentioned by *Justin* out of *Trogus*, but also upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, *Josephus* tells us, that *Amram*, finding his wife with child, and being solicitous about the king's edict, prayed earnestly to GOD to put an end to this dreadful persecution; and that GOD appeared to him, and told him, that he would shortly free his people from it; and that the son, who should soon be born to him, should prove the happy instrument of their glorious deliverance, and eternize his own name thereby —that this made them conceal him as long as they could; but, fearing a discovery, they

(1) *Nic. de Lyr. A. Montan. Cajetan. Perer. Cassal. & al. in loc.* (2) *Jerem.* xxxii. 12. (3) *Numb.* xxvi. 59. (4) *Exod.* vi. 20. (5) *Oecald. paraphr. Jun. Munst. Pagnin. Simler. Usher, & al.* (8) *Act.* vii. 20. *Hebr.* xi. 23. (9) *Ant. l.* ii. *c.* 9.

resolved

danger of a diſcovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themſelves, they were forced, though with the utmoſt regret, to expoſe him like the reſt, and put him into a ſmall ark of bulruſhes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the *Egyptians* made their paper [m], which was ſtrong enough to hold out the water, and ſmooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was beſmeered, and by its lightneſs fitteſt to ſwim with the child's weight; and, committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of Providence, they left *Miriam* his ſiſter, who was then about 9 or 10 years of age, at a convenient diſtance to watch and ſee what would become of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds [n], ſoon ſtopped the cradle from being carried by the current; and here it was that GOD ſent him an happy deliverer from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

and expoſed to the common fate,

IT was *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who, being come to the river with a deſign to bathe herſelf, ſpied the ark as ſhe was walking along the ſhore. Her curioſity made her ſend ſome of her retinue to fetch it; and it was not long before her ſurprize, at the ſight of ſo beautiful a child, was ſucceeded by an irreſiſtible love and pity for him; and truly his cries and tears would have moved a heart leſs gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of ſome of thoſe unfortunate *Hebrews*, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom: her pity told her, that ſo lovely a boy deſerved a better fate, and that it was her duty, ſince chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to ſave him from the common ruin.

and taken up,

[m] JOSEPH. ant. l. ii. c. 9. [n] Iſai. xviii. 2. HERODOT. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. i. & al.

reſolved to truſt him to the care of providence; which accordingly conducted *Pharaoh*'s daughter to the river-ſide, and inſpired her with ſuch ſentiments of pity, that ſhe adopted him for her ſon. He calls that princeſs *Thermuthis*; and, after him, *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, and others; *Artaphanes* (10) calls her *Meris*; and the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Myrrina*. *Joſephus* adds (11) ſome other circumſtances, which, as they ſavour too much of the fabulous *Jewiſh* leaven to deſerve farther notice, the reader may ſee in the place above-quoted.

(10) *Ap. Euſeb. præp. Eb. ix. c. 4.* (11) *Ant. loc. citat.*

PROVI-

and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter.

PROVIDENCE, which conducted all this scene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own son, and into young *Miriam*'s thoughts, to approach the princess, and to offer herself to fetch her an *Hebrew* nurse to suckle him. She flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful *Jochebed*, who came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princess, and with him an express order, to take the same care of him, as if he were her own. At the same time she told her, that, as she did not know the boy's name, she would give him that of *Moses*, seeing she had drawn him out of the water (M); and, having promised her an ample reward for her care of him, the joyful mother went home, to impart to her husband the news of this happy accident p.

THIS signal care of Providence failed not to make them look upon *Moses* as a child designed for some glorious purpose, and to give him an education suitable to the idea they had conceived of him whilst he staid with them. They brought him in due time to *Pharaoh*'s daughter, who adopted him for her son, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for q (N). However, it is reasonable to suppose,

His education.

p Exod. ii. per tot. q Act. vii, 22.

(M) *Moses* is here thought to have hebraized his name, in order to express the sense of the *Egyptian* one, which had been given him by *Pharaoh*'s daughter (12). The word *mo*, or *mou*, in the *Egyptian* tongue, according to *Josephus* (13), signifies *water*; and *yses*, or *ises*, signifies *preserved*; and so *Mo-yses* one preserved out of the water; but it is more likely, that the word *Moseh* is derived from the *Hebrew* משה *massah*, which signifies to draw out; and is taken in that sense by the psalmist, *Ps.* xviii. 17, ימשני ממים רבים, *he shall draw me out of many waters.* Which verb might probably be common to the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* tongues, both in sound and signification (14).

(N) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us (15), that *Moses* was taught arithmetic, geometry, physic, music, and hieroglyphics, otherwise called enigmatical philosophy: to which *Philo* adds (16) astronomy, which he learned of the *Chaldeans*, and the *Assyrian* characters from the *Assyrians*; and that they sent for the best masters from *Greece*, to instruct him in all liberal arts and sciences; but that was not a time for the *Egyptians*, who excelled the rest of the world in all sorts

(12) *Ubi sup.* (13) *Vid. sup. vol.* i. *p.* 349, (H). (14) *Simler. Osiander in loc. Villet in Exod. c.* ii. *quæst.* 17. (15) *Clem. Alex. lib.* i. (16) *Philo in vit. Mosis.*

of

poſe, that his parents had ſo well inſtructed him in their religion, and taken ſuch care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other uſe of the education which the princeſs gave him, than to confirm himſelf more and more againſt the ſuperſtitions and idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and to make himſelf fit to anſwer thoſe ends for which he ſeemed deſigned by Providence. It was this noble motive which made him ſympathize with the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, and prefer the reproachful and deſpiſed name of *Iſraelite* to all the pomp and glory of *Pharaoh*'s court [r]. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to viſit and commiſerate them; and, where it was in his power, to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion, though at the hazard of his own life: for, having obſerved, one day, an *Egyptian* uſing an *Hebrew* with ſome uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of thoſe cruel taſk-maſters whom *Pharaoh* had ſet over the *Jewiſh* ones, and who uſed to puniſh them upon the leaſt default of thoſe that were under their inſpection; *Moſes* was ſo exaſperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about, and, ſeeing nobody near, fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcaſe in the ſand. If what *Joſephus* tells us [s] be true, that he had before this time been at the head of *Pharaoh*'s troops, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful campaigns againſt the *Ethiopians*, who had ravaged and plundered ſome provinces of *Egypt* (O), we need not wonder at his martial ſpirit

He kills an Egyptian.

ſhewing

[r] Hebr. xi. 24, &c. [s] Ant. lib. ii. c. 10.

of learning, to ſend for maſters from *Greece*, which rather ſtood in need of *Egyptian* teachers; ſo that, when *Moſes* is ſaid to have been inſtructed in all the learning of *Egypt*, it plainly implies, that he had the beſt and moſt learned education that the whole world could then give him. If it be aſked, how the *Egyptians* came by all thoſe ſciences, we can only refer the queriſt to what hath been ſaid in a former chapter (17).

(O) *Joſephus* has given us a long detail of ſeveral remarkable particulars of *Moſes*'s life, during the forty years he abode in *Egypt*; but, as they are neither mentioned, nor ſeem at all countenanced, in the text, and are beſides fraught with *Jewiſh* legends, and ſurpriſing miracles, fit only for a *Jewiſh*

(17) *Eupolem ap. Clem. Alexandr. ſtrom. l. i. & ap. Euſeb. præp. l.* ix. c. 26.

creed,

ſhewing itſelf upon ſuch an occaſion: but as we are not ſure, that what this hiſtorian ſays is really fact, ſeeing *Philo*, who hath purpoſely wrote *Moſes*'s life, and had as great opportunities of being informed of all the particulars of it, as *Joſephus* had, is altogether ſilent about it; and *Moſes* himſelf is ſo far from mentioning any ſuch warlike proweſs, that he rather deſcribes himſelf as a man of the utmoſt meekneſs and patience; we ſhall be forced to ſuppoſe, that he was ſtirred up to this deed by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by heaven to be the deliverer of *Iſrael*. This ſeems to be hinted at by St. *Stephen*[t], and we may probably ſuppoſe, that the injury done to the *Hebrew* was of ſuch a nature, that it either deſerved death, or could not be prevented, but by killing of the *Egyptian*. However that be, *Moſes* was not ſo ſafe as he thought; for, endeavouring ſoon after to compoſe a difference between two *Hebrews*, whoſe cruel ſlavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the moſt guilty of the two, upbraiding him with the murder, aſked him, Whether he deſigned to kill him, as he had done the *Egyptian* (P)? Finding therefore that the fact

[t] Acts vii. 25.

creed, we ſhall refer our reader to the book itſelf, which is in every-body's hands (17). Only, from what he relates of *Moſes*'s vaſt ſucceſs againſt the *Ethiopians*, his ſtratagem to deſtroy the firy ſerpents, and to conduct *Pharaoh*'s army through a long and wild deſert, and other ſuch ſurpriſing events, if they were really done by him, we may venture to infer, that there were three principal motives why *Pharaoh* and his people ſought *Moſes*'s death; namely, 1. Their envy at his great ſucceſs, and conſummate wiſdom, in this warlike expedition. 2. Their jealouſy, leſt he ſhould attempt to make ſome dangerous inſurrection in *Egypt*. And, laſtly, the prophecies which that country was threatened with from an *Hebrew*. To which *Philo* (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the *Hebrews*, whom *Pharaoh* already looked upon as his moſt dangerous enemies.

(P) A *Jeſuit*, who has lately written the hiſtory of the people of GOD, thinks it highly probable, that theſe two quarreling *Hebrews* were that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, mentioned by the apoſtle (19) to have withſtood *Moſes*, becauſe they would not acknowlege him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel,

(17) *See before*, vol. ii. p. 494, & *ſqq*. (18) *Philo in vit. Moſis.*
(19) 2 *Tim.* iii. 8.

though

fact was known, and fearing the effects of *Pharaoh*'s resentment, he was forced to fly into the land of *Midian*; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother. It is supposed however, that he had made use of that princess's interest long before, to get that bloody edict against the *Hebrew* male children recalled, since the sequel of the history shews, that that order had not been put in force for some time. It was well for him, however, he left *Egypt* so soon; for the news of the slain *Egyptian* was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackest circumstances by the jealous courtiers; so that, had he not made all possible haste to get out of his reach, and already passed over those great deserts that lay between *Egypt* and *Midian* (Q), and safely got near hospitable *Jethro*'s habitation, he would infallibly have been put to death. At his arrival in that country he met with much such another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-haran*[s], at the well whither the damsels used to come to water their flocks:

and is forced to fly into Midian.

Year of the flood 817. Bef. Chr. 1531.

[s] Gen. xxix. 9.

though God had made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think so is, that their names are *Hebrew* ones; for which reason he thinks, that they could not be the *Egyptian* magicians, whom *Pharaoh* made use of in opposition to *Moses*: but, in order to make these names *Hebrew*, he must, with some *Jews*, call them *Jochanan* and *Mambri*, or *Jonah* and *Jambri* (21); but we shall shew, in the sequel of this history, that these two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians, who mimicked several of *Moses*'s miracles, tho' they could not follow him throughout.

(Q) We must take care to distinguish this land of *Midian*, of which an account has been already given (22), from another of that name, whose chief city was also called *Midian*, and might be a colony of the other, which was situate by *Arnon* and *Areopolis*, according to St. *Jerom*, who tells us, the ruins of it were still to be seen in his days (23); whereas this, which *Moses* went to, was in *Arabia Petræa*, whose metropolis was called *Petra*, not far from mount *Horeb*, where he kept *Jethro*'s flocks (24).

(20) *Berruyer histoir. du peuple de Dieu*, tom. ii. p. 25. (21) *Buxtorf lexic. talmudic. Fabric. de apocryph. Vet. Test.* (22) *Vid. sup.* vol. ii. p. 150, & *seqq.* *See also* vol. iii. p. 201, & *seqq.* (23) *Hieron. loc. Hebraic.* (24) *Exod.* iii. 1.

an

an account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the history of the *Midianites* [s].

How he spent his time in those forty years retirement, save that he kept *Jethro*'s flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Those who suppose, that he wrote the book of *Job* during this interval, have certainly this strong argument on their side, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; otherwise it were absurd to suppose, that either *Job*, or his friends, considering what kindred and country they were of, could be either so ignorant of the wonders, which GOD had wrought in favour of that oppressed people, or so forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the strongest terms, during their long and intricate controversy about the various dispensations of providence. And indeed, were not *Job* so often mentioned by *Ezekiel* [t], with *Noah* and *Daniel*, much might be said for those who look upon this history as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpose to comfort the afflicted *Israelites* under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of such a supposition.

WE have formerly promised in the history of *Edom* [u], to give some account of the genealogy of this holy man, and of the author of his history; and, as some of our readers have since expressed a desire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that subject, we shall beg leave to subjoin them here in few words.

A digression concerning Job.

THE most antient monument we have concerning the genealogy of *Job*, and which has been received and allowed by *Aristeas*, *Philo*, *Polyhistor* [w], and several antient fathers of the *Greek* and *Latin* church [x], is an addition to that history, which is to be met with at the end of the *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Vulgate* versions, and affirmed to have been taken from the antient *Syriac* one, to this purpose; That *Job* dwelt upon the confines of *Idumea* and *Arabia*; that his first name was *Jobab*; and that he married an *Arabian*, by whom he had a son named *Ennon*. As for *Job*, he was the son of *Zarah*, and the fifth in descent from *Abraham* by *Esau*, and reigned in *Idumea*. The

[s] Exod. ii. pass. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 153, & seqq.
[t] Ezek. xiv. pass. [u] Gen. xxxvi. p. tot. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 170. [w] Apud EUSEB. præp. l. ix. c. 25. [x] Vid. FRED. SPANHEIM. in vit. Job. c. iv. MERCER. PINEDA, DIEG. de STUNICA, & al. comm. in Job.

order

order of the kings that reigned before and after him, is as follows: *Balac* the ſon of *Beor* reigned in the city of *Denabah*; after him reigned *Job*, called alſo *Jobab*; who was ſucceeded by *Aſom*, prince of *Teman*; his ſucceſſor *Adad*, the ſon of *Barad*, was he who overthrew the *Midianites* in the plains of *Moab*; the name of his city was *Jethem*. *Job*'s friends, who came to viſit him, were *Eliphaz*, king of *Teman*, of *Eſau*'s poſterity; *Bildad*, king of the *Zeucheans*; and *Zophaz*, king of the *Mineans*. Thus far the additions, which have been preſerved by *Theodotion*, in his verſion of the book of *Job* [y]. If this genealogy be admitted, and that *Job* is the ſame with *Jobab*, mentioned in *Geneſis* [z] and *Chronicles* [a], it will follow, that he and *Moſes* were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from *Iſaac*, thus;

Iſaac,

Jacob,	*Eſau*,
Levi,	*Reuel*,
Amram,	*Zerah*,
Moſes,	*Jobab* or *Job*.

It will likewiſe be plain, that he reigned in the city of *Denaba* or *Dinhabah*; for ſo the author of the firſt book of the *Chronicles* expreſly affirms [b] (A). Thoſe who embrace the notion that *Job* is the *Jobab* mentioned in thoſe

[y] Vid. Calm. diſſert. in Job.
[z] Gen. xxxvi. 32.
[a] 1 Chron. i. 43, 44.
[b] Ibid.

(A) But how to find ſuch a city in the land of *Uz*, ſeeing *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* place *Dinabah* in the land of *Moab*, between *Areopolis* and *Heſhbon* (1), whereas they affirm the land of *Uz*, or the place where *Job* dwelt, to have been, according to the antient tradition of the inhabitants of *Paleſtine*, the city of *Aſtaroth Kernaim*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, upon the brook *Jaabok*, between *Mahanaim* and *Edrai* (2), is not eaſy to reconcile by any other way, but by ſuppoſing that tradition to have been ill-founded; which is far from improbable, conſidering the fondneſs people had for ſuch eminent places, and the conſtant fluctuation, which the boundaries of thoſe places were liable to, and of which we have given many ſignal inſtances in our geography of thoſe countries.

(1) *Loc. Hebr.* (2) *Id. ibid.*

two

two places of Scripture above quoted, and consequently, that he was cotemporary with *Moses*, have with much straining pumped out two passages in his history, which, they pretend, make express mention of *Pharaoh*'s pride and overthrow, and of the *Israelites* passing through the *Red Sea*. The first is, where *Eliphaz* says of the wicked, that *trouble and anguish shall make him afraid, and prevail against him, as a king ready to battle*[e]: which words they apply to *Pharaoh*'s pride, and hardness of heart; though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after those two verses, that *Job*'s friend speaks only of the wicked in general, such as he supposed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where *Job* says, that GOD *divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding smiteth through the proud*[f]. And this they think to allude to the passing of the *Red Sea*, and to *Pharaoh*'s overthrow in it. But here, besides that the word in the original doth more properly signify to *still* than to *divide*, it is plain from the tenor of the whole chapter, that *Job* speaks only of the wonderful power and providence of GOD in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Besides, it is hardly probable, as we observed a little before, that, had this conference between *Job* and his friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the *Israelites*, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that *Job*'s desire of vindicating his own integrity did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance of the *Israelites*, were a full confutation of what his friends alleged against him, that if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, GOD would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him[g]. Neither do we see any necessity for making *Job* to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the *Israelites*, in order to adjust the genealogy above-mentioned; since it will be sufficient to suppose, that those four generations, on *Esau*'s side, were, by some few years, shorter than those on *Jacob*'s; which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives; and then it will be possible enough for *Job* to have seen an end of all his sufferings, before *Moses* left the land of *Midian*; in which case he, being justly supposed to be the

[e] Job xv. 24, 25. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 12. [g] See particularly chap. xxii. 15, & alib. pass.

most

moſt antient writer, he has been likewiſe thought the author of his hiſtory, by the majority of learned men. That his poetic genius was equal to this excellent performance, thoſe few canticles, which he has left us in the *Pentateuch*, will not permit us to doubt of [s]. However, there is one main objection againſt this notion, which is, that if *Jobab* be the ſame with *Job*, and he cotemporary with *Moſes*, it will be impoſſible for the latter to have outlived him by ſo many years, as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous poſterity; for it is ſaid that *Job* lived an hundred and forty years after his ſufferings were ended, and that he ſaw his ſons children to the fourth generation; whereas *Moſes* lived but forty years in the land of *Midian*, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by ſuppoſing, that the three or four laſt verſes of the book were added afterwards by ſome inſpired perſon, in order to make the hiſtory complete; in the ſame manner as *Joſhua*, or ſome other, added the account of *Moſes*'s death and burial at the end of *Deuteronomy*: but how far this ſuppoſition may be allowed, we chooſe to ſubmit to our reader's judgment (B).

We

[s] See before, p. 193.

(B) Before we cloſe this digreſſion, we ſhall beg leave to ſay ſomething of the book itſelf. Though ſome learned men have thought it to have been written originally in *Syriac* or *Arabic*, either by *Job* himſelf, or by one of his friends (1); yet it is now univerſally allowed to have been written in *Hebrew*. What has given birth to the former notion, is its being ſo blended with *Syriac* and *Arabic* expreſſions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly underſtood (2). It is juſtly ſuppoſed to be written in verſe, from the loftineſs of the ſtyle, the ſublimeneſs of the thoughts, the livelineſs and energy of expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and unconfined. Thoſe who have been moſt converſant in it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critic, indeed (3), has not ſcrupled to tax him with oſtentation, and with making a vain ſhew of profane learning, and poetic fiction, and for putting ſuch expreſſions in the mouth of that holy man, as

(1) *Vid. Calm. diſſ. in Job.* (2) *Hieron. præfat. in Job.* (3) *Theod. Mopſueſt. Vid. Synod. V. Oecum. collat.* iv. *art.* 63.

WE return now to our *Jewish* lawgiver in the land of *Midian*, whom we may reasonably suppose to have had such convincing reasons to look upon himself as the deliverer of that afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and think the time long, till he saw that glorious promised deliverance happily fulfilled. But this long delay seems rather to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if GOD had either made choice of some other instrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their sins to suspend it for some longer time. For when GOD was pleased to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon mount *Horeb*, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the bush not having one leaf consumed, tho' all over in a bright flame (R), to assure him that he was the GOD of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*,

GOD appears to him in the burning bush.

are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being, in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt, than to edify, his readders. But it is certain, that that learned author was only acquainted with the *Greek* version of it, which abounds, it must be owned, with expressions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would easily have acquitted it of such an unjust imputation. Besides, it must be remembered, that the eastern nations had a much more lively, strong, and passionate way of expressing their thoughts than we; so that it is impossible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of those hyperbolical expressions, without lowering them very much from their literal signification. The *Jews* have added several particulars to the history of *Job*, such as that he was a king and high-priest in *Idumea*, and that he had married *Dinah*, *Jacob*'s daughter (4); which latter can hardly be credited, unless we suppose him to have been of much older date than *Moses*. The easterns, especially the *Arabians*, have very much improved upon them, according to custom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them: those who are desirous to be informed in that particular, may consult *Herbelot*'s *bibliotheca orientalis* (5).

(R) The time when this vision was seen by *Moses*, St. *Stephen* (6) tells us, was about forty years after his flight out of *Egypt*, that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for so old he was, when he came and stood before *Pha-*

(4) *Chald. Par. it. Maim. more nevoch. & al. alt. Arab.* (5) *Bibl. orient. sub* (6) *Acts* vii. 23.

raoh;

Jacob, that ſpoke to him, and commanded him to go into *Egypt*, and to execute his deſigns there; *Moſes* did not leave one plea untried to be excuſed from the difficult taſk, whilſt GOD was graciouſly pleaſed to diſpel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him ſuch promiſes of his miraculous aſſiſtance, as would have emboldened the moſt fearful, which was not *Moſes*'s caſe.

THE divine viſion (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the *Iſraelites* groaned, were grown to

raoh (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age, that, going to viſit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go *ab aula ad caulam*, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is ſuppoſed to have written the books of *Job* and *Geneſis*, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41).

(S) We need not repeat here what has been ſaid before, about theſe apparitions, whether they were angels ſpeaking in the perſon of GOD, which we think we have ſufficiently confuted, or GOD himſelf, or, as the moſt received opinion is, CHRIST the SON of GOD. All that need be added here is, that this, who appears now in the buſh, is the ſame who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the *Iſraelites* in the deſert; that is, not an angel, or GOD the FATHER, but CHRIST himſelf, as St. *Paul* affirms (42); for neither the FATHER nor HOLY GHOST are ever called by the name of angel, *i. e.* a meſſenger, or perſon ſent; whereas the SON is called the *angel of the covenant* by the prophet *Malachi* (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for thoſe who think, not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to gueſs, that it was *Michael* that appeared here, as he did afterwards to *Joſhua* (46), and to *Daniel* (47); it is plain, their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apoſtle, but even abſurd, if not impious. For can they prove, that *Michael* was a created angel, ſeeing that name ſignifies one like unto GOD, and can only be applicable to CHRIST? Can a created angel be ſtyled the captain of the LORD's hoſts, as he is called in *Joſhua*, or the prince of the people of GOD, as he is in *Daniel*; which office and title, the apoſtle tells us (48), belongs only to CHRIST, who is the Captain or Prince of our ſalvation? Did ever any angel ſuffer himſelf to be wor-

(40) *Exod.* vii. 7. (41) *Perrer. ex Philon. Villet. & al.* (42) 1 *Cor.* x. 4. (43) *Malach.* iii. 1. (44) *Theodor. Oſiand. Simler, & al.* (45) *Aug. de Trinit. lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *& tract.* 3. *in Johan. n.* 17. 18. *Hieron. epiſt. ad Galat.* iii. *Greg. moral. lib.* xxviii. *c.* 1. (46) *Joſh.* v. *paſſ.* (47) *Dan.* x. *paſſ.* (48) *Hebr.* ii. 10.

Commands him to return to Egypt;

to such an height, and the cruelties of their enemies so enormous, that the time was now come, both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promised land, as a recompence for their long patience and sufferings; bidding him at the same time go to *Pharaoh*, and in his name demand their dismission; and assuring him, that those who sought his life, were now all dead, and that he had nothing to fear from the *Egyptians*. *Moses* at first made several weak excuses, and at last objected, that he very much doubted whether the *Israelites* had not so far forgot the GOD of their fathers, that, when he came to acquaint them with his commission from him, they would be apt to ask what his name was; in which case he would be at a loss what answer to make to them (T). Here GOD was pleased to answer a question, which he

shiped, as that which appeared to *Joshua* did? Supposing, therefore, that it was the same that appeared to *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Daniel*, as *Perrerius* thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel, or ministring spirit; on the contrary, it will be plain, that it was CHRIST the King of men and angels, blessed for ever (50).

(T) The cabbalistical *Jews*, and, after them, *Josephus* (51), and some *Romanists* (52), think that *Moses* did not ask for the name of GOD, but for the true pronunciation of it, which they say had been lost through the wickedness of mankind: for which reason the former affirm, that the word עלם *holam*, used by GOD presently after (53), being written without a ו *vau*, should not be rendered *for ever*, but *hid*, from the root עלם *halam*, *to hide*, not considering, that, if that was the case, it should be written עלום *halum*, and not *gholam*. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the *Jews* called *shem hamphoraseh*, the unutterable name, which *Josephus*, in the place just now quoted, says, was never known or heard of, before GOD told it to *Moses*; and adds, that he dares not so much as mention it: for which reason they never pronounce it, but use the words *Adonai* or *Elohim*, or plainly the word *hashem*, *the name*, to express it. Thus, in their letters and common discourse, instead of saying, The LORD bless or protect you, they say, *The Name bless you*, &c. Not but their high-priest did pronounce it *Jehovah* once a year, on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, to the last destruction of the

(49) *Perrer. & al. Ant. lib.* ii. *c.* 12. *de Dieu, tom.* ii. *p.* 36. (50) *Villet. in cap.* iii. *Exod. quæst.* 36. (51) (52) *Genebrard. Bellarmin. Serruyer hist. du peup.* (53) *Exod.* iii. 15.

temple;

he had formerly refuſed to *Jacob* [r], though in ſuch terms as might eaſily make him ſenſible of the irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of it; for, as *Juſtin Martyr* rightly obſerves,

[r] Gen. xxxii. 29.

temple; but they had but few diſciples near them that could learn its pronounciation; and, during the time of the bleſſing, in which this name was repeated, the prieſts and levites ſung louder than ordinary, that none elſe might hear it. But even then they were far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the *Tetrogrammaton*; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might ſhake heaven and earth with it, work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt ſecrets of the Deity; upon which account the *Talmud* has left a moſt horrid curſe againſt thoſe that ſhall dare to utter it, becauſe they think the angels themſelves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, thoſe who think that *Jehovah* is the right, pronunciation, are far enough from being ſure of it. It is plain, that the antients wrote it very differently from them. *Sanchoniathan* ſpelis it *Jevo* (1); *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Macrobius* (3), *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (4), St. *Jerom* (5), and *Origen* (6), pronounced it *Jao*. The *Samaritans*, and, after them, *Epiphanius* (7), and *Theodoret* (8), *Jave* or *Jabe*. Others of the antients write it *Jaboh*, *Javo*, *Jaon*, *Jaho*, and *Jahoæ*. Among the moderns, *Capellus* is for pronouncing it *Javo*; *Druſius*, *Jave*; *Hottinger*, *Jehva*; *Mercer*, *Jehovah*; *Caſtalio*, *Jovah*; and *Le Clerc*, *Jawoh* or *Javoh*. Something like theſe the *Romans* had in their *Jovis*, to which *Varro* ſeems to allude, when he ſays, *Deum Judæorum eſſe Jovem*, that *Jove* was the God of the *Jews*, as St. *Auſtin* alleges out of him, in the firſt book of his defence of the goſpel, c. 22. The *Moors* likewiſe call God *Juba*, or *Jubah*, and the *Mohammedans*, *Hou*, which, with them, ſignifies the ſame as *Jehovah*, *i. e.* he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, paſſes, and the like, and often repeat it in their prayers. Some of their devotees will ſometimes repeat that word ſo often, and with ſuch quickneſs and vehemence, that they drop down with giddineſs. However, it is plain, that the four letters, of which that great name conſiſts, may be pronounced in all the abovementioned ways, and ſeveral others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

(1) *Sanchoniat. ap. Euſeb. præp. lib.* x. c. 9. (2) *Diod. Sic. biblioth. lib.* ii. (3) *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* i. c. 18. (4) *Clem. Alex. ſtromat. lib.* v. (5) *Hieron. or ſome other under his name, in Pſal.* viii. (6) *Orig. contr. Celſ. lib.* vi. (7) *Epiph. hæreſ.* 40. (8) *Theodoret. in Exod. quæſt.* 25. (9) *Herbelot biblioth. orient. p.* 460, *ſub voc. Hou, & p.* 326, *ſub Eſma.*

ſerves, names are given only to ſhew the difference of things; whereas GOD being one, and there being none other

As to the uttering of it, beſides what we have already obſerved out of the *Talmud* and *Joſephus*, we have ſtill another witneſs of the *Jewiſh* exceſſive and even ſuperſtitious reſpect for that word, *viz. Philo*; who affirms (10), that after the ſtoning of the blaſphemer to death in the wilderneſs (11), GOD commanded *Moſes* to publiſh a new law, that *whoſoever ſhould curſe the* LORD, *ſhould be guilty of ſin; and whoſoever ſhould pronounce the name of* GOD, *ſhould be put to death*; which is the verſion which the *Septuagint* and *Theodoret* have given us of the 15th and 16th verſes of the above-quoted chapter; whereas in the original it is, *whoſoever curſeth* אלהיו *his* GOD *or gods, ſhall bear his own ſin; and whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the name of* יהוה, *the* LORD, *ſhall ſurely be put to death*. This law, continues *Philo*, is full of the profoundeſt wiſdom, the firſt part of which forbids the curſing or blaſpheming the falſe gods of the *Gentiles*; and the ſecond, the uttering of the name of GOD in a vain or looſe manner, or by way of ornament to our ſpeech; which he thinks deſerves the worſt of puniſhments. But, as to the firſt part of this law, according to *Philo*'s expoſition, that author ſeems to have forgot, that *Jeremiah* commands the *Jews* (12), a little before they were carried into the *Babyloniſh* captivity, that, when they came thither, they ſhould not only ſpeak againſt the gods of *Babylon*, but even denounce ruin and deſtruction againſt them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native *Hebrew*, which was not underſtood there, but in plain downright *Chaldee*, the language of that country. And it is obſervable, that this verſe is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the *Chaldee*, all the reſt being in *Hebrew*. But, to return from this digreſſion, it is not eaſy to determine, whether the ſeventy had loſt the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purpoſely concealed it under the name of Κύριος LORD, or whether they did make uſe of that *Greek* word at all. For, firſt, they could not but be ſenſible, that the word יהוה was no relative word, as Κύριος or LORD is; for though we can properly ſay Κύριός μου, Κύριος ὑμῶν, &c. *i. e. my* LORD, *our* LORD, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas *Elohim* and *Adonai* have, as *Elohai*, *Elohenû*, &c. for which reaſon even St. *Jerom* chooſes to render it by *Adonai*, in *Exodus* vi. ver. 3. *& nomen meum* Adonai *non indicavi eis*, where it is in the *Hebrew* ובשמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם,

(10) *Philo in vit. Moſis.*
(12) *Jerem.* x. 11.

(11) *Levit.* xxiv. 11, *& ſeqq.*

but

other but he, there needs no name to distinguish him [u]. GOD therefore said to him, I AM THAT I AM; and bid

[u] Dial. cont. Tryph.

but by my name Jehovah *was I not known to them.* Those versions, therefore, which have rendered that word by *Dominus*, as the *Vulgate*, or LORD, as our own, don't seem to have sufficiently attended to what we have just now observed; for יהוה, not being a relative one, ought not to have been rendered by one that is so. The *French Geneva* translation, probably after the apocryphal book of *Baruch*, which uses the term *everlasting* for it (12), hath made use of the word *l'Eternel*, the Eternal Being; which name, in the first place, is not relative (for we cannot properly say, *Mon Eternel, vôtre Eternel*, &c.); and, secondly, expresses the etymon of *Jehovah* far better than Κύριος, *Dominus*, or LORD, as we shall shew by-and-by. But, secondly, it is very probable, that the *Septuagint* left this, as well as some other names of GOD, such as *Jah*, *Sadai*, *Zabaoth*, &c. untranslated, till the second revisal of that version; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the *Samaritan* characters (as being less understood by the rest of the world than the *Hebrew* or *Assyrian* ones were), or under the *Greek* capitals ΠΙΠΙ, which bore a resemblance to the four letters of יהוה, and yet had a sound so different from it, that they would never lead the heathen reader to the true pronunciation of it. St. *Jerom* (13), *Origen* (14), and *Eusebius* (15), assure us that they had seen copies of the *Septuagint*, written in the two above-mentioned ways; and that, even in their time, the *Jews* strove to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old *Samaritan* letters; their reason for which was, lest that venerable name should be abused by the heathen to ill purposes. Though *Origen* adds, that these precautions did not prove so effectual, but that they made use of it in their exorcisms, in their charms against diseases, and other superstitious rites (16). And *Clement* of *Alexandria* informs us (17), that those *Egyptians*, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the sun, did wear the name of *Jaou* about their middle. We find likewise, in some magic verses against the gout, mentioned by *Trallian*, the names *Jas* or *Jaath*. Something like this we meet with in *Pythagoras*'s golden verses, where there is an oath by Τετρακτύν, *i. e.* by him whom whose name is spelt with four letters (18); as also

(12) *Vid.* ch. iv. ver. 22. & *alib. pass.* (13) *Hierom. præfat. in lib. Reg.* & *in Ezek.* ix. (14) *Orig. fragm. in palæograph. Græc. lib.* ii. c. 1. (15) *Euseb. in chronic. ad an.* 4740. (16) *Orig. cont. Celsum, lib.* i. (17) *Clem. Alex. stromat. lib.* v. (18) *Vid. Selden de diis Syr. syntagm.* ii. c. 1.

bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had sent him to them; that he was the GOD of their fathers, of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and

the inscription *Tu es*, in that famous frontispiece of the temple of *Delphos*, mentioned by *Eusebius* (19), which alludes to the *Hebrew* name of GOD. Such was also that of the *Egyptians*, I AM, written over one of theirs (20). *Cicero* gives an instance (21) of some names of the heathen gods, which they did not dare to pronounce; to which *Lucan* adds, that the very naming of them would have shaken the earth (22).

There remains, that we inquire into the signification of the name יהוה, in which we shall not find such a dissonancy among expositors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For, first, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root היה *hajah*, he has been, and denotes GOD's self-existence, and eternal nature. Accordingly, in this place we are annotating upon, he calls himself אהיה אשר אהיה *Ehjeh asher ehjeh*, I am that I am; or rather, I am because I am: where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, is applicable to the present or perfect tense; and implies his immutability, as continuing the same that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewise more than probable, that GOD chooses to express himself in the future tense, to shew that he is the only Being that can truly say, I shall or will be what I am, &c. (24). Neither was this name unknown to the wiser sort of heathens, as we have seen by some of their inscriptions, to which we shall add one more mentioned by *Egubinus*, written on the doors of the *Egyptian* temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of GOD; *viz. I am whatsoever was, is, and shall be.* According to which, *Thales* of *Milesium*, being asked what GOD was, replied, *that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end.* Thus *Plato* truly says (27), that nothing really exists but that which is immutable; for which, and some other of his wise sayings, he is supposed to have read *Moses*'s books, or conversed with some of his disciples when he was in *Egypt*; which is not improbable, seeing *Aristobulus*, who flourished in the *Maccabees* time, writes to *Ptolemy Philometor*, that *Moses*'s books having been translated into *Greek* in *Alexander*'s time, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* had taken many things from them (28).

(19) *Euseb. præpar. lib.* xi. *c.* 1. (20) *Plutarch. tract. de inscript. forib. temp. Delph. c.* 2. (21) *Cic. de nat. deor. lib.* iii. (22) *Lucan. l.* vi. *v.* 744, 745. *ap. Calmet. sub voc. Jehovah. Villet. in Exod. c.* vi. *& al.* (23) *Greg. Nazianz. homil. in loc. S. August. in loc. Rev.* i. 8. (24) *Simler, Villet. & al.* (27) *Plato in Timæo.* (28) *Ap. Perrot. Villet. & al.*

Some

and *Jacob*; and that he would be remembered and acknowleged by that name throughout all generations, as their

Some divines, and in particular our learned *Ainſworth*, think, that *Jehovah* is the participle of *hajah* in *piel*; and that it doth not only ſignify to be, but to cauſe to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewiſe his faithfulneſs and truth, are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and ſure to make good his promiſes (29). Upon all theſe accounts, therefore, *Jehovah* is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of God, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of theſe ſenſes; whereas thoſe of *Elohim*, *Adonai*, *Gibbor*, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

As for the reaſons given both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians* againſt pronouncing it; *viz.* that the right reading was loſt either during the captivity, or at any other time or place, and that it is unlawful to ſubſtitute any other inſtead of it; it may be ſafely anſwered, that the deſign of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind, of thoſe things of which they are but types, the differences will be very ſmall, whether the pronunciation be right or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much miſtaken, whatever theſe gentlemen ſay, if in this caſe the pronouncing the word *Jehovah* is not much ſafer than their pronouncing it *Adonai*, which, being a word of a vaſtly inferior ſignification, and applicable to every man that has any maſtery or ſuperiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with leſs awe and reſpect. This is ſo true in fact, that one may obſerve thoſe ſcrupulous gentlemen, who would be ready to ſwoon at the hearing of the name *Jehovah*, make no ſcruple to ſtile their adverſaries, *Jehovaiſts*. The main text which terrifies the *Jews* againſt uttering this ſacred name, is that of *Leviticus* (31), where it is ſaid, *he that blaſphemeth* (which they read *nameth*) *the name of* God, *ſhall be ſtoned*: where the word נקב *nakab*, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies to pierce, and is therefore often uſed for writing, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the ſpeaking it: for *nakab* never ſignifies to utter, unleſs it be in a bad ſenſe, as *curſing* or *blaſpheming*; and therefore if the prohibition is to be ſtretched beyond that, it muſt be only againſt doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a leſſer degree of profaning;

(29) *Simler, Outran, Burratius, Ainſworth, & al. Jun. Munſt. &c.* (30) *Perer.* (31) *Levit.* xxiv. 16.

but,

their great redeemer and deliverer: not, continued he, that *Pharaoh* will let you go at your first or second asking, nor indeed at all, till I have convinced him both of my justice and power, by the terrible punishment I shall send upon him and his land, for their oppression of my people: nor shall the *Hebrews* come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel servitude; for I will inspire the *Egyptians* with such sentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they shall part with their sumptuous raiments, and choicest jewels, to them, and make them thus far amends for their past labours and hardships [x] (X).

and to bring his people out of bondage.

After such ample assurances, one would hardly expect, that *Moses* would have started any new difficulties, at least without receiving some severe rebuke for it: nevertheless, he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly dispelled; he knew the temper of the *Israelites* too well, not to foresee, that they would most likely call his mission in question. He therefore begged to be

[x] Exod. iii. p. tot.

but, as they allow, that the name may be lawfully written, though the word *nakab* do signify also to write; nay, since they allow, that the high-priest may and doth actually use it in that public blessing, which is prescribed by God himself (33), Jehovah *bless thee, and keep thee*, &c. it is plain the prohibition is not against naming, but against blaspheming, or using it with contempt or disdain, or to an ill purpose, as to curse our neighbours, and the like; as the word *kallal* used in the foregoing part of this prohibition sufficiently shews (34).

(X) That some retaliation was due, in strict justice, from the *Egyptians* to the *Hebrews*, for the great services they had done to them, is what can hardly be denied: however, we do not pretend to answer all the objections, which have been raised against this action. We think it sufficient to say, that the former were spoiled with the same justice for their unheard of oppression to the latter, as the *Canaanites*, and other nations, were destroyed for their abominable wickedness. God indeed could alone appoint those punishments, and make use of what instruments he pleased to inflict them; but, since *Moses* gave sufficient proof of his being authorized by God, we cannot see where the injustice is in either case, nor the pretended ill tendency of such a precedent, since it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no case to be followed, unless it be evidently commanded by the same divine authority.

(33) *Numb.* vi. 24.

(34) *Simler, Villet. Munst. & al. in loc.*

informed what he must do in such a case; and God was pleased to clear this doubt also by two miracles, which he wrought in his presence. The first was by turning his rod into a frightful serpent, and then into a rod again. The second was by smiting one of his hands with leprosy, upon his pulling it out of his bosom, and then healing it again by the same way; adding moreover, that if the working of these two miracles before the *Israelites* did not give a sufficient sanction to his message, he should then have liberty to try the success of a third, by taking some water out of the *Nile*, which, upon its being spilt on the ground, would immediately turn the river into blood[t].

Moses had still, as he thought, one material objection to make; namely, an impediment in his speech, which he said rendered him unfit to speak either before *Pharaoh* and his court, or even to the *Israelites*. But this also the Divine Being was pleased to remove by telling him, that his brother *Aaron*, who was now by his appointment to meet him, should be his interpreter both to *Pharaoh*, and to the *Hebrews*[u]. There was certainly something very surprising in this reluctancy of *Moses*, as well as in the patience with which God heard him: yet when he found, that he had removed all the obstacles which his diffidence had suggested to him, he could not forbear having recourse to prayers, earnestly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the *Hebrews* more fit for the work than himself, to make choice of some other to execute his command. Had *Moses* been less sincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakness of his, so little to his credit; and which nothing could excuse or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confession of it. Being therefore afraid, lest he should incur the divine displeasure by a further refusal, he made the best of his way towards *Midian*, in order to prepare himself for his journey, and to meet his brother *Aaron*.

Moses begs to be excused.

Obeys at last, and leaves Midian.

Whether he acquainted *Jethro* with his commission, or, as he tells us[x], only expressed a desire to go and visit his brethren in *Egypt*, he easily obtained his dismission; and, taking his wife *Zipporah*, and his two sons, with him, the least of which, being too young to walk, he set upon

[t] Exod. iv. 9. [u] Ibid. ver. 13. ad 17. [x] Ibid. ver. 18.

an ass; with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly for *Egypt*.

Aaron's children during his brother's absence.

DURING *Moses*'s retreat in *Midian*, *Aaron* his brother had married *Elizabeth*, the sister of *Naasson*, both descended from *Judah* by their father *Aminadab*, the son of

(Z) Concerning this staff, from which *Zipporah* had her name, the *Jews* tell us a wonderful story; *viz.* that it grew in *Jethro*'s garden, was called *zaphir*, and had the *Tetragrammaton* written upon it: that it had been created in paradise on the sixth day, and brought away by *Adam*; and had passed from him to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, and from him to *Pharaoh*: that *Jethro* had been one of his mildest counsellors, and daily advised him to lighten the burden of the *Israelites*, whilst *Balaam*, courtier-like, pestered him with contrary counsels: that, being forced to fly the court, and retire into the land of *Midian*, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and stuck it in his garden, where it took such deep root, that no force could pluck it up: that when *Moses* came first to him, and acquainted him with what happened to him in *Egypt*, *Jethro* caused him to be closely confined, intending to send him back to the king of *Egypt*. In the mean time *Zipporah* being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he consented that he should be set at liberty, and marry her, if he could pluck up the *zaphir* rod which grew in his garden; and at the same time issued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant, should have his daughter in marriage: that immediately a great number of lusty men came and tried their strength in vain; for *Moses* alone was the man that could perform the feat, which he did with wonderful ease, by virtue of the name of GOD, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and so obtained *Jethro*'s daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in *Egypt* (14). These absurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to shew into what monstrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plainest truths. Were those reverend gentlemens heads as long as their beards, they could never think, that such stories can be of any credit either to their great lawgiver, or to the inventors of them. Neither have the *Arabians* been more sparing of their fabulous conceits of *Jethro* and his rod: but, as they are still more absurd than the *Jewish* ones, we shall refer our readers for them to the author quoted in the margin (15).

(14) *RR. Tanchum. Mebit. & Scip. Sgambat. l. ii. arch. Vet. Test.*
(15) *Herbelot's bibl. orient. jub voc. Schoaib.*

Ezron.

Ezron. He had already had four ſons by her, *viz*. *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* [y]; the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon named *Phineas*, by a daughter of *Phutiel* [z]. This was the ſtate of *Aaron*'s family, when GOD commanded him to go and meet his brother [a]; but before he could reach the mount of GOD (*Horeb*), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to *Moſes*, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have of it, being but darkly expreſſed in the original, and having been miſunderſtood, and miſtranſlated in moſt verſions, and particularly our own, we ſhall venture to depart from it, where the original, and the authority of thoſe, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out, not forgetting to make our explication good by proper marginal notes.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

Year of flood 857. Bef. Chr. 1491.

MOSES was upon his firſt day's journey, as is probably ſuppoſed by the ſmall diſtance between *Midian* and *Horeb*, where he afterwards met his brother; when GOD appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all thoſe wonders which he had ſhewed him, before the king of *Egypt*, and to demand of him the diſmiſſion of his people *Iſrael*, whom he calls here, by way of excellency, his firſt-born; aſſuring him that he would be with him, and that in caſe of an obſtinate refuſal, which he foreſaw he would certainly meet with, he would ſlay all the firſt-born of *Egypt*. *Moſes* was juſt arrived at the inn, when he was ſtruck with a terrible diſeaſe (A): he doth not tell

Moſes ſmitten by the angel in the inn.

[y] Exod. vi. 23. [z] Ibid. ver. 25. [a] Ibid. cap. iv. 27.

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted ſomething concerning this adventure, in the hiſtory of *Midian* (20); but reſerved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greateſt part of commentators and expoſitors have ſuppoſed, that *Moſes* was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the caſe of many a meek man; and that ſhe had conceived ſuch an averſion to the ceremony of circumciſion, that he had been forced, for peace and quietneſs, to neglect the performing it upon his youngeſt ſon, till the danger ſhe ſaw her husband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctancy

(20) *Vid. ſupr. vol.* ii. *p.* 154.

and

tell us, whether the divine anger was occasioned by his incumbering himself with a wife and two children, when he

and ill-language, to perform the operation. We shall therefore endeavour to set this matter in a clearer light, and shew, that they have quite mistaken the sense of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill-language in the case; but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum that the solemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could possibly require.

First then, as to the words, *The* LORD *met him at the inn, and sought to slay him*, which the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and some other versions, render (21), *The angel of the* LORD, *&c.* it is plain, that they relate to *Moses*, and not to the child; because, if it had been the latter, *Moses*, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This shews likewise, that the words import no more, than that GOD smote him with some grievous disease, which so disabled him from circumcising the child, that *Zipporah* was forced to do it herself, though otherwise unfit. Those who are acquainted with the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, know that the phrase here used signifies no more. Some antient interpreters have indeed understood it in a different sense; some thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn sword, ready to kill *Moses* (22). Others, among the *Jews*, telling us (23), that the vision was a monstrous large serpent, which swallowed up *Moses*'s body מרושו ועד הגולה from the head to (the place of) circumcision, where he stuck, by which she guessed at the cause of his danger, and, having forthwith circumcised the child with the usual form of חתן דמים לי אתה (which words we mistranslate, *A bloody husband thou art to me*), she observed her husband spewed up again unhurt; upon which she began to exclaim in praise of circumcision, which she saw accompanied with such virtue. All that is worth observing from this *Jewish* comment is, that *Zipporah* expressed no passion against her husband during the whole action, much less in the words she spoke, seeing they were part of a form used in circumcision, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cause of GOD's anger against *Moses*, whatever some antient fathers have thought of it (24); the true reason seems to be the neglect of circumcising the child, since *Moses* was delivered from the danger as soon as *Zipporah* had done it (25).

Thirdly, it is not easy to guess how long, or why, *Moses* deferred the circumcising of

(21) *Pelican. Jun. & al.* (22) *Theodoret. & al. in loc.* (23) *Elshemoth Rab. R. Sal. & al.* (24) *August. serm. de temp.* (25) *D. Kimchi Rupert. Tostat. Perrer. Munst. Villet. & al.*

the

he was ſent upon ſo glorious and important a meſſage, or becauſe he had deferred to circumciſe his youngeſt ſon, either

the child. Thoſe who follow the *Jeruſalem Targum*, which ſays, that *Jethro* and *Zipporah* took offence at it (26), ſeem to forget, that *Jethro* was a *Midianite*, deſcended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*; and conſequently, that circumciſion was moſt probably adopted by them, as it was by the *Iſhmaelites*, and all other deſcendants of that patriarch. Beſides, they are fallen into this notion by miſtaking the words and action of *Zipporah*, and thinking that there was a ſharp diſpute between *Moſes* and her about it; the contrary of which will appear preſently. We omit ſeveral other conjectures equally obſcure and uncertain, to come to inquire into her behaviour and words, after ſhe had performed the ceremony; which have proved the main ſtumbling-block of moſt tranſlations.

For, firſt, they have underſtood it, that ſhe threw the child's foreſkin at his (*Moſes*'s) feet, though the text doth not ſay, whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet; and the words are ſo far from ſignifying flinging, eſpecially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal ſenſe is, ſhe made it touch his feet.

We come now to the words, *A bloody huſband art thou to me*, &c. which one of our learned divines has fully proved not to have been ſpoken to *Moſes*, but the child (27). He very judiciouſly obſerves, that the word חתן *chatan*, which we tranſlate husband, ſignifies only a bridegroom; and it is not likely that *Zipporah* ſhould call him by that name, after having been married ſo long, and having had two children by him; that appellative ceaſing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial ſolemnity were over. Another obſervation he makes is, that this word *chatan* doth properly ſignify a ſon-in-law; and ſo expreſſes not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reaſon it never has any affixed pronoun, unleſs it be with relation to the latter. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the word כלה *calah*, bride, or rather daughter-in-law; it being uſed only with relation to the husband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי *calathi*, my daughter-in-law; but the bridegroom never calls her by that name to ſignify his bride; it being certain, that the *Hebrew* language has no word to expreſs a bridegroom or bride, with reſpect to the relation they bear to each other. It would therefore have been nonſenſe in *Zipporah* to have called him by the name of *chatan*, which neither expreſ-

(26) *Targ. Hieroſ. in loc. Jun. Simler, Pelican. Piſcat. & al.* (27) *Joſ. Med. ſermon on the words.*

ſed

either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaisance to his wife, who might fear, left such an operation should make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. *Zipporah*, however, taking it in the latter sense, made what haste she could to get a sharp stone, with which she cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the same time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumcision.* The ceremony was no sooner over, but *Moses* was restored again, and able to pursue his journey towards mount *Horeb*, whilst his wife took the two children back to her father *Jethro*, resolved to wait there till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her husband.

Zipporah *circumcises her son, and* Moses *is restored.*

sed an old nor a new husband. The question then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the *Hebrew* doctors are best able to help us out, who tells us, that it was the custom of the women to call the circumcised child *chatan*, הנשים לקרא לבן כאשר ומול חתן (33). *Kimchi* says, that it signifies originally one that gives joy, and is therefore used to express the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumcision of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the *Arabians* called the circumcised מחתון *machtun*, or one that is made a *chatan*, in the same manner as we call a baptized child, christened. The words then used by *Zipporah* ought to have been translated, *thou art* (now) *to me a joyful circumcised son.* To which if we add the last observation of the same learned author, that the word לי *li*, which we translate *to me*, doth more properly signify here *by me*, as it doth in a great many other places of Scripture, the sense will be still more plainly this; Thou art now by me made a circumcised child: which was the form of words used in the circumcision, and might be more properly rendered, I do pronounce thee circumcised. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally used in this form, not only to express the usual joy of a child's circumcision, but likewise his admission into the alliance made by God with *Abraham*, and his posterity; in both which senses that word is very fitly applied: and this is so far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. *Mede*, that we find several antient versions expounding it after the very same manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any squabble between *Moses* and his wife, nor any indecency or ill-language used by her.

(33) *Idem ibid. Jonath. & al.*

(34) *D. Kimchi in radic.*

(35) *Chald. Sept.*

In

In the mean time *Moſes* and *Aaron* met at the foot of mount *Horeb*, and after the firſt embraces of two brothers, who had not ſeen one another during the ſpace of forty years, *Moſes* acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from God. *Aaron* expreſſed a ſenſible joy at the news, and promiſed to be obedient in all things to the divine will; they continued their journey towards *Egypt*; and, being happily arrived at the land of *Goſhen*, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders or heads of the *Iſraelites*, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance; and *Moſes*, to confirm their heſitating belief, wrought thoſe miracles before them, by which God had commanded him to eſtabliſh his credit and authority among them. Theſe firſt eſſays were received with incredible joy by the whole aſſembly, every one bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity of their miſerable ſlavery [b]. But this docile diſpoſition laſted no longer than they thought their deliverance would coſt nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon *Moſes* and *Aaron*; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became ſo reſty and deſponding, that *Moſes* found them as hard to be perſuaded to embrace their freedom, as *Pharaoh* was to grant it (B).

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

Declares his commiſſion to the Iſraelites.

Year of the flood 857. Bef. Chr. 1491.

Moses and *Aaron* did not delay to open their commiſſion before the *Egyptian* king: but the preamble, *Thus ſaith the* Lord God *of the* Hebrews, ſounded ſo ſtrangely in his ears, unuſed to ſuch an expreſſion, that he could

Delivers his meſſage to the king of Egypt.

[b] Exod. iv. p. tot.

(B) Some hiſtorians have ventured to give us the name of this *Pharaoh*, though *Joſephus* doth only call him the new king (36). *Apion* calls him *Amoſis* or *Amaſis*; *Euſebius*, *Chencris*; but archbiſhop *Uſher* thinks after *Manetho*, that it was *Amenophis* the ſon of *Rameſes Miamun*, and father of *Sethoſis*, called alſo after his grandfather *Rameſis*. He is alſo of opinion, that this *Amenophis* is the ſame monarch whom the *Greeks* call *Belus* the father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, though the fable-writers have confounded him with *Belus* the *Aſſyrian*, and father of *Ninus* (37): the truth is, that we have ſo little light from hiſtory as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it (38).

(36) *Ant. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (37) *Uſher an. ſub A. M.* 2427. (38) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 41. *& ſeqq.*

not forbear wondering at their boldneſs, telling them that he knew no ſuch GOD, and that as to the *Iſraelites*, they ſhould not find him ſo eaſy to part with them. To this they anſwered, that this very GOD, whom he refuſed to acknowlege, had injoined them to go three days journey to celebrate a feſtival to him; and that if they ſhould omit complying with his command, he would ſoon puniſh their diſobedience, either by peſtilence, or by the ſword. This more amazed the haughty monarch, who thereupon diſmiſſed them with a ſevere reprimand, for putting ſuch idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them return to their own taſks, and they ſhould ſoon know the ſucceſs of this wiſe embaſſy. As this proved the beginning of that famous conteſt between *Moſes*, or rather the GOD of *Iſrael*, and the king of *Egypt*, ſo it became the fatal ſource of new ſorrows and complaints to the *Iſraelites*. For *Pharaoh*, fearing their exceſſive numbers, and thinking, or at leaſt pretending, that idleneſs and wantonneſs were the cauſe of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their taſk-maſters to harden their work ſtill more, and inſtead of giving them ſtraw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, ſince they had ſuch an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themſelves ſtubble inſtead of it, without diminiſhing one tittle of their work. This order was ſoon obeyed by their mercileſs taſk-maſters, who failed not to puniſh their overſeers, whenever they found them come ſhort of their appointed taſk. Theſe therefore came in a body to make their grievances known to the king, who, inſtead of minding their piteous complaints, only accuſed them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and diſmiſſed them with the utmoſt unconcern. They were ſcarce got out of *Pharaoh*'s palace before *Moſes* and *Aaron* met them, againſt whom they began to inveigh in the bittereſt terms, as the authors of this new addition of miſery, which could terminate in nothing but death and deſpair. It would have been in vain for *Moſes* to have offered any thing, either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviſeable to apply himſelf to GOD, and in the humbleſt terms to expoſtulate with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage [c].

The Iſraelites *burdens increaſed.*

[c] Exod. v. p. tot.

MOSES

Moses had no sooner made an end of his complaint, but God gave him fresh assurances of his love and compassion for his groaning people, and bid him go to them, and assure them from him, that he would speedily let all *Egypt* see that he was their God, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that land which he had promised to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of *El Saddai* (God Almighty or All-sufficient), though never till now by his great name *Jehovah* (C), promising them to signalize their deliverance, by such tokens of justice on that obstinate prince and people, as should force the proud monarch to dismiss them. All these divine promises, however, were so little regarded by the desponding *Israelites*, that, when God commanded *Moses* to go again to *Pharaoh*, and to renew his demand in his name, he was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear shewing an excessive reluctancy to obey. Alas! said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect that they will be regarded by that unbelieving monarch, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them! To this God was pleased to reply, Behold, *Moses*, I give thee a miraculous

Moses is bid to go again to Pharach.

(C) Those who conclude from this passage, that the name (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or, lastly, the true pronunciation, of the word *Jehovah* (39), had been unknown to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. and that *Moses* used it by way of anticipation, and spoke according to the time in which he wrote, when God had made it fully known to his people, seem to forget, that *Abraham* called the mountain, on which he was to have sacrificed his son, *Jehovah-jired*. However, it must be owned, that there is a great obscurity in the words of *Moses*, out of which many *Hebrew* and *Christian* commentators have endeavoured to bring some mysteries, which we should be loth to vent after them. The most natural exposition is that which renders the *Hebrew* word *shem* by character instead of name, and then the sense will be this: In my character of *El Shaddai*, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-sufficient power for the fulfilling my promises to them; but now I will be known by the character of *Jehovah*, or performer of those promises (40). See our notes under the word *Jehovah*, p. 356, & seqq. not. (T).

(37) *Kimch. Abenezra, Oleaster, &c.* (38) *Paul. Burg. Rupert. Lyra, Cajetan. Tostat.* (39) *Oleast. Buxt. Berruyer, &c.* (40) *Simler, Junius, & al.*

power over *Pharaoh*, and thy brother shall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him; and though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (D), till thou hast wrought all

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which make God the chief hardener of *Pharaoh*'s heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion, which, however embraced by the predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool, There is no God, than to believe him capable of such manifest injustice. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history to shew, that the *Jews* have been the first broachers of this monstrous doctrine; and, by their versions and paraphrases, have led the way for others to render these, and many other texts of the Old Testament, in a sense in which neither the original, nor the whole tenor of Scripture, nor the notion of a Deity, nor even the context, in this particular case, could bear them out. For who can deny, that what God did to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* was much more proper to soften than to harden his heart; especially when it is observable, that it was not till after seeing the miracles, and after the ceasing of the plagues, that *his heart* is said to *have been hardened?* We think ourselves, therefore, obliged to do justice to those learned critics, who have been at the pains of clearing the Scriptures from charging the great Judge of heaven and earth with such foul injustice, by proving, even against the *Jews*, that the verbs here used are in the conjugations *piel* and *hiphil*, as they are called by the grammarians; and signify often a bare permission, of which they have given very many unquestionable instances, which we shall not here trouble our reader with, seeing he may consult the authors themselves, whose names he will find in the margin (41). From all these, and many more authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been translated, as we have, that God *suffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, as all those, who are ever so little versed in the *Hebrew*, will readily own. As for those places where it is said, *For this cause have I set thee up, that I might shew my power*, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered, *For this cause have I suffered thee to subsist, or to stand*, &c. that is, I have forborn to cut thee off, or spared thee from the common ruin, &c. which

(41) *Arr. Montan. de idiom. Hebr. n.* 42. *fin. Can. theol. cent.* 2. *Gerhard. de Provid. Calov. & Rurg. in Exod. Hunnin. qu. de Provid.* 57, 91. *Meitzer. disp. Giess. tom. p.* 745. *Mesner anthrop. l. dec.* 1. *Pfeifer auct. V. T. cent.* 1. *l.* 87. *Pelling & Wittby against predest. Dr. Clark, le Clerc in loc. Gret. le Scene essay, & al.*

bear

all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be assured, that I will bring *Israel* out of their bondage like a triumphant army, and the *Egyptians* shall know, that I am the LORD. Go therefore, and let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at least, that your message is from a greater and more powerful Monarch than he [d]. *Moses* and *Aaron* forthwith obeyed; and, having presented themselves before *Pharaoh*, confirmed their message by the first miracle, and *Moses* threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a serpent. Here *Pharaoh* sent to try what his magicians could do, and these likewise turned their rods into serpents; so that all the superiority which *Moses* shewed over them at this time was, that his rod swallowed up those of the *Egyptians* (E). However, this

First miracle. Moses's *rod turned into a serpent.* *The magicians do the same by theirs.*

[d] Exod. vi. p. tot.

bear quite another sense, and only shew, that though he had long ago deserved to be destroyed, yet GOD thought fit to let him subsist, till he had, by his many wonders, delivered his people, in spight of all his opposition.

(E) The *Talmud* has preserved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the *Egyptians* flouted *Moses*, when he began to work his miracles among them; *Thou bringest straw to* Affra, a place in *Egypt* where straw abounded; meaning, that he had chosen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks in, a country that was so well stocked with conjurers. *Origen* says, that they (the *Egyptians*) did not absolutely deny the miracles of *Moses*; but only pretended, that they were done by delusion, and not by a divine power (1). And *Philo* introduces the *Egyptian* magicians speaking to *Pharaoh*, and his court, to this purpose; *Why are you frighted? We are not ignorant of such things, seeing we profess the same ourselves* (2).

And here, since we are entering into a long scene of *Moses*'s miracles, the greatest part of which were imitated by the magicians of *Pharaoh*, it will not be amiss to inquire who the latter were, by what power they performed those wonders, and why they came short of some of those of *Moses*. As to the first, we promised in a former place to prove, that they were *Jannes* and *Jambres* (3) mentioned by St. *Paul* to have withstood *Moses* (4); *Pliny* calls them *Jamnes* and *Jotapha* (5), when, speaking of the sect of the magicians, he says, that *Moses*, *Jamnes*, and *Jotapha*, were the heads and founders of it. They are celebrat-

(1) *Orig. cont. Cels. lib.* iii. (2) *Phil. in vit. Mos. Vid. Warren cont. Burnet*, p. 40. (3) *Vid. sup.* p. 348, 349. (P). (4) 2 *Tim.* iii. 1. (5) *Lib.* xxx. c. 1.

this advantage made no great impreſſion on *Pharaoh*, who might attribute it only to his ſuperior ſkill in magic. This miracle therefore was ſoon followed by another, which was turning all the running and ſtanding waters of *Egypt* into blood; ſo that there was not a drop of water left

Second miracle, the waters turned into blood.

ed in the *Talmud* (4) under the names of יוחני וממרי *Jochani* and *Mamri*. The targum of *Jonathan* (5) affirms them to have been *Balaam*'s ſons; and that they went along with him to *Balak* king of *Moab*. Some *Jewiſh* authors call them *Janes* and *Jambres*; others, *Jochanan* and *Mamre*; and others, *Jonah* and *Jombres* (6); and pretend, that they were drowned in the *Red Sea* with the *Egyptians*; though others think that they were not deſtroyed till the war which *Phineas* waged againſt the *Midianites* (7).

The *Mohammedans* (8), after their uſual manner, have added many ridiculous ſtories to this conteſt, particularly that they were ordered to be put to death by *Pharaoh*, who ſuſpected them to hold a ſecret correſpondence with *Moſes*, becauſe they ſuffered his ſerpent to ſwallow theirs; but, from the whole account they give of it, it is plain, they looked upon the wonders wrought by the *Egyptians* rather as hocus pocus tricks, than ſupernatural works.

However, though this opinion has been likewiſe maintained by ſeveral eminent perſons, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (9); yet that of St. *Auſtin* (10), that they were done by the power of the devil, has been more univerſally received, and that for the two following reaſons; firſt, becauſe the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament ſeem to attribute ſome ſuch power to evil ſpirits; and, ſecondly, becauſe *Moſes* expreſſes himſelf in ſuch terms as manifeſtly ſhew, that they really imitated him in all thoſe wonders they wrought. For, in this caſe of their rods being turned into ſerpents, he doth not ſay, that they made them appear to be ſuch by a *deceptio viſus*; but that וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became ſerpents*. And in all the other caſes, wherein they imitated him, he expreſſes himſelf thus: ויעשו כן חרטומים גם, or הם יעשו, *and the magicians did ſo likewiſe*; or, *and the magicians*, even they, *did ſo likewiſe*. If it be aſked, why

(4) *Tract.* מנחות, *cap.* 9. (5) *Targ. in Num.* xxii. 22. (6) *Buxtorf. lexic. Talmud. Fabric. de Apocr. Vet. Teſt.* (7) *Num.* xxv. 17, 18. (8) *Herbelot bibl. orient. p.* 648, *& ſeq. Mirkhond ap. Calmet, ſub voc. Jannes.* (9) *Joſ. ant. lib.* ii. *c.* 13. *Juſtin. Mart. quæſt. oribod.* xvi. *Tertul. lib. de anima. Greg. Nyſſen. Ambroſ. Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib.* ii. *& al.* (10) *Auguſt. lib.* xxxviii. *quæſt.* 79, 98, *& lib.* iii. *de Trinitate, cap.* 7. *Theodoret. in Exod. lib.* xviii. *Aquin. Teſtat. Lyra, Burg. Cajet. Uſſer. ann. & al. plurim.*

God

left in the whole land for the *Egyptians* to drink (F). This miracle was likewiſe imitated by the magicians, but whether upon ſea-water brought on purpoſe, or ſome freſh water from the land of *Goſhen*, or ſome of that which they had drawn out of their new-digged wells, is not eaſy to gueſs; though it is more probable, that they ſtaid till the waters of the *Nile*, and other places, were reſtored to their former colour and taſte. However that be, *Pharaoh* was not one jot the nearer being convinced [c]: where-

[c] Exod. vii. p. tot.

God ſuffered them to borrow this power from the devil, to invalidate, if poſſible, thoſe miracles which his ſervant wrought by his divine power, the following reaſons may be given for it; namely, firſt, it was neceſſary that theſe magicians ſhould be ſuffered to exert the utmoſt of their power againſt *Moſes*, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or ſorcery: for, as the notion of ſuch an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the *Egyptians*, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this ſtrenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* would have been apter to attribute all his miracles to his ſkill in magic, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was neceſſary, in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and deſponding *Iſraelites*, by making them ſee the difference between *Moſes*'s acting by the power of God, and the ſorcerers by that of *Satan*. And, laſtly, in order to preſerve them afterwards from being ſeduced, by any falſe miracles, from the true worſhip of God (11).

(F) How long they continued ſo *Moſes* has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the laſt verſe of this chapter, that ſeven days were completed after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the ſpace between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For, as the diviſion of the Bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the laſt verſe of the ſeventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And ſeven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the* Lord *ſpake*, and ſo on, which is the ſame as if he had ſaid, And ſeven days after the turning of the waters into blood, God ſpoke to *Moſes*. However, this change continued long enough to kill all the fiſh, and to oblige the *Egyptians* to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink, none of the reſt being fit for that, or any other uſe.

(11) *Rupert. Perrer. Simler. Ferus, Villet. Tremel. & al. in loc.*

Third miracle, of frogs.

fore *Moses* was again sent to threaten him, that, if he did not let *Israel* go, his whole kingdom should be so filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds and tables, should swarm with them; as they accordingly did at the time appointed, whilst the magicians, indeed, went on to persuade him, that *Moses* was only such another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating also this miracle, and bringing a fresh swarm of frogs. They might indeed have shewed their skill to a better purpose, if they had tried to have removed those insects, of which the *Egyptians* did not want this fresh supply; but it seems they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore *Pharaoh* was reduced to send for *Moses*, and to promise him, that he would let *Israel* go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that odious vermin. *Moses* took him at his word, and, desiring him to name the time when he should rid the land of those creatures, did precisely perform his part; so that by the next day there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilst his subjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their stench being like to have bred an infection, *Pharaoh* was thinking how to elude his promise, not considering that he only made way for another plague.

Fourth miracle, of the lice.

For, when *Moses* found himself baffled, he touched the dust with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as some think, into gnats; which small insect, they say, is more common, and the sting more tormenting, in *Egypt*, than any-where else. But our version seems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of antient and modern translations and expositors [f]. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagined, that all the dust of *Egypt* had been turned into lice. *Pharaoh* sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill, in vain; for either their power proved too short, or was curtailed by a superior hand; so that they were forced to acknowlege, that the finger of God did plainly display itself in this miracle (G). However,

[f] Chald. Targ. Joseph. ant. l. ii. c. 14. Rabbin. Montan. Munster, Vatabl. Jun. Bochart, & al.

(G) What has been said under this head in the last note will easily lead us to an answer to the next question, why the magicians could not now bring forth lice, when they had been able to produce swarms of frogs, and other insects. For, without

However, *Pharaoh* not regarding their words, *Moſes* and *Aaron* met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obſtinacy would only bring more and worſe plagues upon him, the next of which would be ſuch mixed ſwarms of flies, as would darken the air; that GOD, however, would put a difference between his people and the *Egyptians*, and that there ſhould none be found in all the land of *Goſhen*, tho' the reſt of the kingdom ſwarmed with them; adding, that the next day ſhould bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning the air was filled with thoſe inſects, whoſe bite was ſo venomous and painful, that the miſchief which they did to *Egypt* became intolerable [g], and forced the king to ſend for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to ſacrifice to their GOD, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they anſwered, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their

Fifth miracle, of ſwarms of flies.

[g] Vid. Pſal. lxxviii. 45.

without having recourſe to the common ſolution, that this was a creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expreſly calls them *lice*, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that herein *Moſes* ſhewed his ſuperior power in tying their hands from working a miracle in all reſpects as eaſy as any they had done till then. For this was more than ſufficient to extort this confeſſion from them, that he acted by a ſuperior power, and that the finger of GOD was in it (15).

And accordingly we find, that *Pharaoh* was ſo fully convinced of the truth of it, that we do not read of his making any farther uſe of them: and this will lead us to another

juſt inference; which is, that that monarch had no other view in employing them, than to aſſure himſelf, whether *Moſes*'s miracles were really ſuch, and done by a divine aſſiſtance, or only ſuch jugglers tricks as his *Egyptian* magicians uſed to amuſe the vulgar with; and not, as ſome have imagined, to try whether the GOD of the *Hebrews*, by whoſe power *Moſes* acted, was a ſtronger Deity than that of the *Egyptians*, by which the magicians ſtrove to imitate him; not but in either caſe there was ſufficient proof of the ſuperiority of the former, to make the king deſiſt from any further trial of that of the latter; though his averſeneſs to part with the *Iſraelites*, he could not but plainly ſee, would only expoſe him to ſeverer plagues.

(15) *Exod.* viii. 19. *Vid. Leſley's eaſy method with the deiſts.*

lives,

lives, seeing they should be obliged to sacrifice such creatures as the *Egyptians* worshiped, who would therefore be ready to stone them, as guilty of the most horrid and abominable sacrilege. They therefore insisted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might safely perform their GOD's command. This answer, which gave him just reason to suspect that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible *nonplus*; but at length he consented that they should go, provided it was at no great distance from *Egypt*, and they promised him faithfully to return again in a little time. *Moses* assured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the LORD for him, and desired him to keep his word; but no sooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from those venomous insects, than the king drew on another plague by his obstinacy and breach of promise [h].

Sixth miracle, the cattle of the Egyptians *killed by murrain*

THIS next judgment fell, according to *Moses*'s word, on all the cattle of the *Egyptians*, the greatest part of which died by the next day, whilst that of the *Israelites* remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boyl which broke out upon man and beast. *Pharaoh*, according to custom, had recourse to his magicians, who, being themselves

Seventh miracle, boyls upon men and beasts.

smitten with the boyls, dared not appear before *Moses*, and *Pharaoh* continuing still obstinate, it was not long before *Moses* was sent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the GOD of *Israel* should be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in such dreadful

Eighth miracle, hail-storms and thunders.

storms of hail, as had not been known since the foundation of *Egypt*. He gave him but one day to consider of it, assuring him, that the next day would prove a dismal one to the *Egyptians*, unless he consented to dismiss the *Israelites* before that time, between whom and the *Egyptians* GOD would put such a difference, that the land of *Goshen* should be intirely free from the terrible punishment with which *Egypt* would be half undone. *Moses* accordingly lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning: whereupon the thunders, lightnings and hail, followed one another so thick, that *Egypt* was half destroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of such prodigious bigness, that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroyed all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye escaped, be-

[h] Exod. viii. per tot.

cauſe they were not ſufficiently grown; for the barley-harveſt in *Egypt* begins about the middle or latter end of *March*; whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin till ſix or ſeven weeks after. As for the land of *Goſhen*, it was found, upon inquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

THESE thunders, lightnings, and eſpecially the hail, which were the more extraordinary, becauſe it ſeldom or never rains in that part of *Egypt*, ſo frighted the proud king, that he ſent immediately for *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms to them, as might have paſſed for ſure tokens of a real converſion; and only begged to be delivered from the noiſe of thoſe dreadful thunders; after which he promiſed not to detain them one moment longer. *Moſes*, though he gave no credit to this promiſe, did yet engage to obtain a ſpeedy ceſſation of them, which he accordingly did, and gave the *Egyptians* an opportunity to examine the miſchief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inſpired many of them with a real fear of the GOD of *Iſrael*; but *Pharaoh* and his council no ſooner perceived that the ſtorm was over, but they returned to their old way [i]. Whereupon *Moſes* was ſent to threaten them with a worſe judgment; *viz.* with ſuch an infinite number of locuſts as ſhould cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undeſtroyed. There were ſome about the king then, who took the liberty to repreſent to him the unconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received; that *Egypt* was already deſtroyed, and that it was high time the *Hebrews* were ſent away to ſerve their GOD. *Pharaoh* was now perſuaded to let them go, but having ſent for *Moſes* and *Aaron* back, to inquire who of them were to go, and who to ſtay, he was ſo highly provoked at their inſiſting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all that they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which, though concealed with ſo much art, and cloaked with the ſpecious pretence of religion, did yet but too plainly ſhew, that they had no mind ever to return into *Egypt* again. He warned them of the danger they ran themſelves into, and adviſed them to content themſelves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind; and having threatened them ſeverely, cauſed them to be thruſt from his preſence.

The great miſchief done by it.

[i] Exod. ix. p. tot.

MOSES

Ninth miracle, of locusts.

Moses was no sooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of *Egypt*. This was quickly followed by an east wind, which blew all the night, and brought such a numerous swarm of locusts by the next morning, as had never been seen before; and these, spreading themselves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of grass, and every thing that had escaped the storm of hail. *Pharaoh* did not fail to send for *Moses*, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but, having obtained it by means of a west wind, which blew all the locusts into the sea, he continued as inflexible as ever.

Tenth miracle, of great darkness during three days.

Egypt was presently after smitten with such horrid darkness, that *Moses* chooses to express it by a darkness that may be felt. During the three days it lasted, the *Egyptians* did neither see one another, nor dare to stir out of their place, whilst the land of *Goshen* enjoyed its usual day-light. The horror of this obscurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then used to supply the absence of the sun, caused such dreadful apprehensions in the king and all his subjects, and was so heightened by the dismal outcries of men, women, and children, that their consternation may be much easier imagined than expressed. As soon therefore as the light was restored to them, *Moses* and *Aaron* were immediately sent for, and the king, according to custom, told them, that he was willing to grant their request, and that they might go with their wives and children, but insisted that their flocks should be left behind. *Moses* therefore, after many proper expostulations, observing *Pharaoh*'s unwillingness to consent, told him in express terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a single hoof should remain in *Egypt*. We need not wonder, if so proud a king as *Pharaoh*, could not hear so bold a demand without the highest resentment. He caused him to be thrust from his presence with the utmost indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it should certainly cost him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like *Moses*; only it is supposed, that it was at this last interview, that he signified to the king the finishing stroke of the divine vengeance upon all the first-born of men and cattle throughout *Egypt*, which should cause such a consternation among all his subjects, that they should come with bended knees to the *Israelites*, and beg of them, in the most submissive terms, to depart out

out of their country [l]; whilſt God would ſtill ſhew ſuch regard to the latter, that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any of them. *Moſes* had no ſooner finiſhed this laſt prediction, than he retired to his people into the land of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* celebrated the paſſ- *The paſſ-*
over that very night [m], according to God's command; *over cele-*
and it was in this night alſo, that *Moſes* bid them bor- *brated.*
row what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could from their *Egyptian* neighbours, aſſuring them from God, that they ſhould find them very ready to accommodate them with the beſt things they had [n] (H).

How-

[l] Exod. xi. 8, & ſeq. Vid. Usher annal. ſub A. M. 2513.
[m] Id. ibid. Villet. & al. [n] Exod. xi. & xii. p. tot.

(H) Before we enter into the inſtitution of the paſſover, which was attended with the laſt and moſt dreadful plague, the death of all the firſt-born, it will not be amiſs to inquire, how long a time *Moſes* took in bringing all the plagues upon *Egypt*, eſpecially becauſe ſome chronologiſts have ſpun it out to ten (20), and others to twelve months (21); whereas it is moſt likely, that they happened all within the ſpace of one month; which is the term in which the great archbiſhop *Uſher* has included them all, from *Moſes*'s own account, as follows (22).

About the 18th day of the ſixth month, which, in the year following, and after, was reckoned the twelfth month, was ſent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended ſeven days after (23). About the twenty-fifth day came on the ſecond plague of the frogs, which was removed the day following (24); and, about the twenty-ſeventh day, came on the third plague of lice (25).

About the 28th day *Moſes* threatened them with a fourth plague of flies, and other vermin, which came on the twenty-ninth day, and were all taken away on the 30th (26).

About the 1ſt or 2d day of the next month, which was afterwards made the firſt month of the year, *Moſes* brought the murrain upon the cattle (27). About the 3d day the ſixth plague brake out upon man and beaſt, and upon the magicians (28).

About the 4th day *Moſes* foretold them a ſeventh plague, which he brought upon them on the 5th; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous

(20) *Boorb. op. Villet.* (21) *Judæi fere omnes. Vid. Uſher an. ſub A. M. 2513. Genebrard, & al.* (22) *Annal. ibid. Vid. etiam Perrer. & Villet. in loc.* (23) *Exod.* vii. 25. (24) *Ib.* viii. 10. (25) *Ib. v.* 17. (26) *Ib. v.* 24. & 29. (27) *Exod.* ix. 3, 5, 6. (28) *Ib. v.* 8, & *ſeq.*

hail

Its first institution.

HOWEVER, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been prescribed by GOD to *Moses*, and by him communicated to the *Israelites*, during these transactions that passed between him and the king of *Egypt*, though they are postponed to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking the series of those wonders which GOD had wrought by him. The account which he has given us of this institution, is prefaced with a command from GOD, that that month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred

hail mixed with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rice were not hurt, not being yet out of the ground. Whence *Nic. Fuller*, *lib.* iii. *miscel.* 1. rightly observes, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month *Abib*.

About the 7th day *Moses* threatened them with an 8th plague, and accordingly sent it the day following, *viz.* that of locusts to devour all; which plague he removed about the 9th day (30).

The month *Abib*, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of *Egypt*; from the beginning of which month the epocha of the *Jewish* calendar is from thenceforward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the 10th day of this now first month, *which was the thirtieth of* April, *according to the* Julian *calendar*, *upon* Thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover, and sweet-bread; to wit, the paschal lamb was chosen and killed on the fourteenth day (33).

Moses now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkness (34); and, upon the 14th day, *which was* May *the fourth*, *upon* Monday *with us*, which was the last time he spoke with *Pharaoh*, *Moses* foretold him the tenth plague which should come upon him; namely, the destruction of all the first-born, which came to pass the night following; and then, turning himself away in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the passover celebrated (36).

(29) *Ibid.* v. 18. *ad* 32. (30) *Exod.* x. 4. *ad* 19. (31) *Exod.* xii. 2. & xiii. 4. (32) *Num.* ix. 1, 2. *Conf. cum Exod.* xl. 17. (33) *Exod.* xii. 3. *ad* 21. (34) *Ibid.* x. 21, & *seq.* (35) *Ibid. ver.* 23 *ad* 29. & c. xi. 1, 4, 8. (36) *Ibid.* xii. *ad ver.* 28.

calendar;

calendar (K); and that all the other feaſts of the year, which were afterwards to be inſtituted, ſhould be regulated by that of the paſſover, the celebration of which the reader may ſee in the place quoted in the margin[a]. This injunction was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to ſave the blood of the lamb in a baſon, and ſprinkle the two ſide-poſts and croſs-poſt of their doors with it, that the deſtroying angel might leave their houſes untouched, when he paſſed by to deſtroy the firſt-born of *Egypt*, and to execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who, in the language of Scripture, are often called gods, or thoſe animals which that ſuperſtitious nation worſhiped. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feaſt of unleavened bread ſeven days, that is, from the fourteenth day at even, until the twenty-firſt day at even; during which, whoſoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an *Iſraelite*, or a ſtranger, was to be cut off from *Iſrael*. The firſt and laſt of theſe ſeven days were to be kept holy, and free from all manner of work. Laſtly, no ſtranger was to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, unleſs he conſented to be circumciſed. As for the *Iſraelites*, they were ſtrictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to inſtruct their children in the meaning of this inſtitution, that they might likewiſe perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

The order and manner of it.

Unleavened bread.

THE people, whom ſo many dire judgments on the *Egyptians* had rendered more tractable, received *Moſes*'s orders with the utmoſt reſpect, and went to put themſelves in readineſs to execute them (L).

The Iſraelites obey, and kill the paſſover.

THE *ver.*

[a] Exod. xii. 3, & ſeq.

(K) This month, which is called in the *Hebrew Abib*, and had been till then the ſeventh month, and continued ſo to be in the ſecular year, became from that day forward the firſt month of the ſacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of *Egypt* (37); and from the beginning of this month the epocha of the *Jewiſh* or ſacred calendar was from thenceforward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(L) Theſe commands may be properly reduced to three heads; *viz.* firſt, to gather themſelves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of *Goſhen*; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a

(37) *Exod.* xii. 2. *with* xiii. 4. xl. 17. *Vid. Uſſ. ann. ſub A. M.* 1519.

(38) *Numb.* ix. 1, 2. *with Exod.*

vaſt

THE night, which was to prove so joyful to them, and so fatal to their enemies, being come, and GOD's commands being punctually obeyed, whilst both sides were in the greatest tranquillity, the *Egyptians* thinking now all the plagues past, and *Pharaoh* flattering himself, that *Moses*'s threatening against the first-born had proved abortive, because four days were elapsed since it was denounced, whereas he used to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and, on the other hand, the *Israelites* keeping themselves in the profoundest silence, knowing what horrid slaughter was to be made among the *Egyptians*; in the middle, we say, of that very night, GOD sent his destroying ministers, who suddenly dispersed themselves all over the kingdom, and smote all the first-born with immediate death, from the first-born who sat on *Pharaoh*'s throne, to the first-born of the imprisoned captive, and even to that of the meanest animal in the land. The first expedient this affrighted monarch could think of, was to send immediately for *Moses* and *Aaron*; who, being settled at *Rameses*, not far from his capital city, were soon brought to him, who, instead of his usual threatening and upbraidings, was urgent and pressing for their departure with their children, cattle, and all they had. The *Egyptians* likewise were no less impatient to see their backs, fearing lest every minute of their stay should prove their last. The *Israelites* found them as ready to lend them the most valuable things they had, as

The first-born of the Egyptians *slain by the destroying angel.*

Moses *and* **Aaron** *sent for, and ordered to depart.*

vast multitude, amounting (as we shall shew in the sequel) to upwards of two millions and an half of souls, could be all contained in that little spot of ground; so that it required no small dispatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the *Egyptians*; and this required secrecy, since it is not probable, that the *Egyptians* would have proved so generous, if they had suspected, that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to last but a few days. Thirdly, to eat the passover at the time, and with all the ceremonies, that had been prescribed; and this was to take up some time, four days at least. However, Providence so ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the *Psalmist* tells us (1), that, notwithstanding the great number of their old men, women and children, there was not one feeble person among all their tribes.

(1) *Ps.* cv. 37.

themselves

themſelves were to borrow them; and *Moſes*, who was too well acquainted with *Pharaoh*'s changeable temper to ſtay till he relaxed, made all the haſte he could to put it out of his power; and, having ſettled the beſt order he could among that vaſt multitude, and in the general confuſion that then reigned, he gave the ſignal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the *Egyptians* to mourn for, and bury their dead, and loaden with their ſpoils, they began their march under the conduct of Providence, and of *Moſes*, being to the number of ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms, beſides old men, women and children, ſervants, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and followed them in their march (M.) As ſoon as they were arrived at *Succoth*, *Moſes* made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewiſe the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be obſerved here, that the diſtance from *Rameſes* to the utmoſt borders of *Egypt* on the ſide of the land of *Canaan*, was not much above threeſcore miles, ſo that *Moſes* could, in a few days march, have brought them out of *Pharaoh*'s territories; yet GOD ſo ordered it, that they

Year of the flood 857. Bef. Chr. 1491.

The number of the Iſraelites that went out of Egypt.

(M) They had continued in *Egypt* from the time of *Jacob*'s firſt coming thither, to this very day, which was the ſame day of the ſame month and week, *viz.* *Monday* (1), the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, though *Moſes*, computing it from the firſt coming of *Abraham* into *Canaan*, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, as has been already ſhewn (2). There was yet one main thing wanting, *viz.* the ſecuring of a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for all that multitude; and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march, but the *Egyptians* drove them away with ſuch deſperate eagerneſs, that the people were forced to carry their paſte with them unleavened, with which they baked themſelves cakes upon the coals; and what other proviſion they could get, they took with them undreſſed, and marched from *Rameſes*, *Moſes*'s dwelling-place, to their firſt encampment at *Succoth* (3). *Joſephus* tells us (4), that their dough, and other proviſion, which they carried from *Egypt*, laſted them a whole month; but it is not likely, that they would load themſelves with ſuch luggage, which in all probability they knew not how to preſerve ſo long, when they had ſo much better things to carry out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*.

(1) *Uſher's Ann. ſub A. M.* 2513. (2) *Vid. ſupra*, p. 253—255, (K).
(3) *Exod.* xii. *p. t.* (4) *Antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 15.

were full forty years before they set their foot upon the borders of the promised land.

The first-born of Israel consecrated.

WHILST they continued at *Succoth*, which was their first encampment, *Moses* was commanded by GOD to consecrate the first-born of men and beasts to him; the first-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, that is, of the sanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two shillings and six-pence; so that the whole sum amounted to about twelve shillings and six-pence; which money was afterwards to be given to the priests. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which GOD has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having spared the first-born of the *Israelites*, when he smote those of the *Egyptians*, which was, as it were, the seal and finishing stroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation (N.)

MOSES had still another care, which was to settle the order of their march in so regular a method, that there

(N) This law, concerning the first-born of men, did not at all regard the women; for if the first-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beasts, it extended only to the clean; the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an ass by a lamb, or to be killed, and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reason of this law of redemption to their children and grandchildren, that their posterity might never be at a loss to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which *Moses* and *Aaron* had, they did not forget to bring *Joseph*'s coffin and bones with them, pursuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The *Jews* tell us, they placed them in a new sumptuous cart, or open herse, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* his two children (5). They likewise affirm, that every tribe brought the bones of the heads of their family with them: but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature, and *Josephus* doth not seem to have dreamed of such an act of filial piety, or else he would in all probability have recorded it; yet St. *Stephen* seems to allude to some such tradition among them; when he said, that *Jacob* and the fathers went down into *Egypt*, and were carried over into *Sichem*, and laid in the sepulcre which *Abraham* bought of the sons of *Emmor* (6).

(5) *Vid. Elle Shemoth Rabbah, Sect.* ואת הברכה & *rabbin. mult.*
(6) *Acts* vii. 15, 16.

might be no confusion or quarrel among that vast and mixed multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and stand in their own defence, in case of a pursuit, or of their meeting with any difficulty or obstruction from the nations through whose territories they were to pass. However, to prevent these, or any other accidents which might make the people think of returning to *Egypt*, GOD was pleased to forbid *Moses* to take the nearest way to the land of *Canaan*, that is, through that of the *Philistines*, and ordered him to wheel about along the coasts of the *Red Sea* towards *Arabia Petræa*. He likewise made them march, not like runaways in confusion and disorder, but like a regular army in battle-array; in which order they went from *Succoth* to *Etham*, towards *Arabia Deserta*, which is therefore called in the original the wilderness, near the borders of which *Etham* was situate, where they arrived on the second day after their departure out of *Egypt*. This route *Moses* made them take, designing probably to get to mount *Sinai* by the point of the *Red Sea* [t]; but GOD made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards *Pi-hahiroth*, which lies between the *Red Sea*, and *Migdol* and *Baal-zephon* (O). Herein

Order of their march.

Second encampment.

[t] Exod. xiii. p. tot.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all these places. As for the *Succoth* here mentioned, we must not confound it with that which *Jacob* called by that name when he came out of *Mesopotamia* (47), though the former may have been so called in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the *Israelites* set up there. *Josephus* calls it *Letopolis*, where he says *Babylon* was afterwards built, when *Cambyses* invaded *Egypt* (48): it is thought by many to be that region which was called *Troglodytis*, by the *Red Sea* (49). As for *Rameses*, though there seems to be mention made of two, and them differently pointed in the *Hebrew*, yet if they differ, it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). *Etham* is supposed to be *Buthee* of *Herodotus*; and *Pi-hahiroth*, the city of *Heroum* on the extreme part of the *Arabic* gulph, or the *Phagroriopolis* placed by *Strabo* (51) near the same place. All that we known of *Migdol* is only that it signifies a tower. *Baalzephon* seems wholly unknown to the antient geographers. The *Jewish* rabbies, and after them *Grotius*, believe it to have been an idol set up to guard the confines of

(47) *Gen.* xxxiij. 17. (48) *Ant. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (49) *Vid. Simler, Willet.* (50) *Id. ibid.* (51) *Lib.* xiv. *ap. Calm. dissert. in loc. & Willet in loc.*

Herein God was pleased to shew his care for them in another miraculous manner: for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of *Moses* and *Aaron*; yet, considering the untractableness of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur against them at every supposed wrong step, he condescended to conduct them by a more visible way, namely, by a pillar of light in the night-season, and by a column of smoke in the day-time. These columns of fire and smoke never forsook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderness; but were their constant guide throughout their forty-two encampments, and directed them when and whither to march, according as they saw it before them, and when to halt when they perceived it to stop. But, whether it was given to them at their first, second, or third march, at *Succoth*, or *Etham*, is not easy to guess at by the text [u].

The miraculous pillar of fire and smoke.

They are led by the miraculous pillar.

In the mean time God, who knew what was transacting at *Pharaoh*'s court, and what measures that monarch, and his no less infatuated subjects, were taking to pursue them, commanded *Moses* to wheel about, and to march from *Etham* towards *Pi-hahiroth*; which is between the sea and *Migdol*, over-against *Baal-zephon*; and to encamp before it. For by this time the *Egyptians* began to repent of their parting with the *Israelites*, and losing the benefit of their servitude; and, thinking that they might easily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a considerable army, together with six hundred of the choicest chariots, besides all the chariots of war that could be found in *Egypt*, and a vast multitude of officers and soldiers, who were all in full march after them. *Moses* has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but *Josephus*, who seldom fails to improve the text, whenever it serves for the honour of his nation, makes it

God *makes them wheel about towards* Pi-hahiroth.

Pharaoh *pursues after,*

[u] Exod. xiii. ver. ult.

Egypt. *Eusebius* takes it not for a statue, but a town; and places it (52) near *Clysma*, though *St. Jerom* has omitted it in his translation. It stands upon the most northern point of the *Red Sea*, where the antients, especially the *Jews*, think the *Israelites* passed it, and where stands to this day a Christian monastery (53).

(52) *Loc. Hebr.* (53) *Vid. Calm. hist. V. T. comm. in Exod.* xiv. & *dissert. on the passage of the Red Sea.*

amount

c
ing,
might think it more adviſeable part of them.

Place this in Vol: III over against P. 389.

A MAP of the JOURNEY in the WILDERNESS, and of the Conquest and Partition of the Land of CANAAN, by the Children of Israel.

THE GREAT MEDITERRANEAN SEA OR

The Mouths of the Nile

DELTA according to Dr. Pococke

PART OF EGYPT

The MOUNTAINS of Lower THEBAIS

East Longitude from London

PHŒNICIA

SYRIA

ARABIA

ARABIA PETRÆA

DESERTA

IDUMEA

MADIAN

AMALECHITES

ISMAELITES

AMMONITES

MOABITES

TRACHONITIS

PEREA

GALILEE OF THE GENTILES

SAMARIA

JUDEA

DEAD SEA

Sarepta

Sidon

Jordan

Springs of Jordan

Cæsarea Philippi

Lake Samachon

Damascus

TRIBE OF ASHER

TRIBE OF NAPHTALI

HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH

HALF TRIBE OF ZOBAH

Cana

Chorazin

Mt. Carmel

T. OF ZABULON

Sea of Tiberias or of Galilee

Nazareth

Capernaum

Tiberias

TR. OF ISSACHAR

Nain

Enon

R. Jabbok

Cæsarea of Palestina

HALF TR. OF MANASSEH

Sichem

TR. OF GAD

Samaria

TRIBE OF EPHRAIM

Lod

Ephraim

Jericho

Gezer

Joppa

Bethoron

TR. OF Bethany

Shittim

M. Abarim

T. OF DAN

BENJAMIN

T. OF RUBEN

Ascalon

Kirjath Jearim

Jerusalem

Kidron R.

Halmon Diblathaim

Dibon Gad

Gulf of Larissa

TR. OF JUDA

Bethlehem

Arnon R.

Gaza

SIMEON

KINGD. OF JUDEA

Hebron

Jordan

Beersheba

Gomorrah

R. Zered

Jje-Abarim

Oboth

M. Hor

Teman

Kadesh Barnea

Phunon

Zalmonah

Bozrah

Desart of Sin

Dophkah

Dedan

Rameses

Nile R.

Elim

Jam Suph or Red Sea

Alush

Libnah

Hashmonah

Moserah

Rissa

Kehelath

Benejaakan

Succotb

Mara

Mitka

Horhadgidgad or Gudgodath

Jodbatath

Ebronah

Baalzephon

Rimõ Parez

Fziongeber

Pihahiroth

Raphidim

Rithma

M. Sapher

Tarath

HEROPOLITAN GULF of the RED SEA

ELANITIC GULF of the RED SEA

DESERT OF PARAN

Haradath

Tabath

Etham

Hazeroth

Makheloth

Mt. of KOTZUN

M. Sinai

Kibbroth

Hattavah

Madian

English Miles

5 10 20 30 40 50 60

33 32 31 30 29

32 33 34 35 36 37

amount to six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot [x]; and *Ezechiel*, the poet quoted by *Eusebius*, hath increased it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, *Pharaoh* put himself at the head of it, and led it with such speed, that he overtook them at *Pi-hahiroth*, and encamped there in full sight of the *Israelites*; but, whether it were, that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himself sure of them, there being no visible way for them to escape him, unless they flung themselves into the sea; or lastly, that Providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; nothing hostile was undertaken against them that night (O).

and overtakes them.

On the other hand, the pusillanimous *Israelites*, inured to bondage, could not behold the *Egyptian* army, encamped so near, without the utmost consternation and dread; and, instead of having recourse to that mighty arm, that had so visibly stretched itself out in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to *Moses*'s tent, complaining that he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderness; and that they had now nothing to expect, but the most cruel death in that dismal place. This ungrateful language, to which *Moses* had already been used, though nothing so much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger; but he, looking upon it as the effect of their extreme danger, and cowardly temper, instead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the assurance, that this would be last time of their seeing the *Egyptians* [u].

Moses *comforts the despairing Israelites.*

He had no sooner dismissed them, than he went and made his application to God; who was immediately pleased to order the people to begin their march towards the sea, directing him at the same time to stretch out his rod over it, and assuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themselves, and make way for them to

[u] Exod. xiv. 10, & seqq. [x] Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

(O) It is, indeed, most likely, that, seeing them hemmed in, as it were, by the sea, on one hand, by impassable mountains, and his own army, on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting, as they were of flying, he might think it more adviseable to force them to yield themselves prisoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might easily have done; since by the one he reduced them to their former slavery, but by the other he ran the risque of losing a considerable part of them.

go through it as on dry land; whilſt *Pharaoh*, and his whole army, venturing to purſue them, ſhould be finally overwhelmed by its waves. *Moſes* obeyed, and, whilſt a ſtrong eaſt wind was dividing that arm of the ſea, to open a paſſage to them, and the *Iſraelites* were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the LORD, who conducted them in the pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of the army, and ſtood between them and that of the *Egyptians*; ſo that the column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the *Iſraelites* in their march, and caſting a darkneſs over *Pharaoh*'s camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the *Hebrews*. Whilſt theſe were paſſing through the ſea, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the waves aroſe in heaps, and ſtood as a wall on each ſide of them (P). By this time

The Red Sea *is divided.*

(P) Though it would be endleſs to trouble our readers with an inquiry into all the particulars with which the generality of commentators have amuſed themſelves, with reſpect to this wonderful paſſage, it will not be amiſs, we hope, to make a ſhort inquiry into the main and moſt material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous, or not; that is, whether the ſea was really divided by a ſupernatural power, or whether *Moſes* and his hoſt did only coaſt ſome part of it, or, at moſt, croſs over a ſmall nook at low-water, and timed it ſo well, that *Pharaoh*, endeavouring to do the like, periſhed in the attempt. This is ſo far from being a new queſtion, that *Artaphanes*, an antient writer (54), aſſures us, that both theſe opinions were held by the *Egyptian* prieſts; that is, the former by thoſe of *Heliopolis*, and the latter by thoſe of *Memphis*. The laſt of theſe has been alſo followed by many eminent men, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians* (55), who, without denying the main part of this tranſaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the *Iſraelites* only coaſting it along, and making, as it were, a ſemicircle round the ſea-ſhore at low-ebb; or croſſing it only at one narrow point, whilſt the ſea was gone off. Where we beg leave to obſerve, that ſuch an opinion cannot be maintained, without a manifeſt deviation, 1. from the expreſs words of *Moſes*, and ſeveral other places of holy writ, where this tranſaction is mentioned; 2. from reaſon and experience, founded on the knowlege we have of the ebb-

(54) *Ap. Euſeb. l.* iv. *c.* 27. (55) *Abenez. & al. rabbin. ap. Fagium. Gregor. Turon. hiſt. l.* i. *c.* 10. *T. Aquin. in* 1 *Cor.* i. *Toſtat. qu. in Exod.* xiv. 19. *Lud. Burgenſ. in loc. Genebr. in chronic. ad ann.* 2239. *Grot. in ver.* 19. *Exod.* xiv. *Vatabl. in loc. Le Clerc diſſert. de traject. Mar. Idum. & al. mult.*

ing

time the *Egyptians*, perceiving that the *Iſraelites* were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted them was

ing and flowing of the *Red Sea*, and the impoſſibility of ſuch a numerous hoſt performing ſuch a coaſting, or croſſing, in ſo little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of *Moſes* as a bare hiſtorian, and from ſome concurring teſtimonies of antiquity to his account: and, laſtly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and ſome of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the firſt, nothing is plainer than that the whole tenor of *Moſes*'s account is pointblank contrary to ſuch a notion. We need mention but ſome few paſſages of it; ſuch as, *that, upon his ſtretching out his rod, by* God's *command, over the waters, a mighty wind aroſe, and divided them; that they ſtood up on heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left; that the bottom of the ſea was dried up, and that the* Iſraelites *marched through it as on dry land*, and the like (56): *that* God *divided the* Red Sea *into parts or diviſions, and made* Iſrael *paſs through the midſt of it: that he led them by the right-hand of* Moſes, *dividing the waters before them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name; and that he had led them through the deep, as an horſe in the wilderneſs; that he walked, or rather cauſed* Iſrael *to walk, through the ſea* (57); and many more of the like nature; to ſay nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the ſame expreſſions. If it be objected, that the laſt-quoted paſſages out of the pſalms and prophets are poetical, and conſequently not to be taken in their literal ſenſe, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than *Moſes*, whoſe ſtyle is far from being ſwoln, has done in his account of it; but it would be unreaſonable to ſay, that they were only deſigned to expreſs a tranſaction ſo purely natural and eaſy, as the other ſide ſuppoſes it to have been.

Whether *Joſephus* deſigned to leſſen the miracle, or to make it more credible, when he tells us (58), that *the* Pamphilian *ſea opened a way to* Alexander, *in his expedition againſt the* Perſians, is not very material; for, though we ſhould grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he met with that account in ſome book then extant; or even that *Q. Curtius* intimates ſomething like it, when he ſays (59), that that conqueror *had opened a new way by the ſea*; yet *Strabo* will ſoon ſet us right, who tells us, "that

(56) *Exod.* xiv. & xv. *paſſ. Num. Deuteron. &c.* (57) *Pſ.* cxxxvi. 13, 14. & *alib. Iſa.* lxiii. 12, 13. *Habak.* iii. 15. (58) *Ant. l.* ii. *c.* 16. (59) *Lib.* v.

was removed towards the ſea, reſolved upon a cloſe purſuit after them; not dreaming, that they were launching into

" there is an hill upon the " *Pamphilian* ſea, called *Cli-* " *max*, by which there is a " paſſage along the ſea-ſhore; " the waters of it ſo abating, " when the ſea is calm and " ſtill, that the ground is " left naked, which, at the " flowing of the waters, is " covered again; and that " *Alexander*, coming that " way, ſet forward before the " waters returned; but that, " it happening then to be " winter, the waters recoiling " before he had paſſed it, he " was forced to wade, all that " day, thro' the waters, up to his " middle (60)." 'Tis plain therefore, that there is no parity between the paſſage of the *Iſraelites*, and the coaſting of *Alexander*, whatever the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian's deſign might be in mentioning them together.

We come now, 2dly, to ſhew, that the notion of *Moſes*'s leading them along the ſea-ſhore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reaſon and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the *Red Sea* ebbs and flows like other ſeas, that have a communication with the ocean; that is, that the waters of it riſe towards the ſhore during ſix hours; and, after having continued about a quarter of an hour at high-water, ebb down again during another ſix hours. Thoſe, who have examined it with the greateſt exactneſs, likewiſe aſſure us, that the greateſt diſtance that it falls from the place of high-water, is about three hundred yards; and that, during the time of low-water, one may ſafely travel it (61), as ſome have actually done (62). So that, from what is here premiſed and allowed on all ſides, it is evident, that theſe three hundred paces, which the ſea leaves uncovered, during the time of low-water, can continue ſo but during the ſpace of half an hour, at moſt; for, during the firſt ſix hours, the ſea retires only by degrees; and, in leſs than half an hour, it begins again to flow towards the ſhore. The moſt, therefore, that can be allowed, both of time, and ſpace of paſſable ground, in a moderate computation, is about two hundred paces during ſix hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now it is plain, that a multitude, conſiſting at leaſt of upwards of two millions and half of men, women, children, and ſlaves, incumbered beſides with great quantities of cattle, houſhold-ſtuff, and the ſpoils of the *Egyptians*, could never perform ſuch a march within ſo ſhort, we may ſay, within even double that ſpace, though we ſhould allow them alſo double the breadth of ground to do it on. This ar-

(60) *Strab. lib.* xiv. *vid Villet. in Exod.* xiv. *qu.* 17. (61) *Bernier, Morizon. & al.* (62) *Theven. ch.* 25. *Vid. Dr. Shaw, Pococke, & al.*

gument

into another element; much leſs could they ſuppoſe, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to thoſe whom

gument will hold equally good againſt thoſe who ſuppoſe, that they only coaſted along ſome part of the ſea, and thoſe who maintain, that they croſſed that ſmall arm or point of it, which is towards the further end, near the iſthmus of *Suez*, ſeeing that ſix or eight hours could not have ſufficed for the paſſage of ſo immenſe a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much leſs for *Pharaoh* to have entered it with his whole hoſt.

It will not be amiſs here to obſerve, not only how improble it is, that none of the *Egyptians* ſhould know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea; but how abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all obſtinately perſiſt in purſuing the *Iſraelites* through it, when they ſaw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all ſwallowed up by it. Beſides, who can ſuppoſe, that the *Iſraelites* venturing into the ſea was a premeditated thing? or even that *Moſes* could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the *Egyptians* would be ſo ſoon at their heels, they who had been ſo lately and ſo ſeverely plagued for detaining them, and were ſo urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any ſuch thought, he acted moſt impoliticly, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the ſea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; whereas, had *Pharaoh*, on his arrival at *Pi-hahiroth*, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they muſt have been obliged to flounce into the ſea long before the tide had opened a paſſage to them, if not at the very time of high-water, in which caſe they muſt have been all either drowned, or cut in pieces.

And this brings us to our third obſervation, that ſuch a notion is repugnant to the known character of *Moſes*, even as a bare hiſtorian; and that it calls in queſtion, not only his avowed modeſty and veracity, but even his ſenſe, learning, and experience. For, on the one hand, who can imagine, that the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that GOD alone, who knew what paſſed in *Egypt*, unexpectedly made them take this new route? When he deſcribes his own ſurprize, and the people's conſternation, at the ſight of the *Egyptian* army? When he aſſures them, that GOD interpoſed his miraculous power on their behalf; and, in a word, that he divided the ſea, to make a free paſſage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion muſt they have of his ſincerity, when he makes all *Iſrael* reſound the praiſes of GOD, as the author of a deliverance which was intirely owing to his own cunning and policy? On the other hand, what muſt they think

whom they so eagerly pursued. For it doth not appear by the text, that the *Egyptians* were sensible, that they were

think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of such an oversight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extremest danger, and be so weak as to betray it, though cloked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We shall only add, that he must have been the most imprudent, and withal the most conceited man alive, that could take it into his head to make such a vast, and not over-credulous multitude believe, that their passage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well assured of the contrary; much less appoint a solemn festival of seven days, and injoin it to be observed by them, and their posterity, to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous passing through the sea; when the experience of a much shorter time, than they continued along that coast, could easily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. These absurd consequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are so evident, and the system itself has been so fully confuted long ago by the learned *Diodorus Tarsensis, Chrysostom*'s master, that it hath met with few more advocates than these we have mentioned in the margin. And, even among these, we have already observed, that the greatest part, especially *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, acknowlege still, that a divine power interposed itself in raising and continuing that mighty wind, and causing thereby the waters to retire much farther than usual, and to recoil with greater force upon the *Egyptians*.

We observed further upon this head, that this opinion was contrary to several concurring testimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of *Josephus*, and of the *Heliopolitans*, who acknowleged the miraculousness of this transaction, and whose authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the *Memphites*, because such an acknowlegement of the divine interposing power can be ascribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives their brethren of *Memphis* might have to disown it. We shall content ourselves with just mentioning one more. *Diodorus Siculus* (63) tells us, that the *Ichthyophagi*, who inhabited along the coasts of the *Red Sea*, towards the farther end of it, had a constant tradition, that that sea had formerly been divided by a strong wind; and that, the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable

(63) *Lib.* iii. *c.* 3.

to

were entering into the sea; and it is more than probable, that they were too eager after their pursuit, and had too little light, to perceive the danger they were running into; unless we will suppose, with the *Jewish* historian [w], that, because they saw the *Israelites* march safely through the sea, they vainly hoped they might do so too, and were not undeceived, till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain that their insolent conduct, after so many warnings, justly deserved the punishment they were shortly to undergo; for by the next morning-watch, that is, by break of day, or about four in the morning, they began to find their chariots go more and more heavily; and had so many indications of GOD's fighting against them, as made them resolve upon turning about, and fleeing from

[w] Jos. ant. lib. ii. c. 16.

to any thing but this transaction we are upon.

Among those who acknowlege a divine power to have interposed in this signal transaction, some have endeavoured to reduce the miracle into a very narrow compass; whilst others, setting no bounds to their zeal, have magnified it even beyond all measure.

Of the former sort are those who have attributed the dividing of the sea, and the standing up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as fast as it blew them up; after which, a warmer one, being suffered to rise, both thawed and blew them into their former station. Of this sentiment were, 1. the seventy interpreters, who translated the words of *Moses*'s song (64) קפאו נוזלים, *the waters were frozen*, or, as our version expresses it, *were congealed*. 2. The *Chaldee* paraphrast. 3. The author of the book of *Judith* (65). 4. Some of the versions of the *Septuagint*; and, lastly, among the many moderns, father *Martianay*. A *Jewish* rabbi has fancied, that the sea was not divided, but frozen hard enough for the *Israelites* to go over it, though it thawed under their pursuers (66). On the other hand, *Origen*, to magnify this great miracle, has preserved us an antient tradition among the *Jews*, which affirms, that GOD opened the sea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might pass separately; in which he has been followed by several antient and modern writers. This tradition seems to have been founded upon that verse of the psalm (67), which says, *that* GOD *divided the sea into parts*, or divisions; but doth not appear to us worth further notice.

(64) *Exod.* xv. 8. (65) *Judith* v. 13. (66) *R. Sam. Maroc. lib. de advent. Messiæ*, c. 15. (67) *Psal.* cxxxvi. 13.

those

They are all drowned.

those whom they so eagerly pursued. But all their haste could not save them: GOD commanded *Moses* to stretch again his rod over the sea; and he had no sooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculously suspended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed *Pharaoh* and his host, so that not one of them escaped from the common ruin; whilst the *Israelites*, beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcases and the rich spoils of their enemies thrown upon the seashore, began to fear the LORD, and to believe his servant *Moses* (Q).

HOWEVER, *Moses*, who knew that this religious fit would last no longer than every thing went to their liking, took hold of this happy disposition he observed in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory, and to inspire them

(Q) We lately took notice, that the exact situation of the places, from which the *Israelites* set out at their entering into the sea, and at which they came out, are so much unknown to us, that it is next to impossible to describe their route with any tolerable certainty. For, should we so far depend upon *Eusebius*, as to believe *Baalzephon* to have been *Clysma*, and that the antient tradition were true, that it was at this latter that they passed the sea; yet the generality of geographers differ so much in their placing it, that we are still to seek for the side on which it stood, whether on the north, on the east, or south, or west shore of the *Arabic* gulph (1). For which reason we hope the reader will excuse us from entering into a farther inquiry about them; and for referring him to a learned author, who hath of late obliged the world with a curious and elaborate dissertation on this point, which is too copious for a work like this (2). Those who can give credit to the report of several grave travellers (3), who affirm, from their own knowlege, that the ruts of the chariot-wheels are still miraculously preserved, not only upon the sand, but even as far into the sea as the eye can see thro' it, notwithstanding all endeavours to deface them; which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the sea; these, I say, need not be at a loss where to set the boundaries of that passage. As for us, we are contented with having proved in the last note, that they passed it somewhere, without troubling ourselves with what is of less moment, and can never be known with any certainty.

(1) *Compare Euseb. loc. Hebr. Athanas. hist. Arrianor. tom.* i. *p.* 8[illegible]. *Philostorg. hist. ecclesiast. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. *Cosmas, lib.* v. *p.* 194. *tabul. Peutinger. itiner. Antonin. Thevenot's voyages, part* ii. *c.* 33, *and others.* (2) *Dr. Shaw's supplement, c.* 8. *See also his travels, p.* 343, *& seqq.* (3) *Paul Oros. Greg. Turon. & al. ap. Calm. dissert. in loc.*

with

with the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to their Almighty Deliverer. To this end he compoſed an hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of GOD's power diſplayed in this ſignal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. And, having divided the *Iſraelites* into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother *Aaron* at the head of the men, and his ſiſter *Miriam* at the head of the women; and, whilſt the former ſung the canticle, the women anſwered alternately to each verſe, with repeating the firſt words of it, *I will ſing to the* LORD; *for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horſe and its rider into the ſea.* Their muſic was likewiſe accompanied with dances, and the ſound of ſuch inſtruments as they had brought with them from *Egypt*. Thus was the ſeven days feſtival, which had been ordained in memory of this ſignal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the firſt and laſt day of it, which were to be obſerved with more than uſual ſolemnity, ſignalized the one by the death of the *Egyptian* firſt-born, and the laſt by their miraculous paſſage through the *Red Sea*, and the total overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his hoſt.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

AND now the *Iſraelites* began to think, that a few days march would eaſily bring them into the borders of the promiſed land, the conqueſt of which could not but appear eaſy to them, who had GOD for their protector, and *Moſes* for their guide. And, indeed, had the latter had no other difficulties to ſurmount, than the ruggedneſs of the way, and the hatred and oppoſition of thoſe warlike nations that inhabited it, *Canaan* would ſoon have been in their poſſeſſion. But their ſtubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt him, joined to an invincible fondneſs for idolatry and ſuperſtition, proved not only a conſtant obſtacle to their hopes, but an endleſs ſource of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwiſe famed above all men for his meek and gentle diſpoſition. They had ſcarce travelled three days from the *Red Sea* into the wilderneſs of *Shur*, before their exceſſive thirſt, and want of water, put them out of all patience; inſomuch that, when they came to diſcover thoſe of *Marah*, and found them too bitter to drink, they filled the air with their compleints againſt *Moſes*; who, fearing the ill conſequence of this murmuring, addreſſed himſelf to GOD in the humbleſt manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinſic virtue, or by a new miracle, ſweetened the waters, as ſoon as he had caſt it in. The people

The Iſraelites murmur for want of water.

people indeed ceased to murmur as soon as they had quenched their thirst; but as this was neither a satisfaction for their late riot, nor a security against future relapses, God was pleased to make a further trial of their future obedience, by giving them here some new statutes, and to add a promise, that if they observed them with an upright mind, instead of those plagues which he had inflicted on the *Egyptians*, he would shower down continual blessings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters, the place was called *Marah*; from which they went and encamped at *Elim*, where they found twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm-trees; and there continued about three weeks; that is, from the twenty-second day of the first month, on which they came thither from *Marah*, to the fourteenth of the second month, on which they decamped from it[r].

A new murmur for want of provision.

From *Elim* the whole camp marched towards the wilderness of *Sin*, by which route they removed still farther from the frontiers of the promised land; but, as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whithersoever that went. Here, their provisions becoming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots and plenty of provision which they enjoyed in the land of *Egypt*, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage, which seemed levelled at God himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desert place, met however with no other reproof than a gracious promise to rain down bread from heaven upon them: and,

Manna promised.

in order to make a further trial of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. *Aaron*, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud; from which God confirmed again what *Aaron* had promised to the people, assuring them that they

Quails promised.

should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh; and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread, which he had promised to send them.

[r] Exod. xv. per tot.

The

THE first part of this gracious promise was accordingly verified on that very evening, by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of *Egypt*, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and the other by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the very next morning. This last did not indeed fall close to the camp, but at some distance from it towards the wilderness. By break of day, therefore, the *Israelites* followed *Moses* towards the place, where he shewed them a kind of white dew, resembling a small hoary frost, which covered the face of the earth; and told them, that this was the bread which GOD had promised to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an *homer* for every head, which is about five pints, or forty-three eggs [a]. The people no sooner saw this new bread, but they cried to one another, *What is this? Whence cometh it?* for they were surprised at the strangeness of it; and

and sent in abundance.

falls at some distance from the camp.

[a] LE SCEN. essay on a new translat. p. 170. R. SALOM.

(Q) It must be remembred here, that this was about the middle of *April*, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the *Red Sea* in vast numbers: the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts; and incredible quantities are caught there about this time. The miracle, therefore, consisted not so much in the prodigious number that fell into *Israel*'s camp, as in the directing them thither, on that very evening, according to GOD's promise, and *Moses*'s prediction. The same may be said also, if we render the *Hebrew* שלו *shelaw*, locusts, as the learned *Ludolph* has done; who, in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of *Abyssinia*, has offered some probable arguments, that these were such, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in these parts, and all over *Africa*, but likewise to be esteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confession of all the *Jews*, of very uncertain signification, and may as well signify a locust, as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter sense, is, that the psalmist, speaking of them, calls them עוף כנף *hoph canaph*, winged or feathered fowl; which, we apprehend, is not so applicable to those insects, any more than the words שאר *sheer*, flesh, and צרה *tzedah*, which signifies all sorts of venison, as well of fowl as of beasts, which are there made use of (67).

(67) *Ps.* lxxviii. 25, & *seq.*

from

from thence they gave it the name of *man*, or *manna* (R); and, for a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), *Moſes* was ordered to preſerve an *homer* full in a veſſel, to be afterwards

(R) We have ventured to depart from our and ſeveral other verſions, which make the *Iſraelites* call this new food *manna*, becauſe *they knew not what it was*; for though commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by the various etymologies of that word, yet that of the *Septuagint*, which renders it τι τουτο ἐστι, *what is this?* ſeems to come nearer to the *Hebrew*, and to be moſt agreeable to the context; and is followed by *Joſephus*, and a great number of others (68), מן הוא *man hu*; in the original ſignifying, *what*, or *whence is this?* Not ſo eaſy is it to know the meaning of the word גד *gad*, which we tranſlate *coriander-ſeed*; though, according to the literal ſenſe of the original, it ſhould be rendered, *and it was white like the ſeed of gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some *Jews*, therefore, tranſlate it, *muſtard-ſeed*, becauſe one ſort of it is whitiſh (69); and *Abenezra* frankly owns, that he knows not what ſeed it is (70); but ſince it is ſaid in another place, that it was of the colour of *bdellium* (71), which the learned *Bochart*, and others, have ſhewn to ſignify a kind of pearl, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the word *gad* doth not ſignify coriander, but ſome other ſmall white ſeed; and that the manna, ſhining like an hoary froſt, very much reſembled a ſmall pearl.

(S) This they ventured, however, to gather, without regard to the quantity preſcribed by *Moſes*; and, as ſoon as they were got into their tents, they ſet about grinding it according to his direction, ſome with mills, others in mortars; and made themſelves a ſort of cakes, whoſe taſte reſembled that of wafers made with honey, or with freſh oil, as it is ſaid in another place (72); from that they came to other ways of dreſſing it, by frying, ſtewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the ſun immediately diſſolved it. In the mean time *Moſes*, who had given them expreſs charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear, that ſome of the people, whether out of curioſity or precaution, had ventured to ſave ſome of it, and had found it ſtinking, and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it; but their ſtubbornneſs was not to be cured by threatenings, and it was not many days before they made him ſenſible of it. The ſixth day being come, they went, according to order,

(68) *Joſ. rabbin. fere omn. S. Hieron. Fag. Mercer. Piſcat. Grotius, Druſius, Le Scen. & al.* (69) *Vid. Munſt. in loc.* (70) *Abenez. ibid.* (71) *Vid. Munſt. Bxb. & al.* (72) *Numb.* xi. 8.

to

terwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preſerved in it as a witneſs to future ages, which was accordingly done by his brother *Aaron*[b].

THEY had no ſooner left this deſert of *Sin*, and advanced a few days journey towards mount *Horeb*; but they raiſed a freſh murmur at *Rephidim* for want of water. *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to quell their fury, and to perſuade them to wait GOD's leiſure; they only grew the more deſperate, and were ready to ſtone him. He had recourſe to GOD, who was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the luſt with a miraculous food. He commanded him to take the elders of *Iſrael*, and all the people, up to mount *Horeb*, aſſuring him, that upon ſmiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters ſhould immediately guſh out of it in ſuch plentiful ſtreams, as would be more than ſufficient to allay their thirſt. *Moſes* obeyed, and GOD vouchſafed to ſend them plenty of water (T); and in memory of this new murmuring, the place

A new murmur for want of water;

which flows from a miraculous rock.

[b] Exod. xiv.

to gather a double quantity, to ſerve them for that day and the next, on which he had told them there would be none to be found, becauſe it was to be to them a day of ſabbath, or of reſt. They could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderneſs, and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth. This forced a freſh reprimand from him, in which, after ſome expoſtulations, he expreſly forbad them to go out of the camp during the whole ſeventh day.

(T) St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of this miraculous rock, which he applies to CHRIST, ſays, that it followed them (75); from which ſome will have it, that it accompanied them, and ſerved them upon all neceſſary occaſions, to the very end of their wandering (76); and that either the waters, which guſhed out of it, formed themſelves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart where-ever they went; and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but, had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting that rock in another place, as *Moſes* did for the ſame purpoſe (80); nor of digging wells for water ſoon after this laſt miracle, as we find they did (81).

(75) 1 Cor. x. 4. (76) *Calm. com. in loc. Berrig. & al.* (77) *Ita rabbin. mult.*
(78) *Contacuzer. in Sop. cap.* xi. *& rallin. aliqui.*
(79) *Toſtat. qu.* 3. *ap. Villet. cap.* 17. *qu.* 10. (80) *Numb.* xx. 11.
(81) *Ibid.* xxi. 16, *& ſeq.*

place was called *Maſſah* (tempting), and *Meribah* (contention).

About this time the *Iſraelites* being attacked by the *Amalekites*, *Moſes* was forced to depute his ſervant *Joſhua*, at the head of a ſufficient force, to make head againſt them, whilſt himſelf went up to the mount to intreat God for his ſucceſs. Accordingly on the next morning he went up with his brother *Aaron* and *Hur*, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilſt *Joſhua* was fighting with the *Amalekites*. And here God

There was, therefore, no neceſſity of fetching a parallel from the king of *Perſia*, of whom *Ælian* ſays, that the river *Choaſpis* always followed him(82), becauſe he always carried ſome of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable ſenſe to the apoſtle's words, by ſuppoſing that the *Iſraelites* did the ſame by thoſe of the rock. St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of a ſpiritual rock; and the two inſtances we have juſt now mentioned will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that they were always ſupplied by the natural one.

However, ſeeing the two actions of ſmiting the rock have been confounded by ſeveral commentators, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the contrary, ſince we are upon the ſubject. Now, that *Moſes* ſmote the rock in two different places, is plain; 1ſt, becauſe the firſt happened at *Rephidim*, in their eleventh ſtation, and the ſecond in the deſert of *Sin*, in the thirty-third ſtation. 2. The one happened in the firſt year after the *exod*, and the other in the fortieth; for, in the very next ſtation, *Aaron* died in the fifth month of the fortieth year (83). In the firſt, the rock was ſmitten with the rod with which *Moſes* wrought his wonders in *Egypt*; and, in the laſt, with the rod of *Aaron*, that had budded, and been laid up before the Lord, in the ark, from whence *Moſes* is ſaid to have taken it (84). Laſtly, the firſt happened before the erection of the tabernacle, and the laſt after it; for it is ſaid, that, upon the people's murmuring for want of water, *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell before their faces there, at the ſight of the glory of God (85). We might add, that the firſt was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas, in the laſt, *Moſes* ſmote the rock twice, and ſpoke ſome unbecoming words, which ſo diſpleaſed God, that he condemned him to die in the wilderneſs, without ſetting his foot into the land of *Canaan* (86).

(82) *Ælian. Hiſt. var. lib.* xii. *c.* 40. *Calm. Hiſt. V. T. in loc.* (83) *Conf. Exod.* xvii. 1, *& ſeqq. & Numb.* xxxiii. 14, 36, *&* 38. (84) *Numb.* xx. 9, *& ſeq.* (85) *Ibid. ver.* 4, *& ſeqq.* (86) *Ibid. ver.* 11, 12. *Vid. Simler. jun. Vitring. & al. in loc.*

was pleased to have a singular regard to his intercession; for, whilst he held his hands up, *Joshua* prevailed; and, when he let them down, *Amalek* got the advantage: but at length they grew so heavy, that *Aaron* and *Hur* were forced to stay them up on each side, till the going down of the sun, that is, till *Israel* gained the victory, and *Amalek* was discomfited, as we have seen in a former chapter[d] (T). *Moses* was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow a lasting war against the *Amalekites*, till their very remembrance was quite blotted out. He also reared up an altar to GOD, and called it *Jehovah Nissi* (the LORD is my banner); to intimate, that GOD, who had made them denounce this war against *Amalek*, would not fail to crown it with success[e].

Amalek discomfited.

THE defeat of *Amalek* opened a way for the *Israelites* to mount *Sinai*, where their abode proved not only the longest, but the most famous of all by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to observe. But, in the mean while, GOD, who foresaw what an addition this would be to *Moses*'s other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hospitable father-in-law, with *Zipporah* and her two sons, to the camp of *Israel*, where after their mutual embraces, and sacrifices offered to the GOD of *Israel*, *Jethro*, observing with what patience his son-in-law stood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing lest he should in time sink under it, gave him that excellent and salutary advice of choosing a competent number of elders, who should help him to bear such a part of the burden, as

Jethro comes to Moses.

[d] Vid. supr. vol. ii. p. 184, & seqq. [e] Exod. xvii. per tot.

(T) This *Hur* is thought to have been of the tribe of *Judah*, and the son of *Caleb* the son of *Ezron*, different from *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh*; and so to have been the grandfather of *Bezaleel*, so famed for his fine workmanship in the tabernacle, and other utensils for the service of GOD. *Josephus* thinks, that *Hur* had married *Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister (1); others think, that he was her son; but the generality of antient fathers think, that she died unmarried (2). As for *Joshua*, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal for GOD and his people; upon all which accounts *Moses* made choice of him for his successor, to lead the *Israelites* into the promised land.

(1) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 2. (2) *Nyssen. de virginitat. c.* 6. *Ambr. exhort. ad virgin. & al.*

would otherwise have proved too much for him[f]; an account of which we have already given in the history of *Midian*[g]. *Moses*, having thus eased himself of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of those inferior judges, some of which he set over thousands, others over hundreds, and others over tens, and referring only the most momentous causes to come before him, did soon after take leave of his father-in-law, and gave the signal for their march from *Rephidim*, to the wilderness of *Sinai*. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of *Egypt*[h].

Year of the flood 857. Bef. Christ 1491.

They encamp near Sinai.

THEY were no sooner come within sight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment so, that there might be a considerable space between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the scene of the most glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence those laws were to be delivered to them with the utmost terror and majesty, which GOD, who knew the genius of that perverse people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wisely fixed their situation so, as that they might be all eye and ear-witnesses of the divine presence[i]; and at the same time prescribed such limits to their curiosity, as should strike them with a suitable awe and reverence. Whilst they were pitching their tents according to his directions, *Moses* went up to the mountain, where he was commanded to remind the *Israelites* of all the wonders GOD had wrought in their favour, and to assure them, if they proved obedient to his laws, he would still look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal priesthood. *Moses* came down, and assembled the elders, and charged them to go and acquaint the people with the gracious message, who likewise promised all possible obedience to GOD's command; upon which he charged them to prepare themselves against the third day for the glorious scene, to wash their cloaths, and abstain from all nuptial commerce; and forewarned them from approaching the mountain under the severest penalties; and, that if either man or beast offered to transgress them, they should be immediately stoned, or shot to death. The signal, for their coming out to this glorious sight, was to be when they heard the sound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the

[f] Exod. xviii. pass. [g] Vid. supr. vol. ii. p. 154, & seq.
[h] Vid. ann. USHER. in A. M. 2513. RIVERAM de templ. lib. v. c. 7. & al. [i] Exod. xix. 9.

third

third day, the people having prepared themselves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmost expectation for this wonderful sight, they saw, by break of day, the mountain surrounded with the thickest cloud, out of which came forth such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The sound of the trumpet being heard, *Moses* brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had set to them; and there they observed the top of *Sinai* covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundations of it seemed to shake under their feet. In the midst of this dreadful scene, the trumpet being heard still louder and stronger, God called to *Moses*, and bid him bring his brother *Aaron* with him, who immediately went up, and both were soon buried in the cloud. The thunders and trumpets ceased soon after, when God was heard from the midst of the fire and smoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the rest, and of which an account hath been given at the beginning of this volume [k]: these *Moses* was afterwards ordered to write upon two tables of stone [l]. In the mean time the people, astonished at what they saw and heard, removed farther off; and the divine voice had no sooner ceased speaking, but they approached *Moses*, and, in the height of their fear and surprize, and having promised all possible obedience to the divine precepts, besought him that he would, for the future, speak to them in God's stead, lest, if they should hear his dreadful voice again, they should die with horror and amazement. *Moses*, highly commending the awe and regard which they expressed, went up again to the mountain; where, for that time, God was pleased to add a few ceremonial laws to those moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as those which he received afterwards from time to time, we have already given in one body at the entrance of this volume [m], to prevent needless repetitions: and for the same reason we shall avoid following the divine historian too close in all the intercourses which he had with God; wherein the observance of the same laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the same assurances of the divine favour and assistance upon their obedience, and severe threatenings in case of their disobeying, and the

The mountain covered with fire and smoke.

The decalogue delivered.

Some ceremonial laws instituted.

[k] Pag. 8, & seq.
[l] Exod. xix. per tot. c. xx. per tot.
[m] Pag. 4, & seq.

ſame promiſes of their poſſeſſing the lands of the *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgaſhites*, and *Jebuſites*, repeated almoſt upon every freſh occaſion; all which, though *Moſes* has penned them exactly as they happened, need to be mentioned here but once for all. What might induce Providence to deliver them in that ſeemingly irregular and interrupted method, is not eaſy to be gueſſed at, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a more methodical manner would have favoured too much of human wiſdom. As to the ſo frequent repetition of them, the reader will find ſufficient occaſion for it, ſince it will appear by the ſequel, that neither that, nor the grievous puniſhments that befel them almoſt upon every diſobedience, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. All that need be ſaid farther concerning thoſe laws and ordinances is, that ſome related to the immediate worſhip of GOD; ſuch as were, the building of the tabernacle, with all its grand apparatus of utenſils for uſe and ornament, their ſacrifices of all ſorts, the conſecration of their prieſts and *Levites*, the holy oil to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the feſtivals, offerings, tythes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diſeaſes, meats, and the like; ſome of which are generally looked upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or

(Y) The reader may eaſily remember what has been hinted, upon ſeveral occaſions, about the probability of the *Hebrews* and *Egyptians* borrowing ſomething from each other; ſo that thoſe, who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, *&c.* from the latter, becauſe they find, that theſe afterwards uſed the ſame kind of religious utenſils (3), do intirely go counter to the expreſs tenor of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* which mentions all theſe, and many more, as inſtituted on purpoſe, by GOD himſelf, to typify thoſe better things which he reſerved for the times of the goſpel (4). It is even plain, from the tenor of the Old and New Teſtament, that the paſſover, the lifting up of the ſerpent by *Moſes*, the *Iſraelites* wandering in the wilderneſs, and their entering into the land of *Canaan*, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as ſuch by the writers of the latter. But, on the other hand, they who abſolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given ſuch

(3) *Spencer, Maimon. & al. ſup. citat.* (4) *Vid. Hebr. paſſ. partic. cb.* ix.

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or confined to that climate; and others, as political; but all of them, to all appearance, calculated with a wiſe deſign

an unreaſonable ſcope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between theſe types, and their pretended antitypes, that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in *Aaron*'s garment, neither kettle, fork, or ſpoon, without one or two. We beg leave to give one inſtance of this enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, not ſo much for the brightneſs of it, as to ſhew how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent proteſtants, the one a *Lutheran*, and the other a *Calviniſt*, had been wrangling a conſiderable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs, without any ſeeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make *Luther* the antitype of *Aaron*, ſeeing he was the firſt that had ſet up and lighted the grand candleſtick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to diſprove the fact, had recourſe to the ſame typical reaſoning; and affirmed, that, if *Luther* was *Aaron*'s antitype upon that ſcore, *Calvin* was much more ſo, ſince it was manifeſt, that, if he had not taken the *ſnuffers* into his hand, the candleſtick would have given ſuch a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it (15). But, ſetting aſide ſuch idle dreams, we may venture to ſay, upon the whole, that the *Egyptians*, being generally allowed to have been the firſt introducers of idolatry, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been likewiſe the inventors of a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh; and that the *Jews*, who had been, as it were, formed in the country, might have contracted ſuch a particular fondneſs for it, as not to be eaſy without having ſomething like it among them. We are now come upon a point of their hiſtory, which will furniſh us with a ſignal inſtance of this, once for all. *Moſes* promiſed the people, that GOD would ſend his angel to them, to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. *Moſes* goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for loſt: uncertain what to do, and fearful, leſt the *Amalekites*, or ſome other nation, ſhould fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promiſed conductor; and, being doubtful what kind of one GOD deſigned for them, take it in an *Egyptian* ſenſe; and, in a tumultuous manner, gather about *Aaron*, and inſiſt that he ſhould make them ſuch an one. *Aaron*, who gueſſed their meaning, caſts a golden calf (no doubt, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*; for, without the aſſiſtance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the laſt creatures that one would chuſe to make a ſymbol of the Deity), and ſets it up in the midſt of the camp; and the people,

(15) *Le Clerc's bibl. A. & M. tom.* xii *p.* 313.

design of preserving them both in their obedience to God, and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worship into their own; all which were delivered at several times, and upon divers exigences, by God to *Moses*, and by him committed to writing in the same order in which he received them [k]. Neither were all those laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for, after the setting up of the tabernacle, God was pleased to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing, however, is remarkable in that last intercourse we have been mentioning; namely, the promise which God made to *Israel* [l], that he would send his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promised land; and that if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themselves from the pollutions of those nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a panic fear upon them, so that they should not be able to resist them; adding, that they should not make a complete conquest of them at once, lest the wild beasts should prove too strong for them; but that they should carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the *Red Sea* unto

[k] Exod. xxiv. 4. [l] Ibid. xxiii. 20, & seq.

highly pleased with it, began to pay the usual ceremonies of sacrifices, dancing, &c. to it: in the mean time *Moses* comes down, and surprises them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and destroys the *Egyptian* idol (16). After this he returns immediately to the top of the mount, intreats God to pity and forgive them; and God, who saw that their minds were bent upon some outward symbol, in compassion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though differing in the main from the *Egyptian* idols, yet should still retain something of a resemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at least the head of a calf, as has been shewn by our learned *Jos. Mede*. Who doth not see, by all this, that God only complied so far with the carnal genius of that untoward people, as to give them a visible symbol, without condescending so low, as to permit such a close imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wise prove a snare to them in process of time?

(16) *Exod.* xxxii. *pass.*

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the ſea of the *Philiſtines*, and from the deſert unto the river [m].

IMMEDIATELY after this, *Moſes* reared an altar to GOD, and offered burnt-ſacrifices and peace-offerings upon it; and having cauſed the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a ſolemn promiſe from them, that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by ſprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims; and then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a ſtanding monument of this alliance between GOD and them. *Moſes* had no ſooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with him *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and ſeventy of the elders of *Iſrael*, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the GOD of *Iſrael* in a kind of viſion; and *Moſes*, having committed the care of the people to them, took *Joſhua* up into the mountain with him, and ſtayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that GOD gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of GOD himſelf (A); together with the whole

The covenant between GOD and the people ratified.

Moſes takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.

Goes himſelf into the cloud.

[m] Ibid. ver. 31.

(A) What character theſe tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the *Samaritan*, or in the *Aſſyrian*, hath been conſidered in a former ſection (18); where we took notice of what *Moſes* tells us, that they were writ or engraven מזה ומזה *mize umize*, on this and on that ſide (19). From which their *Talmud* tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, ſo as to be ſeen and read on either ſide. And, when the queſtion is put, how it was poſſible for the middle part of the ם final *mem* and ס *ſamech* to ſupport itſelf? the *Talmudiſt* anſwers, that it was kept ſuſpended by a miraculous power. As to other particulars relating to theſe tables, ſuch as their number, which ſome eaſtern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to ſeventeen (22); though the *Talmud*, and all the *Jewiſh* rabbies, conſtantly call them the *two tables of the covenant* (23); their ſhape, bigneſs, what materials they were made of; which ſome rabbies take to have been ſome precious wood;

(18) *Pag.* 211, *& ſeq.* (19) *Exod.* xxxii. 15. (20) *Tractat. megillath.* (22) *Vid. Herbelot's bibl. orient. in loc. paſſ. vid. etiam* הגרה הפסח, *cantic.* אחר מי יזרע. (23) *Talm.*

whole plan of the *Jewish* religion, of the tabernacle, and all the utenſils belonging to it, and ſeveral other laws concerning the prieſts, *Levites*, and laity, and in particular, an order for exacting a free-will offering from all the children of *Iſrael*, according to their abilities, of gold, ſilver, braſs, ſcarlet, ſilk, wool, oil, ſpices, and all other neceſſary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, prieſtly robes, and all other things that were

others, ſome precious ſtone, as a ruby or carbuncle; in what order the ten commandments were writ; whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or ſome part, upon one, and the reſt upon the other; theſe, and other ſuch nice inquiries, we purpoſely forbear, becauſe the Scriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our ſenſe of thoſe expreſſions of *Moſes*, that theſe tables were written by the finger of GOD, that they were the work of GOD, and that the writing was the writing of GOD, and the like. For, though a great many expoſitors underſtand them literally, as written by GOD himſelf, others by an angel, and others by the Spirit of GOD, which is ſometimes called *the finger of* GOD (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what *Moſes* ſays in another place (25), that GOD commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables, as they had been written in the firſt, which he had broken, and that he did ſo accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in *Deuteronomy* (26), that he (GOD) wrote on the ſecond tables according to the writing of the firſt, the ten commandments; it is plain, I ſay, that the words can imply no more, than that they were written by the command and direction of GOD, and that *Moſes* was the perſon that wrote the firſt, as well as the laſt; though the common opinion of antient and modern expoſitors is, that GOD wrote the firſt, and he the laſt (27).

The *Mohammedans* tell us, that GOD commanded the angel *Gabriel* to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of GOD, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables; and that, after *Moſes* had broken them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards depoſited in the ark (28).

(24) *Vid. Exod.* viii. 19. *Luke* xi. 20, *& alib.* (25) *Exod.* xxxiv. 27, 28. (26) *Ch.* x. 4. (27) *Cypr. l.b. de S. Spirit. Augeſt. quæſt. in Exod.* 186. *Jun. Villet. rabbin. vid. Bluſt. & al. in loc.* (28) *Vid. biblior. orient. p.* 649.

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to be appointed for the public worſhip [n]. The care of making all theſe things was to be committed to *Bezaleel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Aholiab*, of the tribe of *Dan*, two perſons whom GOD had endowed with an extraordinary ſkill and wiſdom to contrive and execute all theſe grand deſigns, according to his directions [o].

IN the mean time the people, who had ſeen *Moſes* go up and enter into the cloud, whilſt the top of the mountain was all in flames [p], after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for loſt. In this uncertain condition they aſſembled in a riotous manner about *Aaron*'s tent, and told him, that as they wholly deſpaired of *Moſes*'s return, it was very expedient, that he ſhould make them ſome gods to go before them; and ſuch was his extreme weakneſs and cowardice, that he doth not ſeem to have heſitated one moment, but directed them immediately to bring him ſufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf (U). And ſo

Is given over by the people.

[n] Exod. cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx.
[o] Ibid. xxxi. paſſ.
[p] Vid. Exod. xxiv. 16, 17.

(U) A learned *Romiſh* writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work (29), which was, however, univerſally condemned, even by thoſe of his own church. And indeed the moſt that can be ſaid in *Aaron*'s defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be ſo ready to part with their golden ornaments, eſpecially the women, from whom he bids them tear them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no ſcruple to be as quick as they, in anſwering their requeſt; ſo that by the next day the calf was ſet up. The greateſt part of the *Jews* ſeem to throw the fault of this whole tranſaction upon the *Egyptians* that were come out with them, who firſt prompted the people to aſk for theſe gods; they add, that *Aaron* had no hand in the caſting of it in that form, but that it was done by ſome *Egyptian* conjurer; which they prove from the ſhort time he took in making it, and from *Aaron*'s words to *Moſes*: *They gave me* (their gold), *and I caſt it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may juſtly affirm, that they, who undertake to vindicate *Aaron*'s weakneſs, whether *Jews* or *Chriſtians* (30), act with leſs modeſty than *Joſephus*, who ſaw

(29) *Monceus de vitul. aur. ap. oper. critic. vol.* ii. *p.* 4415. *Vid. etiam Bayl. dict. ſub voc. Aaron.*
(30) *Berruyer's hiſt. du peup. de Dieu, in l.c. Calm. & al.*

too

so eager were the people for this new god, that they willingly parted with their gold ear-rings to *Aaron*, who lost no time to have it cast according to his promise (B); and having set it upon a pedestal, in full sight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, he told them in their

too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuse, seeing *Moses* doth so severely reprove and condemn him for it (28); and therefore hath rather chosen to suppress it wholly, than to record a deed so little to his predecessor's credit, however glossed or palliated. And, had not *Moses* had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we should have lost this, among many other pregnant testimonies of his faithfulness and sincerity.

(B) Our version, and several others, have given us a very uncouth account of the casting of this golden calf, by making *Aaron* fashion it with a graving-tool, after he had cast it in a mould (29): that of *Geneva* is still more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it first, and cast it afterwards. For it is plain, that *Aaron* could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the metal melted, and the idol cast, and engraven into the bargain, because he set it up on the very morrow after the people had brought him the metal. The mistake is owing to their not attending to the various sense of the verb צור *tzur*, which signifies to *tie up*, and *bind*, as well as *to shape* and *form*, nor to that of the word חרט *cherret*, which though it may properly enough be rendered a graving-tool in one or two places where it is used; yet in others it signifies a *bag*: accordingly *Naaman* the *Syrian* is said to have tied up two talents of silver in two bags (30), in which place these two words צור *tzur* and חרט are used. We think, therefore, those in the right, who have rendered the verse now in question, *And* Aaron *received them* (the gold ear-rings), *and tied them in a bag, and got them cast into a molten calf* (31.)

As for the calf itself, some antient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the *Egyptian Isis* (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it. But, however, the most general opinion is, that it was a whole calf, in imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*. But, whatever the shape of it was, it is plain from some of the prophets (34), and especially from St. *Stephen*'s words, *In*

(28) *Exod.* xxxii. 21. (29) *Ibid.* xxxii. 4. (30) 2 *Kings* v. 23. (31) *Le Seen. essay on a n. vers. mer's comment. in Exod. in loc.* (32) *Vid. le Clerc & Cal-* (33) *Vid. Herodot. lib.* ii. c. 41. (34) *Isai. Ezek. Amos, & al. pass.*

their

their own dialect, that these were the gods which brought them out of *Egypt*, and appointed the next day as a solemn festival to their new deity; which they began with offering burnt-sacrifices and peace-offerings, and concluded with feasting and dancing.

In the mean time, God, who saw what passed in their camp, and that the ungrateful *Israelites* were rendering themselves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed *Moses* of it, who had spent by this time full forty days in fasting and prayer; but with such threatening expressions against those idolaters, as made him fear, that some heavy punishment, if not a total destruction, was ready to fall upon them. He took the two tables, and his servant *Joshua* with him, came down from the mountain, and was scarce got to the foot of it, when he was surprised with their strange shoutings, and it was not long before he beheld the sad cause of it, the calf which his brother had set up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was so great, that the first way he expressed it by, was, by breaking the two tables; after which he went up and upbraided his pusillanimous brother in the strongest terms, for consenting to so vile a deed, which now laid them open, naked and defenceless, to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them safe into the promised land [a].

Year of flood 857. Bef. Christ 1491.

Moses comes down from the mount.

Breaks the two tables.

Aaron failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people; but *Moses*, instead of listening to his excuses, set himself immediately about the destruction of the idol, and the punishment of such of the delinquents, whom his presence had not driven away from the place where it was set up. He caused the calf to be taken down, burnt and ground into powder, and cast into the water; of which he afterwards made all the people to drink. Whilst this was a doing, he called aloud, Who is on the Lord's side? and finding that the sons of *Levi* immediately joined him, he commanded them to gird on their swords, and to go and slay all indifferently whom they found still at that idolatrous feast, without regard to age,

[a] Exod. xxxii. 1, & seq.

their hearts they returned into Egypt, *and forced* Aaron *to make them a molten calf* (35), that they learned their idolatry, and contracted their propensity to it, during their abode in *Egypt*, as was lately observed.

(35) *Acts* vii. 39, *& seq.*

quality,

The Levites *kill* 3000 *delinquents.*

quality, kindred, friendſhip, or acquaintance. Theſe went forthwith from *Moſes*'s preſence, and puniſhed with immediate death about three thouſand of the delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth (C). In the mean time the people, who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what ſeverity *Moſes* had reproved his brother, were under the greateſt conſternation; but he went up again, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of God's former promiſe of bringing them into the land of *Canaan* under the conduct of his angel. Both the pardon and promiſe however were ſo far conditional, that the people were to make ſome atonement for their rebellion, by a ſolemn and public act of humiliation, and a promiſe to be more obedient for the future; for in caſe they ſhould, by a further relapſe, bring down a freſh judgment upon themſelves, this idolatry was likewiſe to be puniſhed along with it [s] (D). One of theſe conditions the

Moſes *returns to the mount.*

[s] Exod. xxxii. per tot.

(C) Some copies of the Septuagint and the Vulgate ſay twenty-thouſand, and others thirty-three thouſand; but, beſides that the original mentions no more than three thouſand, and thoſe verſions are acknowleged, by ſeveral eminent men of the church of *Rome* to be corrupt in this place (36), it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater ſlaughter in ſo ſhort a time.

This timely zeal of the tribe of *Levi* againſt thoſe idolaters did not go long unrewarded: for it not only wiped off that blemiſh, which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites*, but in a very ſhort time procured them the *Levitical* prieſthood; which, though ſubordinate to that of *Aaron*, and his poſterity, intitled them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain, in *Iſrael*; to the inferior miniſtry of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town; to the property of thirty-five cities, with all their lands, ſome of which were appointed cities of refuge; and to ſeveral other privileges and immunities, of which an account hath been given in a former ſection (37).

(D) The *Jews* have underſtood theſe words in ſo unlimited a ſenſe, that they tell us, upon the authority of one of their greateſt rabbies, quoted by the *Talmud* (38), that God doth not inflict any puniſhment

(36) *Caiet. Vatabl. Lippoman. A. Merian. & al. vid.* 1 Cor. x. 8. (37) *See before, p.* 69, *& ſeq.* (38) *R. Iſaac in Talmud. tract. ſanhedr.*

upon

the people immediately embraced, and a ſolemn faſt was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they diveſted themſelves of all their gaudy apparel, and coſtly ornaments: and in memory of this ſin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the *Jews* obſerve that faſt yearly even to this day. At the ſame time GOD, to adminiſter ſome comfort to *Moſes*, whom he ſaw labouring under ſuch an heavy load of grief and care, was pleaſed, at his requeſt, to grant him a ſight of his glory, that is, as the context explains it [t], a ſight of that Angel, or rather Divine Conductor, under whoſe direction and care they were to go and conquer the promiſed land (E).

MOSES

[t] Exod. xxxiii. ver. 12, & ſeq.

upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty-fourth part of this ſin of the golden calf put into the ſcale with it. However, it is plain by the text, that GOD only deſigned to deter them from relapſing into the like crime, by threatening, that, in ſuch a caſe, he would inflict a double puniſhment upon them.

(E) It muſt be owned, that the account which *Moſes* gives us of this divine viſion is none of the cleareſt; and that ſome of the expreſſions he uſes, ſuch as, that he ſhould not ſee GOD's face, but only his back, *&c.* have induced ſome free-thinkers to tax him, and all the *Jews* after him, with being *anthropomorphites*, till they learned a more refined divinity from the *Babylonians* during their captivity. But it muſt be remembred, that *Moſes* ſpoke to a groſs and carnal people, in a language far from copious, eſpecially in words or idioms ſuitable either to the Deity, or to the dignity of the preſent glorious tranſaction; and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expreſſions from outward and ſenſible objects and actions. It is plain, that thoſe who wrote in *Greek*, which is vaſtly more rich than the *Hebrew*, even the writers of the New Teſtament, and the primitive fathers, who were the fartheſt from having any ſuch abſurd ideas of the Godhead, have been forced to make uſe of the ſame figurative expreſſion in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that, as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear, that the *Jews* themſelves underſtood *Moſes*'s words in that groſs ſenſe, becauſe it is plain, that they had a notion that this Angel or Apparition, which directed them through the wilderneſs, was the MESSIAH, who then aſſumed a viſible appearance, which they called the *Shekinah*, from שכן *ſhakan*, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which *ſhekinah* tho' ſome underſtand

of

MOSES ſtaid in the mount another forty days and nights, made two other tables, like thoſe which he had broken, and received ſome further inſtructions from GOD; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little ſurpriſed to obſerve, that his face had contracted ſuch a glorious luſtre during his receſs, that they could not intenſely behold it; which obliged him to cover it with a veil whenever he was to ſpeak to them [u]. By this time the people were become ſo tractable, that upon his exacting from them a free-will offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utenſils, prieſtly garments, *&c.* both men and women ſhewed the greateſt readineſs to contribute their richeſt jewels, metals, and other precious things, which they had got out of the ſpoils of the *Egyptians* and *Amalekites*; ſo that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than ſufficient quantity of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, braſs, ſhittim and cedar-wood, ſilk, cotton, linen, and the fineſt wool of purple, ſcarlet, and other colours, of the ſkins of rams, badgers and goats, richly dyed, and laſtly, of the richeſt oils, ſpices, ointments and perfumes; all which he diſtributed to proper perſons to be wrought, and made *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* overſeers of all the

A general offering of all the people.

[u] Exod. xxxiv. per tot.

of all the appearances which GOD took from the beginning, and others, either of the *ſhekinah* of fire and water, or of the firy and cloudy pillar; yet all agree, that it was the כסא הכבוד *kiſſe hakabod*, the throne of glory, which was one of the ſeven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to diſculpate at once the *Jewiſh* lawgiver from ſuch an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every-where, eſpecially in *Deuteronomy*, of the Godhead; what pains he takes to deter the *Jews* from making any miſrepreſentation of it, under any form whatſoever, by reminding them, that, when GOD was pleaſed ſo to diſplay his glory upon mount *Sinai*, at the delivering of the ten commands, they ſaw no ſhape nor likeneſs, but only heard his dreadful voice. Theſe ſo frequent inculcations may therefore be reaſonably looked upon as a key how to underſtand all thoſe other expreſſions, which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal ſenſe, but in ſuch an one as was worthy of the Deity, and the dignity of the ſubject.

(40) *Vid. Chald. paraph. in loc. & in Gen. l. 1. Raym. Mart. pug. fid. Dupleſſ. cont. Jud. Murſt. & al.*

work.

work [w]. These shewed such diligence, and employed so many hands, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture, and costly apparatus, were finished, and set up at the foot of mount *Sinai*, in less than six months. *Aaron* and his sons, being solemnly consecrated priests, began to offer up all kinds of sacrifices upon the new altar, according to the law of *Moses*. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe came and appeared before *Moses* and *Aaron*, and presented a very considerable offering to GOD, in six waggons drawn each by two oxen; all which were received by *Moses*, and set aside for the service of the tabernacle [x]. Thus was this pompous worship begun, in the framing and instituting of which GOD was pleased to comply with their gross and carnal minds, which he saw were incapable of being affected with a purer and more spiritual one [y].

Aaron *high-priest* Year of the flood 858. Bef. Chr. 1490.

AARON had not been long installed in his office of high-priest, before he had the mortification of seeing his two sons, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, struck dead by fire from heaven, for presuming to burn incense in the tabernacle with strange fire, contrary to *Moses*'s command [z]; who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp (E).

His sons killed by fire from heaven.

THE people were soon after ready for another rebellion, because he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderness of *Sinai*; so that the divine anger was already kindled, and had shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to consume the extremities of the camp; but at *Moses*'s intercession the fire ceased, and in memory of it the place

The rebellion at Taberah.

[w] Exod. xxxv. 20, 21, & seqq.
[x] Num. vii. 1, & seq.
[y] Exod. from ch. xxxvi. to the end.
[z] Levit. x. 1, 2, & seq.

(E) It is observable, that, immediately after this accident, GOD expresly forbad *Aaron*, and all his successors, to drink either wine, or any intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, lest they should incur the same fate with his two sons; from which the *Jews* conclude, reasonably enough, that these two, being drunk when they went to burn, incense, took some fire along with them (41), not considering that there was an holy fire preserved in the tabernacle for that purpose, from that which was miraculously fallen a little before, and had consumed the victims upon the altar in the presence of all the people (42).

(41) *Vid. Chald. paraph. vijiera. rab. & al.* (42) *Levit.* ix. *ver. ult.*

was called *Taberah*, or burning [a]. *Moses* began to find, by this fresh instance of their stubbornness, that the burden of government was like to prove too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon those magistrates, which he had chosen at *Jethro*'s advice. He presented his complaint to God, who, to ease him of this load of care, commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of *Israel*, both for wisdom and integrity, to whom he should impart a portion of his spirit (G), and to erect them into a supreme court, that they might bear their share of the burden with him. It was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no sooner removed from *Taberah*, but their very next encampment was signalized with a fresh insurrection. A mixed multitude of the dregs of *Egypt*, and other nations, who had followed the *Israelites* hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forsaking the garlick, onions, and flesh-pots of *Egypt* for it, and soon infected the whole camp with a longing after some better food. *Moses*'s tent was beset on all sides with crouds, who came, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded that he should provide them flesh to eat, instead of the manna, which their souls began to loath.

The great council of seventy appointed.

A new murmur for want of flesh.

Whereupon God commanded him to call together the seventy elders to the door of the tabernacle; and, whilst his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp, he was pleased to promise them, that he would send them such a present supply of flesh, as should serve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became as loathsome to them as the manna was. At the same time, he inspired the seventy elders with such a share of his spirit, that they all began to prophesy (H); and the same gift continued

[a] Num. xi. 1, & seq.

(G) This the *Jews*, judiciously enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without losing any of its light. For *Moses* had such a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the least portion of his spirit, all which he found too little to govern them (47).

(H) This assembly of the seventy elders, the *Jews*, and, after them, *Grotius*, and some other Christians (48), have affirmed to have been the same that became afterwards so famous under the name of *Sanhedrin*,

(47) *Bammidbar. rabbab. & targ. Jonath. in loc.* (48) *Grot. comm. in pass. & de jur. bell. & pac. c. 3. art. 20. Vid. Seld. de synedr. vet. Hebraeor. lib. ii. c. 13. Lightfoote hor. Hebr. & al.*

continued with them as long as they lived. The camp was at that time in *Arabia Petræa*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Red Sea*; from the other ſide of which, a ſtrong wind brought ſuch infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for ſeveral miles [a]. Theſe birds, being tired with their long flight, and not able to ſoar more than two cubits above the ground, were eaſily caught by the people, and in ſuch quantities, that the leaſt that any one of them gathered was ten *homers* (I). Their firſt care was to glut

A ſupply of quails ſent, which laſted 30 days.

[a] Num. xi. 31, & ſeq.

ſanhedrin, to which even their kings and high-prieſts were ſubject. The rabbies have left no ſtone unturned to prove, that this *ſanhedrin* had conſtantly ſubſiſted ever ſince its firſt inſtitution by *Moſes*; and that the members of it always aſſembled before the tabernacle, where-ever that was ſet up, either in the wilderneſs, or in the promiſed land, till the building of the temple by *Solomon*, who, they ſay, built a ſtately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which being within the temple, they were not permitted to ſit down in it, but only in the other, which was without it. they add further, that this ſupreme court was continued in *Babylon* during their captivity there; and that, at their return, it had the ſame place rebuilt in the ſecond temple, and ſo continued till its total extinction under the *Romans*. However, as they bring no better authority for all theſe and many other particularities relating to that aſſembly, than their tradition, they are juſtly rejected by the far greater part of Chriſtians, ſeeing we do not find one word of ſuch an high court, either in the times of *Joſhua*, of the judges, or of their kings, nor indeed even after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, till the time of the *Maccabees*. We ſhall therefore ſay no more of this *ſanhedrin*, till we come to the time in which it is generally ſuppoſed to have been ſet up. As for theſe ſeventy elders, it is likely that they aſſiſted *Moſes* during their abode in the wilderneſs, and that there was an end of their aſſembly, as ſoon as they entered into the land of *Canaan*.

(I) *Homer*, or rather *chomer*, is a meaſure which contains ten *baths*, or five buſhels: the *Jews* think חומר *chomer* to be the ſame with חמור *chamor*, an aſs, becauſe the letters are the ſame, and conſequently that a *chomer* is an aſs's load (49). However, as we would not enlarge the miracle more than was needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own, and moſt other verſions, which render the words

(49) *Vid. Munſt. in loc.*

glut themselves with them; after which they began to think how to preserve the rest from being corrupted. But, in the midst of their feasting, GOD was pleased to smite a great number of them with a sore disease, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this severe punishment for their unreasonable lust, the place was called *Kibroth-hatavah*, or the sepulcres of concupiscence; from whence they removed to *Cadesh-barneah*, and thence to *Hazaroth*[b]. In this encampment *Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister, having been smitten with leprosy for some reflections which she had cast upon him and his wife, *Moses*, at her's and *Aaron*'s request, obtained a cure for her; yet so, that she was to remain without the camp, as a polluted person, seven days[c]; after which they removed again towards *Cadesh-barneah*, in the wilderness of *Paran*. Here *Moses* was commanded to choose twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to send them to search the land of *Canaan*; among which were *Joshua* and *Caleb*. These twelve, having received *Moses*'s directions to view the whole land, to examine the strength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its soil, and the like, set out upon their progress, which they performed in forty days.

A fresh plague destroys a great number of the rebels.

Miriam struck with leprosy.

Twelve spies sent to view the land.

AT their return from *Rehob*, which is at the foot of mount *Libanus*, they passed through the valley of *Eshcol*, so called from the great quantity of the largest grapes with which it abounded, and is still to this day famed for[d]; where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious size, which they threw over one of their staves, and brought between two upon their shoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruised.

BEING at length happily arrived at their camp, they made their report to *Moses* and *Aaron*, in the presence of the elders, and of all the people. They began indeed

[b] Num. xi. per tot. [c] See vol. ii. p. 481. [d] Num. xii. per tot.

of *Moses* as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard, thick upon the ground, whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, *that they flew no higher than two cubits from it*; and this quantity was more than sufficient to serve them a month; considering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a day's journey round it, was covered with it, and that flesh, especially that of quails, could not be eaten in great quantity.

with

with extolling the richneſs of the land, and ſhewed them a ſpecimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with ſome of their fineſt pomgranates, figs, and other fruits; but as ſoon as they obſerved, that this account had inſpired the reſt with a deſire of becoming the happy poſſeſſors of it by a ſpeedy conqueſt, ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to repreſent it as a thing impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic ſtature of its inhabitants[c]. *Joſhua* and *Caleb* alone remained firm in their report; and the latter, who obſerved a kind of deſpair in the people's looks, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by aſſuring them, that ſuch a glorious enterprize was by no means impoſſible: but the people gave ſuch credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they wholly deſpaired of overcoming ſuch powerful and gigantic nations, in compariſon of whom, they looked upon themſelves as mere graſhoppers and reptiles. Their murmurings grew to ſuch a height before the next morning, that a return into *Egypt* was again looked upon as vaſtly preferable to ſuch an undertaking; and they were already conſulting how to chooſe themſelves a leader, to bring them back to the land of their former thraldom. The uproar, however, was, in ſome meaſure, ſuppreſſed by the appearance of the glory of God in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, and from which God was heard to ſpeak to *Moſes* in ſuch threatening terms, as gave them cauſe to fear ſome terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude.

Ten of them bring an ill report;

and cauſe an inſurrection.

HERE *Moſes* was forced again to become their interceſſor; but the ingratitude and infidelity of thoſe miſcreants, who had been eye-witneſſes of thoſe wonders which he wrought both in *Egypt* and in the deſert, and of the puniſhments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact ſome conſpicuous mark of the divine diſpleaſure. Wherefore God did then ſwear, that none of thoſe, that were above twenty years of age, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb*, ſhould ever enter into the promiſed land; but that they ſhould wander from place to place during the ſpace of forty years,

All above 20 years of age excluded from entering into the promiſed land.

[c] Num. xiii. per tot.

till all their carcaſes were rotted in the wilderneſs (K). As for the ten wretches, whoſe falſe report occaſioned this rebellion, they were all deſtroyed by a ſudden death, and became the firſt inſtances of the puniſhment denounced againſt the whole nation [e].

Year of flood 858. Bef. Chr. 1490.

Their raſh and ill-timed exploit againſt the Amalekites *puniſhed.*

THIS ſevere ſentence did ſo alarm and ſhame the cowardly multitude, that they preſented themſelves early in the morning before *Moſes*, ready armed; and told him, that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by ſome noble exploit, either againſt the *Amalekites*, or againſt ſome of the *Canaanitiſh* nations. *Moſes* ſtrove in vain to divert them from ſuch a raſh enterprize, by repreſenting to them, that they would certainly periſh in the attempt, becauſe they had now forfeited the divine aſſiſtance and protection: his ſpeech ſerved only to whet their unſeaſonable ardor, ever indocile and deaf to good counſel; they reſolved to try their fortune, and to gain the paſſes of the neighbouring hills; but they found them ſo well kept to their coſt, that the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, falling upon them, made a great ſlaughter of them there, and purſued them as far as *Hormah* [f]. All this while *Moſes*, who foreſaw the conſequence of this raſh enterprize, did wiſely keep himſelf, and the ark of the covenant, in the camp (L).

DURING

[e] Numb. xiv. 36, 37. [f] Ibid. 40. to the end.

(K) *Moſes* here makes uſe of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the ſpies ſearching the land; though it is plain, that their children entered it thirty-nine years after this ſentence was pronounced againſt their fathers (50). It is further to be obſerved, that, though this excluſion excepts none but *Caleb*, and, in other places where it is repeated, it mentions only *Joſhua* along with him; yet there were certainly ſome others that were not included in it, ſuch were *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account; together with *Eleazar*, and a few more, eſpecially of the tribe of *Levi*. In memory of this rebellion, the *Jews* have ever ſince kept a ſtrict faſt on the 7th day of the *Elul* (51) or ſixth month.

(L) In memory of this ſad diſaſter, and of the dropping of the people, during the remainder of the forty years, he is ſuppoſed to have compoſed the xcth pſalm, in which he gives us a moſt lively image of the ſhortneſs and frailty of life.

(50) *Compare Numb.* xxxii. 13. *with Deut.* ii. 14. *Vid. Uſher's ann. p.* 19. (51) *See Megbilath thaaneth, part. ult. ſect.* 14.

After

DURING this long interval of thirty-nine years, the Divine Providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner, in the forming and polishing this new generation, for whom the conquest of *Canaan* was reserved. The miraculous pillar continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them. *Moses* continued still his intercourses with GOD; and such was his paternal care of them, that their raiment, particularly their shoes, continued whole, and their feet unhurt, notwithstanding their long and frequent marches. If at any time the people relapsed into their usual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close, so severely, and so universally, that their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itself with hopes of impunity. And this may be, perhaps, the main motive, which inspired them with such a laudable zeal against the sabbath-breaker, whom they brought to *Moses*, and on the next day, according to his sentence, led out of the camp, and there stoned and buried him [k].

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

The sabbath-breaker accused, and put to death.

IT was not long, however, before he discovered a most dangerous conspiracy hatched against him, by one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Levi*, and countenanced by some of the most considerable men in the whole camp, especially of the tribe of *Reuben* [l].

Year of the flood 877. Bef. Chr. 1471.

KORAH, the great grandson of *Levi* by his father *Jahar*, as *Aaron* also was by his father *Amram*, and consequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to behold *Aaron* and his family raised to the high-priesthood,

Korah's rebellion and accomplices.

[k] Numb. xv. 32, & seq. [l] Ibid. xvi. pass.

After some longer stay in this camp, they continued moving from place to place, but still in the same wilderness of *Seir*, during which time *Moses* received many other laws; but we have given an account of the most remarkable ones in a former section. However, it is to be observed, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, seeing we read of but seventeen during the remaining thirty-seven years, whereas this removal from *Cadesh-barneah* was the fifteenth from their coming out of *Egypt*. We shall not trouble our readers with a further detail of them at present: those, who are desirous to have a more particular account of them, may find it in the annals of the learned archbishop *Usher* (52).

(52) *Ann. Usser, sub A. M.* 2513. *p.* 22, & *seq.*

had drawn a considerable number of eminent persons into his interest; and, among them, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Hon*, who were heads of the house of *Reuben*. Whether he thought, that he should never gain his point against his rival, whilst *Moses* enjoyed the supreme power, and consequently, that it was necessary to inspire them with a desire of supplanting him, or whether he had observed already some such design in those three chiefs, he played his part so well, that he drew them, and two hundred and fifty more, into his party; and, as soon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he resolved to appear at their head, and to bear the brunt of the first onset against *Moses* and *Aaron*. He began with upbraiding them with their unjust ambition, in ingrossing all the power into their hands, and excluding the rest of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be holy as they. *Moses*, surprised at the boldness of this speech, rebuked them for their presumption in the severest terms; but bid them put off all further debate till next morning, and then to appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his censer in his hand; at which time he promised, that the LORD should declare himself openly in favour of those whom he designed for that high office. After this, addressing himself to *Korah* and his *Levites*, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which GOD had annexed to their tribe; but aspiring to the high-priesthood, which GOD had reserved for *Aaron* and his posterity.

SOON after this, he sent privately for *Dathan* and *Abiram*, whom he supposed to have been drawn by *Korah* into this conspiracy, with a design to have argued the case more calmly with them; but they not only refused to come, but sent his messenger back with an insolent answer; in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of *Egypt*, under pretence of bringing them into a better; *instead* of which, he only detained them in that barren wilderness to make them greater slaves to him; and that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, since they saw further into his ambitious and tyrannic designs than he cared they should [m].

As meek and gentle as *Moses* naturally was, his patience was not proof against such a reproachful message; he appealed to the Divine Presence against the injustice of it, since he

[m] Num. xvi. 12, & seq.

had

had been so far from using his power to the invading of the least portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and sorrow. Early the next morning *Moses* and *Aaron* marched towards the tabernacle, whither *Korah* failed not to repair soon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper censer in his hand. These were followed by a vast multitude of the people, who were come, either to be spectators of this famous contest, or to back the seditious in case of an opposition. The first thing that drew their eyes was the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which GOD commanded *Moses* and *Aaron* to withdraw themselves from the rebellious crew, lest they should perish with them in the ruin which was ready to fall upon them. Here *Moses* was forced again to turn intercessor; and the croud had no sooner separated themselves from *Korah* and his company, following him to the quarters of the *Reubenites*, where *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their families, stood at their tent-doors, but *Moses* spoke to the assembly to this purpose; that if those rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to question his divine mission; but that if the earth immediately opened in a miraculous manner, and swallowed them up alive, he then hoped, that they would look upon him as sufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were scarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a proper distance from the tents of the conspirators, when the earth clove asunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and substance. At the same time *Korah* and his whole company, who stood with their censers before the court of the tabernacle, were all destroyed by a supernatural fire; though their children were spared, because, in all likelihood, they had no share in their fathers guilt [n] (M).

Their dreadful punishment

IN the mean time the people, who fled, terrified at the sight of so dreadful a spectacle, were scarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afresh,

[n] Vid. Num. xxvi. 11.

(M) In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any but the sons of *Aaron* from presuming to burn incense before the LORD, *Eleazar* was commanded to take the censers of *Korah* and his men, and to beat them into broad plate, for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

and

and to accuſe *Moſes* and *Aaron* of having murdered the people of the LORD, as they called that ſeditious crew. These two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, ſuſpended for ſome time the fury of the inſurrection. Here *Moſes*, who foreſaw that ſome terrible judgment was juſt ready to fall on the rioters, immediately commanded his brother to take his cenſer, and make atonement for the people: but, though *Aaron* made all poſſible haſte to obey him, the plague was already begun, and raged ſo furiouſly, that it had already deſtroyed fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred men, beſides thoſe who had periſhed in *Korah*'s rebellion: all that he could do was to put a ſtop to its further progreſs, by ſtanding with his cenſer between the living and the dead [r]. But here, to prevent *Aaron*'s authority being any more called in queſtion, GOD was pleaſed to confirm it by one miracle more (N). So that from this day there was an expreſs prohibition made, againſt any, but the ſons of *Aaron*, preſuming to come into the tabernacle under pain of death.

Cauſes a new inſurrection againſt Moſes.

Aaron's prieſthood confirmed by the budding of his rod.

BY this time they had wandered near thirty years in the deſert of *Arabia Petræa*, and had been near thirty-nine years out of *Egypt*, ſtill moving from one place to another, about the mountains of *Idumea*; during which time they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than *Moſes* has thought fit to record, but which have been preſerved by other inſpired writers [s], who have ſeverely upbraided them with ſetting up, and carrying about, the idols of *Remphan*, *Malchom*, and many others of the like nature. However, the time drawing near for their entering into the promiſed land, they went from *Ezion-geber* towards *Kadeſh* in the wilderneſs of *Zin*, deſigning

[r] Ibid. xvi. per tot. [s] Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 201, & ſeq.

(N) *Aaron* on the one ſide, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond-rod, with their names written upon it; and theſe were to be depoſited in the tabernacle till the next morning, by which time the LORD would decide in favour of that family, on whoſe rod ſome viſible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, *Aaron*'s rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and *Moſes* was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a ſtanding monument of their rebellion and unbelief.

proba-

probably to have entered *Canaan* by the narrow paſſes, called *the way of the ſpies*; but they were diſcomfited in their firſt attempt by *Arad*, one of the kings of the *Canaanites*, who killed a great number of them, and took ſome conſiderable ſpoil from them. Upon this they vowed all the cities of *Arad* to deſtruction; ſoon after which they made a ſecond puſh, wherein they had much better ſucceſs; and, having defeated the king, and deſtroyed ſome of his towns, they called the field of victory *Hormah*, or rather *Chormah*, that is, *anathema*, or utter deſtruction [t]; though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of *Joſhua* [u] (O).

Several idolatries not recorded by Moſes.

Year of the flood 895. Bef. Chr. 1453.

ABOUT

[t] Num. xxi. 1, 2, & ſeq. [u] Joſh. xii. 14.

(O) The *Jews* have a tradition, founded on an expreſs text in *Deuteronomy* (62), and ſome places in *Joſhua*, that the *Iſraelites* were obliged to ſend an herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the ſword; and that, in caſe they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them; but, if they refuſed their offer, they were then to be vowed to deſtrnction; and that this command of GOD extended even to the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites*, contrary to the current opinion, that theſe had been long before under an anathema for their wickedneſs. However, *Maimonides* has taken a great deal of pains to confute this common notion, and to prove, that all thoſe nations, that were cut off by the *Iſraelites*, owed their deſtruction to their chooſing to try the fortune of war, rather than accept of peace upon ſuch terms. There is, indeed, one main objection againſt him; namely, the ſtratagem which the *Gibeonites* made uſe of, to obtain peace from *Iſrael*, which would have been needleſs, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things: but to this our learned *Jew* above-mentioned anſwers, that the reaſon of the *Gibeonites* policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refuſed the firſt offers of peace, and were conſequently doomed to the ſame fate with them; to prevent which, their embaſſadors pretended to come from a country vaſtly diſtant from any of thoſe ſeven, and, as ſuch, obtained the deſired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the rabbi above-mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to thoſe nations upon certain conditions; the two principal of which were, that they ſhould own a ſub-

(62) *Deut.* xx. 10, & *ſeq.* *Joſh.* xi. *paſſ.* *Selnum, & Baſnag. rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. ii. cap.* 20.

(63) *Maimon. ap. Cy-*

Year of the flood 895. Bef. Chr. 1453.

ABOUT this time also it was that the king of *Edom*, having refused a free passage through his country to the *Israelites*, though on the most peaceable and friendly terms, they were, in all likelihood, going to take some kind of revenge for the affront; but GOD, who would not suffer them to commit any hostilities against them, because they were their brethren, caused them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount *Hor* [w], where *Miriam*, *Moses*'s sister, died soon after (P), in the hundredth and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years younger than *Aaron* [x], who died in the hundredth and fortieth year of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

WHILST they continued at *Kadesh*, a little before *Aaron*'s death, a new murmuring arose for want of water; and *Moses* was again commanded by GOD to bring them a fresh supply out of the rock; but he did it in such a manner as was highly displeasing to him; and for which he and his brother were excluded from entering into the promised land (Q). In memory of this new rebellion, the place was called *Meribah*, *strife*; from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount *Hor*, on the frontier of the land of *Edom*. Here *Moses* was commanded to take *Aaron*, and *Eleazar* his son, to the top

[w] Numb. xx. 22. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 173.
[x] Numb. xx. 1.

jection, and pay tribute, to the *Israelites*; and that they should observe the seven precepts given to *Noah*, in case they refused to be circumcised.

(P) *Eusebius* (64) tells us, that *Miriam*'s sepulcre was still extant in his time at *Kadesh*, at a small distance from the city of *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia Petræa*. Some antient fathers think, that she died a virgin (65); and that she was the legislatrix and governess of the *Israelitish* women, as her brother *Moses* was of the men (66).

(Q) GOD had commanded him to call for the water by only speaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promised supply, smote it twice with his rod, and used some indecent expression, either to the rock, or the people (67), for which he was excluded from setting his foot in the promised land, and condemned to die in the wilderness. *Aaron* was likewise included in the same sentence, as having, doubtless, shared in the fault.

(64) *Loc. Hebr.* (65) *Greg. Nyssen. & Ambros. de virginitat. & al.*
(66) *Theod. in Mic.* vi. 4. (67) *Vid. Ps.* cv. 32, 33.

of

of the mountain in the ſight of all the people, and to ſtrip the father of his prieſtly robes, and to array the ſon with them; which was no ſooner done than *Aaron* died, and was buried there: but whether by *Moſes* or *Eleazar*, or by ſome other perſon, certain it is, that the place was kept ſo private, that none of thoſe countries could ever find it out, or dared ſubſtitute another in lieu of it. The children of *Iſrael* mourned thirty days for him, and *Eleazar* ſucceeded him in the high-prieſthood [y] (R). *Aaron's death.*

Soon after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at *Zalmonah*; which place took that name from the image or figure of the brazen ſerpent, which *Moſes* cauſed to be ſet up there [z]; for the *Iſraelites*, being tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a ſcarcity of proviſion, began to murmur afreſh againſt *Moſes*, in ſo grievous a manner, that God was provoked to ſend large flights of fiery ſerpents among them, which deſtroyed ſuch multitudes of that rebellious people, that the reſt applied to *Moſes*, and, in the humbleſt terms, begged him to deliver them from that deſtroying vermin (S). *Moſes*, recurring to God, was commanded to caſt a brazen ſerpent of the ſame figure with thoſe that infeſted them, and to ſet it on a pole upon ſome eminent ground; that as many as were bitten by the ſerpents, might be healed *The brazen ſerpent ſet up.*

[y] Num. xx, 23, & ſeq. [z] Ibid. xxi. 9.

(R) *Aaron*'s death happened upon *Tueſday* the firſt day of the fifth month (which is our *Auguſt*), in the fortieth year after the *exod*, and in the hundredth and fortieth year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that thoſe inſects were only little worms which bred in the ſkin, but of ſuch a venomous nature, that they immediately poiſoned thoſe that were infected with them; but it is plain, that not only the original words נחשים שרפים, *necaſhim ſeraphim* ſignify a burning or winged ſerpent; but likewiſe, that thoſe creatures are very common both in *Egypt* and *Arabia*; inſomuch that thoſe countries would become uninhabited, if thoſe ſerpents had not been debarred by a kind of providence from multiplying as other ſerpents do; but the *Arabians* tell us, that, after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male; and that her young ones kill her, as ſoon as they are hatched. The learned *Bochart*, from whom we have

(67) *Vid. annal. Uſſer, ſub a. m.* 2552.

(68) *Fr. Un. Licet. lib. de ſponian. vivent. v. t. vid. Uſſer ubi ſup.*

this

healed by looking upon it [y]. As ſoon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards *Phunon* [z], ſince known by the name of *Metallophunon*, by reaſon of the copper mines with which it abounded [a], and might, perhaps, have its firſt name from *Phinon*, one of the dukes or princes of *Edom* [b]; from thence they removed to *Oboth*, called by *Pliny*, *Eboda*.

Year of the flood 896. Bef. Chriſt 1452. This was their thirty-ſeventh encampment; their next was at *Jie-abarim* (T), upon the borders of *Moab*, that is, in that part of the deſert which lies over-againſt the land of *Moab* eaſtward [c], and is therefore called *the deſert of* Moab [d]. Soon after this, as they were removing to paſs the brook or valley of *Zared*, GOD forbad them to commit any hoſtilities againſt the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* [e],

[y] Numb. xxi. 4. & ſeq. [z] Ibid. xxxiii. 42. [a] Vid. Euseb. loc. Hebr. ſub Phenon. [b] Gen. xxxvi. 41. [c] Num. xxi. 11. [d] Deut. ii. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9. 18, 19. See alſo vol. ii. p. 128, & 143.

this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are ſhort, and ſpotted with divers colours, and that their wings reſemble thoſe of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the ſame with the *hydra* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Herodotus*, who went on purpoſe to the city of *Butos* to ſee them, ſays, that they are not unlike the *hydra*; and that he had ſeen a vaſt quantity of their ſkeletons, whoſe fleſh had been devoured by the *ibis* (70), which bird is peculiar to *Egypt*, and a continual deſtroyer of thoſe ſerpents, as we have ſhewn elſewhere (71). There was no need, therefore, of any other miracle, the *Iſraelites* being then in *Arabia Petræa*, than a ſtrong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then about the ſpring-time of the year, in which ſeaſon they commonly fly in great ſwarms from *Libya* and *Arabia* towards *Egypt*, and other countries in that neighbourhood (72).

(T) It muſt be remembred, however, that when *Moſes* tells us, that they encamped at *Oboth*, *Jie-abarim*, and other cities belonging to the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, he muſt not be underſtood as if they came near thoſe places, but only that they encamped at ſuch convenient diſtance from them, that they might eaſily ſend to buy proviſions, without giving them the umbrage of their having any hoſtile deſign againſt them.

(69) *De animal. ſac. p.* ii. *l.* iii. *c.* 13. (70) *Herod. l.* ii. *c.* 75, 76. (71) *Vid. ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 422. (72) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſup. & auctor. ab eo citat.*

becauſe

because he had given them that land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of *Canaan*. They arrived at length at *Bameth*, or *Bamoth-arnon*, that is, the high places of *Arnon*, under which is a fine valley belonging to the *Moabites*, along which the brook or torrent of *Arnon* runs; and pitched at the fort of mount *Pisgah*. From thence they removed to *Beer*, so called from the well which the heads of *Israel* dug there by GOD's direction; and this gave birth to that song of *Moses*, which was sung by the *Israelites*; the burden of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well; sing ye unto it* [c].

AFTER several marches, in which they passed, as it were, between the countries of *Moab* and *Ammon*, without committing the least hostilities on either side, they came at length to the land of the *Amorites*. Here they sent again to beg a peaceable passage through the territories of *Sihon* king of *Heshbon*. But that prince, having refused to let them pass upon any terms, and making himself ready to attack them, was overthrown by them in a set battle [f]; and the *Israelites*, having seized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of *Arnon* to that of *Jabbok* [z], put men, women and children to the sword, and saved nothing but the cattle. Soon after this, *Og* king of *Basan*, attempting in like manner to obstruct their passage, underwent the same fate; as we have already shewn in the history of the *Canaanites* (W). Sihon *and* Og *discomfited.*

BY this time *Balak* king of *Moab*, near whose territories the *Israelites* were encamped, with a design to cross the river *Jordan*, in order to enter into the land of *Ca-* *sends for* Balaam. Balak

[c] Num. xxi. 17, & seq.
[z] Vid. Jud. xi. 13, & seq.
[f] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 202.

(W) The reader may see these two fertile kingdoms described in a former volume (73); and as to their gigantic stature and defeat, the reader will likewise find an account of it in a former chapter. But the fabling *Jews* tell us, that he was sixscore cubits high, and born before the flood; which, when at the height, reached not above his knees. They add several other particulars, equally ridiculous; such as that what *Moses* calls his iron bed, was only his cradle; and other such, of which we only give this as a specimen (74).

(73) *See before, vol.* ii. *p.* 452, & *seq.* *also Calmet sub voc. & Munster in Num.* xxi.

(74) *Bamidbur rabba. See*

naar.,

naan, began now to look upon them with such a jealous eye, that he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the *Midianites* and *Ammonites*, his neighbours, in order to stop their progress, but resolved, before he began any hostilities against them, to try how far *Balaam*'s inchantments might go towards turning the fortune of war to his side. We need not repeat what has been said in the history of *Moab* [h], concerning the ill success of *Balak*'s project, and the too sure one of *Balaam*'s advice of debauching the *Israelites* by the help of some of their most beautiful women; which fully answered their hopes, and the *Israelites* failed not to give into the snare, and to make fresh work for repentance. *Balak* had ordered his subjects to celebrate a grand feast to *Baal-peor* (which is generally supposed to have been the same with *Priapus* or *Adonis* [i], in which, as we observed before [k], the most shameful kinds of lewdness used to be perpetrated), and to invite the *Israelites* to them. These were soon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that were sent among them; and, falling from drunkenness to lewdness, and from lewdness to idolatry, they became so enamoured with those fair deluders, that observing in them a more than ordinary forwardness to follow them, they made no scruple to bring a great number of them into their camp; so that the infection soon became universal, and was punished by a plague, which carried off about twenty-four thousand of the offenders

The Israelites *debauched by the women to idolatry.*

Year of the flood 896. Bef. Chr. 1452.

Their severe punishment.

In the mean time God, still highly provoked at their disobedience, to which this severe punishment had not yet put an effectual stop, commanded *Moses* to erect a court of judicature, consisting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without respect to friendship or kindred (Z); which was accordingly done, and about one thousand

[h] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 128, & seq. [i] Isid. orig. lib. viii. Hieron. in Hos. ix. vid. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron, lib. iv. c. 3. Calm. dissert. Le Clerc's com. in loc.
[k] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 125, & seq.

(Z) Though we have given this place a different sense from our own, and most versions, which make God command *Moses* to take all the heads of the people, and to hang them up in the face of the sun (87); we hope those who understand

(87) *Num.* xxv. 4.

thouſand more were put to death. By this time the greateſt part of the people, being come a little to themſelves, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were ſurpriſed with an inſtance of the moſt unparalleled boldneſs in one of the chiefs of the tribe of *Simeon*, named *Zimri*, who had brought a young *Midianitiſh* princeſs into the camp; and in ſight of *Moſes*, and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. *Phineas*, the ſon of *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, followed them cloſe with a ſpear in his hand, and, fired with an holy zeal, at one ſtroke joined their bodies in death, where they were joined in their ſin; for which noble deed the high-prieſthood was confirmed to him and his ſeed; though it is plain, from the words of the *Pſalmiſt* [k], that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to GOD, than by the puniſhment of the two offenders [l]. Neither did the authors of this defection go unpuniſhed: *Balaam* was ſoon after killed in a ſet battle, which *Iſrael*

Zimri *and* Cozbi *are ſeverely puniſhed.*

Balaam, *with five kings of* Midian, *ſlain.*

[k] Pſal. cvi. 30. [l] Num. xxv. per tot.

derſtand the *Hebrew*, will readily own, not only that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewiſe, that the context, as well as the reaſon of the thing, naturally lead us to it. For, whatever ſhifts commentators have made uſe of to juſtify the other verſion, ſuch as that thoſe heads were, either all in the guilt, which is not probable, or that they were guilty of a ſhameful neglect, in not oppoſing the growing miſchief (88); both which might, probably enough, be out of their power, ſince *Moſes* himſelf found them ſo often too headſtrong for him; yet it is plain, from the directions which he gives thoſe judges in the very next verſe, *viz. to puniſh all that they found guilty indifferently*, that this command had nothing ſo unjuſt in it, as thoſe verſions intimate; and *Joſephus*, who followed the common verſion, was ſo well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any arguments, that he has choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he underſtood neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee*, elſe he might as eaſily have fallen into our ſenſe of that command, as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, rabbi *Salomon*, and other *Jews* after them, have done, as well as the learned *Fagius*, in his comment on the place, and others among the *Chriſtians*. How *Joſephus* has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the conſequences of it, the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee in his antiquities (89).

(88) *Ita Abarbanel in phiroſh hatborah.* (89) *Lib. iv. c. 6.*

fought against five kings of *Midian*, who likewise fell on that day, whilst the conquerors made a terrible slaughter of their subjects, putting them all to the sword, women and children excepted; plundering and burning their cities, and carrying off a considerable booty [m] with them, which they brought to *Moses* and *Eleazar*; and these ordered one fiftieth part of it to be distributed among the priests, and another fiftieth to the *Levites*.

The Israelites numbered.

Year of the flood 896. Bef. Chr. 1452.

SOON after this defection, *Moses* was ordered to take an account of all the children of *Israel* that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards; *Josephus* says, from twenty to fifty [n]; but it is more likely to have been to sixty; and these were found to amount to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty, besides the *Levites*, who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty-three thousand: this account was taken in the plain of *Moab*, near the river *Jordan*, over-against *Jericho*; and it is supposed, that the last punishment that befel the 2400 adorers of the *Midianitish* deity, made a total end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of *Canaan*, because, upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new list which *Moses* took of the people, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*, according to the sentence pronounced against them [o] by GOD himself. The numbering of the people was no sooner over, than *Moses* received orders to direct the distribution of the promised land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of *Levi*, it was not to have any inheritance with the rest, but was otherwise provided for, as we have already shewn [p] (A).

IMME-

[m] Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 132, & seq. [n] Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12. [o] Num. xxvi. 64, 65. [p] See before, vol. ii. p. 485, & vol. iii. p. 82, & seq. Num. xxxvi. pass. ad ver. 62.

(A) When this order was published, there came five of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, of the tribe of *Manasseh*, the son of *Joseph*, to petition *Moses* and *Eleazar* for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be lost in *Israel*, seeing he had left no sons, but was dead in the wilderness; not for any sedition, but had shared in the common fate with the rest. Their request was approved by

IMMEDIATELY after this, GOD commanded *Moſes* to aſcend mount *Nebo*, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge which is called *Abarim* [q], and to take a view of the promiſed land, ſince his rebellion in the deſert of *Zin* had debarred him from entering into it, and he was ſhortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. *Moſes* was nothing ſurpriſed at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as an haven of repoſe, after a life of the greateſt trouble and fatigue. Neither was he ſolicitous to have his commiſſion tranſmitted to his children, or in the leaſt diſpleaſed to ſee his own ſervant appointed his ſucceſſor before them; but, finding his end ſo near, he made it his chief buſineſs, during thoſe few remaining days, to ſettle things in the beſt order he could. The firſt care he took, was to have *Joſhua* confirmed his ſucceſſor in the moſt public and ſolemn manner, to prevent any oppoſition from his own family after his death. To this end he brought him forth in ſight of all *Iſrael*, laid his hands upon him, and, having preſented him to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, and given him all neceſſary directions, and, in particular, that of conſulting GOD upon all emergencies by the *urim* and

Moſes *commanded to take a view of* Canaan *from* Nebo

Cauſes Joſhua *to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor.*

[q] De his vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 453.

by GOD, and readily granted by *Moſes*, who allotted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. After which GOD was pleaſed to make a law, that, for the future, the eſtates of thoſe who died without iſſue male, ſhould be inherited by their daughters; and, if they had no daughters, that then it ſhould go to the next of the male; and, in defect of that, of the female line (1). But, there being ſtill ſome doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe; that of *Manaſſeh* came ſoon after to *Moſes*, and repreſented to him the inconveniency of ſuch marriages, ſeeing thoſe heireſſes would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might, in proceſs of time, cauſe a great deal of confuſion, and probably leſſen one tribe, and enrich another. This remonſtrance was likewiſe approved by GOD, who immediately declared, that neither theſe daughters of *Zelophehad*, nor any heireſſes for the future, ſhould marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own family. As for the other females, who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleaſed (2).

(1) *Num.* xxvii. 1, 2, & *ſeq.*

(2) *Ibid.* xxxvi. 1, *ad fin.*

thummim (C), he caused him to be proclaimed head and general of all *Israel* [r].

As

[r] Numb. xxvii. past.

(C) Of the fashion of the *urim* and *thummim*, we have already taken notice, in speaking of the high-priest's garments, of which they were an appendage (95). In the mean time, we beg leave to observe, that *Joshua* could not be that prophet like *Moses*, whom GOD promised to raise, and commanded, under severe penalties, the people to obey (96), as our modern *Jews* affirm. *Joshua* was, in many particulars, inferior, not only to *Moses*, but likewise to the generality of the prophets, since he was to have recourse to the *urim* and *thummim* upon all emergencies; whereas the former spoke to GOD face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of GOD to those that came to consult them. How could he therefore be the head prophet and director of such a numerous nation, who wanted a director himself? Or how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himself to receive his orders from the high-priest? As for this divine oracle of *urim* and *thummim*, which, in the original, signifies *light* and *perfection*; and the *Septuagint* and *Philo* (97) render by the words δήλωσιν and ἀλήθειαν, *manifestation* and *truth*, as having those two distinct virtues; it was not to be consulted by private persons, but only by the judges, whilst *Israel* was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or such as were sent by them; or, according to the *Talmudists*, by the אב בית דין *abbeth-din*, or the head of the *sanhedrin* (98), and even by the general in time of war, as in the case of *Joshua* (99). *Spencer* indeed thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own person, was allowed to consult the *urim* (100); but the contrary seems more probable from *David*'s consulting the LORD by *Abiathar*, before he was settled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ordinance of consulting by *urim*, &c. was not performed without great ceremony. The high-priest alone was the person to apply to; he was to be dressed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breast-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face, when he inquired of the LORD. Again, he was only to be consulted upon matters of

(95) *See before*, p. 76, & *seq.* (96) *Deut.* xviii. 15. *vid. Joh.* i. 45. *Acts* iii. 22. vii. 37. (97) *In vit. Mos. & lib. de monarchia*, c. 2. (98) *Talm. tract. in* יומא *joma*, *cap.* 7. & §. 5. *vid. Fag. in Exod.* xxviii. *Moses & Aaron*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. §. 8. *vid. & Jud.* i. 1. (99) *De legib. ritual. Hebr. lib.* iii. *dissert.* 7. *c.* 1. 8. & *alib.* (100) *Vid. Meyer de fest. dieb. Hebr. cap.* 4. §. 49. & 51. (1) 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 4. xxx. 7, 8.

As there elapsed somewhat above a month between *Moses*'s receiving the news of his death, and the day in which

the greatest moment, such as concerned the public good, and upon any sudden and unexpected emergency, as the *Jews* prove from those places of Scripture, where such counsel was asked (2). Lastly, things relating to faith or practice were not to be inquired by the *urim*, because they had the old precept quoted by *Isaiah* (3), *to the law and to the testimony*.

But how this divine oracle gave its answer, whether by the unusual lustre of the stones in the breast-plate, when the answer was favourable; and by their dimness in the contrary case, as *Josephus* (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by virtue of the name יהוה written or engraven in or between the double breast-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominency of the letters engraved upon the twelve stones of it, which the high-priest, being then inspired, knew how to range so, as to give a true answer; which opinion is almost universally received by the *Jewish* rabbies (6) (as for instance, they say, that, when *David* inquired whether he should go up into any of the cities of *Judah*, and the LORD answered עלה *go up* (7), those three letters became prominent above the rest); or, lastly, whether GOD answered the high-priest *viva voce*, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-seat, where the cherubim covered the ark of the testimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence GOD promised, that he would meet and commune with *Moses*, or, as the original has it, *instruct and talk with him*; which notion is embraced by the majority of Christians, as being indeed the most probable, and consonant to some instances in the text relating to this matter, especially to that where the children of *Israel* are blamed for making a peace with the *Gibeonites*, without consulting פי יהוה *the mouth of the* LORD (9); all these opinions, we say, are liable to many objections, which we shall not trouble our readers with; but conclude with the saying of a wise *Jewish* rabbi (10), *that he is on the safest side, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point*.

How long the *urim* and *thummim* continued, is not difficult to decide: the *Jews* in general agree, that it lasted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that GOD delivered his oracles, during the standing of it, by *urim* and *thummim*; by the mouth of his prophets, during the first

(2) *Abarban. R. Levi. Ben. Gers. ap. Buxt. hist. urim & thum.* (3) Ch. viii. 20. *Vid. Maimonid. hele hammikdash*, c. 10. (4) *Ant. lib.* iii. c. 7. (5) *Rab. Salom. ap. D. Kimch. in rad. vid. Exod.* xxviii. 15. (6) *Vid. Zohar. in Exod. ex lib. jalkuth shibre. R. Bechai in Deut.* xxxiii. *Maimon. ubi supr. & al. mult.* (7) 2 *Sam.* ii. 1. (8) *Exod.* xxv. 22. *& alib.* (9) *Josh.* ix. 14. *Hos.* iii. 4. (10) *Kimch. in rad.*

which he expired, he ſpent the beſt part of that time in making ſome further regulations. Amongſt other things, he had the pleaſure to ſee the twelve thouſand men, whom he had choſen, that is, a thouſand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the *Midianites*, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richeſt ſpoil, and to order the diſtribution of it; one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to thoſe who had not gone to the war, reſerving, as we ſaid before, one fiftieth part of each for the prieſts and *Levites*; which diſtribution ſeems to have paſſed afterwards into a law [s]. What added ſtill more to his joy, was, that the chief captains, upon a ſtrict inquiry, had not found one man miſſing of all that went upon this expedition; and expreſſed ſuch thankfulneſs for it, that they preſented to the LORD an offering of the gold rings, bracelets, and ornaments, which they had taken, amounting to the weight of ſixteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſhekels; all which was depoſited by *Eleazar* in the tabernacle, as a

Part of the Midianitiſh *ſpoils offered to* GOD.

[s] Vid. Num. xxxi. 30, & ſeqq. 2 Maccab. viii. 28.

temple; and by the *Bath-col*, from the *Babyloniſh* captivity to the deſtruction of the ſecond. *Spencer*, who has eſpouſed their opinion, has backed it with ſeveral arguments *de congruo* (10); but what weighs more with us than all his reaſoning, is, that we do not meet with one ſingle inſtance of the *urim* being conſulted, from the building of *Solomon*'s temple; on the contrary, we read, that, when *Hilkiah* the high-prieſt found the book of the law in *Joſiah*'s reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatenings pronounced againſt the tranſgreſſors of it, he ſent to conſult the propheteſs *Huldah* about it (11); which he needed not to have done, had the *urim* ſtill ſubſiſted.

All that can be objected againſt it, is, that *Moſes*, in bleſſing the tribe of *Levi*, prays, that the *urim* and *thummim* may continue with GOD's holy one (12): but this does not imply, that it ſhould do ſo whilſt *Levi* continued a tribe. As for what *Joſephus* ſays, that the ſtones of the *urim* had loſt their luſtre but about two hundred years before he wrote (13); that is, about 112 years before CHRIST; we think it not worth confuting, ſince it is allowed on all hands, that it ceaſed at the *Babyloniſh* captivity, if not before; and that it was one of thoſe things in which the ſecond temple came ſhort of the firſt (14), as *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* intimate plainly enough (15).

(10) *De urim & thum. c.* 2. § 2. (11) 2 *Kings* xxii. 14. (12) *Deuter.* xxxiii. 8. (13) *Joſ. ubi ſupr.* (14) *Vid. Prideaux's connect. part.* i. *lib.* iii. (15) *Ezra* ii. 63. *Nehem.* vii. 65.

monu-

monument of their gratitude [t]. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed, that it was during this interval, that he diſtributed the land of *Sihon* and *Og* to the two tribes and half [u]. Year of the flood 897. Bef. Chr. 1451.

AND now, as the *Iſraelites* were on the eve of entering into the promiſed land, he appointed the limits of the land which they were to conquer, and the diſtribution of it by lot according to GOD's command; and committed the whole care of it to *Joſhua*, and *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe [x]. Some further directions were alſo given concerning the forty-eight cities, and their ſuburbs, or rather diſtricts, which were to be allotted to the tribe of *Levi* [y]: ſix of theſe were to be cities of refuge for the manſlayer to fly to, three of which were to be on the one ſide, and three on the other of *Jordan*; to which he added a permiſſion to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders ſhould make it neceſſary [z]. We have given an account of them in a former ſection. *The limits of the land appointed.*

THE nearer *Moſes* drew to his end, the more ſolicitous he was to complete his arduous taſk. Accordingly, on the fifth day of the eleventh month, anſwering to our *Saturday*, *February* 20. of the fortieth year of the *exod* [a], the *Iſraelites* being ſtill encamped in the plain of *Moab*, he aſſembled the people about him, and, in a long and pathetic ſpeech, recapitulated to them all that had happened ſince their departure out of *Egypt* till that time [b]. He adds indeed one circumſtance not taken notice of before, namely, his earneſt requeſt to GOD, that he might be admitted to go into the promiſed land, and his prayer being abſolutely denied [c] (D). Moſes's *ſpeech to the* Iſraelites.

HE

[t] Num. xxxi. 49, & ſeq. [u] USHER. ann. ſub an. [x] Deut. xi. 24, & ſeq. [y] Num. xxxv. paſſ. [z] Deut. xix. 7—9. [a] Vid. USHER. ann. ubi ſup. [b] Deut. i. ii. iii. & iv. ad ver. 4. [c] Ibid. ch. iii. 23, & ſeq.

(D) This ſpeech was ſoon followed by another of a much greater length (16); in which more particular mention is made of all GOD's mercies and judgments, promiſes and threatenings; and wherein the bleſſings and curſes, which were to be the fruit of their obedience or diſobedience, are expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively terms; after which, he reminded them of the continual murmurings and rebellions of their fathers, and the ſevere judgments that follow-

(16) *Deut. from ch.* iv. *to* xxvii.

He next directed *Joshua* and the elders to erect a capacious altar upon mount *Ebal*, of unhewn stones covered over with plaster, upon which they should write a fair transcript of all these laws, copies of which he delivered to the *Levites* to keep [h]; and to set up the blessings and curses upon mount *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, in full sight of all *Israel*, six tribes of which, namely, *Reuben*, *Gad*, *Asher*, *Zebulun*, *Dan*, and *Napthtali*, should stand upon the former, and those of *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Joseph*, and *Benjamin*, on the latter, and should alternately answer *Amen* to all the blessings and curses, when they proclaimed and set them up there, which was accordingly done in *Joshua*'s time [i], as we shall see in the sequel. And that there might be nothing wanting in these his last instructions, he prescribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be spoken aloud at the head of the army, by a priest appointed for that purpose, whenever they were going to engage their enemies, in order to inspire the people with an unshaken trust in God, and assurance of victory. He ordered likewise, that a proclamation should be made at the same time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a new wife, house, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all those, whose fear or pusillanimity might discourage the rest, to return home; and lastly, how they should behave themselves towards those cities that accepted of their profered peace, and to those which rejected it [k].

Blessings and curses to be set up on mount Ebal *and* Gerizim.

[h] Deut. xxvii. 5, & seq. xxxi. 9. [i] Josh. viii. 33, & seq.
[k] Deut. xx. per tot.

ed them. Those he interspersed with a summary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, in which those of the decalogue are repeated almost word for word; which he concludes with a most elegant description of the solemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount *Sinai*. He closes the whole with a most pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a submissive reliance on that amazing goodness that had so graciously chosen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might display his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had shewed to them, as for the heavy punishments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedness and idolatry (17).

(17) *Deut.* ix. *pass.* xxxii. *pass.* & *al.*

HE ſoon after aſſembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in order to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with GOD in *Horeb*; and as he enforced the obſervance of it by the moſt engaging motives, ſo did he at the ſame time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it by ſuch threatenings, as proved no leſs than prophetical of thoſe miſerable ſlaveries which they underwent afterwards for their diſobedience [l], not only during the time of the judges, and the *Babyloniſh* captivity, but much more ſince their rejection of the *Meſſiah* (G). *Moſes* having cauſed this

The old covenant ratified by the whole nation.

[l] Deut. xxix. paſſ.

(G) There was one remarkable thing in this prophetic warning, which ought not to be paſſed by; which was, that, under whatever captivity and diſperſion they happened to groan, if they applied themſelves to GOD by prayer, and an humble acknowlegement of their ſins, they ſhould ſtill be delivered from it. This was exactly verified by the event; for they no ſooner turned to GOD, but he either ſent them a deliverer ſoon after, as in the time of the judges, or ſome prophets to comfort them during their captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of *Babylon*. This needs not be wondered at; the crimes for which they ſuffered in theſe, idolatry, murders, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature, not to force the deepeſt remorſe and acknowlegement, whenever they ſmarted for them. It was far otherwiſe in their laſt ſin, the rejection of the MESSIAH; his mean birth and appearance, his ſufferings and death, and many other diſadvantageous circumſtances, were ſo oppoſite to thoſe glorious notions they had imbibed of him, and his religion ſo pure and ſpiritual, that their prejudices made them eaſily overlook all the viſible proofs he gave of his divine miſſion: and, after they had once condemned him, they had too great an opinion of their own ſagacity and uprightneſs, ever to feel, or at leaſt own, the injuſtice of the deed. We may add, that their poſterity has followed their ſteps; and has been ſo far from ſuppoſing, that the *ſanhedrin* could have been guilty of ſo fatal a miſtake, and ſo horrid a crime, as the rejecting and murdering the MESSIAH, that they are ſtill fully perſuaded, that court would have been the very firſt that would have acknowleged him. This is the ſource of their unbelief; and, ſince they have rather gloried in that deed, than acknowleged and repented of it, we need ſeek no farther for the cauſe why their captivity and diſperſion has proved ſo ſevere, of ſo long duration, and without the leaſt comfortable prophecy, or even proſpect, of GOD's putting an end to it.

covenant to be ratified by the whole assembly, no doubt with a suitable solemnity, he commanded the *Levites* to deposit a copy of it, which he delivered to them in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witness for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reasonableness of those laws which GOD had given them, and for the certainty of those blessings or curses which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach of them [m]. However, in order to fix these important truths more strongly in their minds, he composed a psalm or canticle, in which they are expressed in the most elegant and lively language; and, having caused it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to *Joshua*, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their posterity. The preface of this inimitable piece of antient poetry, as far as our language can come up to the beauty of the original [n], the reader may see in the following note (H).

Moses's song.

THE lecture of it being ended, *Moses* delivered a duplicate of the laws to be preserved in the ark, with an order, that this latter should be publicly read before the whole assembly at the feast of the tabernacles every sabbatic or seventh year [o].

AND now his task being at an end, and GOD having commanded him to go up to mount *Nebo*, and to resign his soul there, as soon as he had taken a view of the promised land; he had nothing left to do, but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic blessing upon them. The text tells us, that he was an hundred and twenty years old, and that neither his sight nor his natural strength were in the least impaired; and we may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the style of this his last speech, and by the beauty and energy

His last blessing to the twelve tribes.

[m] Deut. xxx. & xxxi.
[o] Ibid. xxxi. 10, & seq.
[n] Ibid. xxxii. ad ver. 45.

(H) *Attend, ye heavens, whilst I speak; give ear, O earth, to the words of my mouth.*

Let my doctrine descend like drops of rain, and my speech distil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle shower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls upon the grass:

And, whilst I invoke the name JEHOVAH, *resound the greatness of our* GOD.

His works, even the works of this our strong rock, are perfect; and all his ways are equity.

He is a faithful GOD, *without deceit; for he is just and righteous.* And so on.

of

of the expreſſions, it ſeems to have received an addition at the ſight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happineſs. The preface and concluſion of it are couched in as ſtrong and elegant terms, as the moſt divine enthuſiaſm could inſpire a prophet with. However, as we have lately touched upon it, and ſhewed how it agreed with that of *Jacob*, we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it at preſent (H).

Moſes *goes up to mount* Nebo.

THE *Jewiſh* lawgiver had no ſooner ended this prophetic ſpeech, than he went up in the ſight of all *Iſrael* to mount *Nebo*, from the ſummit of which he beheld all the land which GOD had promiſed to *Abraham*'s poſterity. *Joſephus* adds [t], that he was accompanied by *Joſhua*, *Eleazar*, and the ſeventy, to the mount; and that, whilſt

[t] Ant. lib. iv. c. 8.

(H) Only here it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that our *Engliſh* verſion was certainly right to inſert the word *not* in the latter part of the 6th verſe of this chapter (18), *Let* Reuben *live and not die, and let* not *his men be few*; which is certainly the true ſenſe according to the genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the ſecond hemiſtic, though any modern verſion, that did not ſupply it, would make it ſpeak contrary to its plain meaning (19). This is the very error into which the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have fallen, in order to render the latter part of the verſe applicable to the tribe of *Simeon*, of which *Moſes* had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein it is plain they miſtook the ſenſe of the text, not only from what we have juſt now hinted, but alſo becauſe *being few in number* would have been a curſe rather than a bleſſing, and was more particularly eſteemed ſuch by the *Iſraelites*; in which caſe that tribe alone would have been curſed, whereas they are all ſaid to be bleſſed in the very firſt verſe; beſides, it is certain, that *Simeon* had his bleſſing, ſince he had an inheritance allotted to him, as well as the reſt (20). We need not therefore look for any other myſtery, or reaſon for this omiſſion of *Moſes*, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed with that of *Judah*, according to their father's prophecy (21), and conſequently ſhared in all its bleſſings, thoſe only excepted which *Jacob* had confined to the latter; and hence it came to paſs, that theſe two tribes generally went hand in hand in all their expeditions (22).

(18) *Deut.* xxxiii. (19) *Compare Pſ.* vi. 1. *and* xxxviii. 1. *See alſo Pſ.* ix. 18. *as they are in our Bibles.* (20) *Joſh.* xix. 1. 1 *Chron.* iv. 24. & *ſeq.* (21) *Gen.* xlix. 7. *Vid. ſup. p.* 316, 317, (F). (22) *Jud.* i. 3, & *ſeq. Vid. Jun. in Deut.* xxxiii. 6.

the

the two last were taking their sorrowful farewel of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text seems rather to intimate, that he went up alone. Be that as it will, the author of this last chapter, whoever he was, assures us that he died immediately after, and that the LORD conveyed him into a valley in the land of *Moab*, over-against *Beth-peor*, and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulcre was not known at the time of his writing [u]; to which we may add, that it never was discovered since [w]. Several inspired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have since given us the character of this truly great lawgiver, besides the above-mentioned *Josephus*; but none has expressed it in fewer and stronger terms than the author of these additions, in the three last verses of this chapter (I). His death happened on the first

His death, burial, and character.

[u] Deut. xxxiv. 6. [w] Vid. HORN. hist. ecclesiast. BASNAG. continuat. Joseph. tom. iv. lib. vi. c. 17. art. 13. BARTOLOC. bibliot. rabbin. tom. iii. p. 928, & seq. CALM. dissert. on the death and burial of Moses, at the head of his epit. canoniq. & al.

(I) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that *Moses* did really die, and was buried; and *Josephus* tells us (29), according to our copies of him, that the Scripture affirms him to be dead; lest people should think, because of the excellency of his person, that he was still alive, and with GOD; notwithstanding which, the superstitious *Jews* have fallen into various notions about it; some absolutely denying his death; and others, without taking notice of that circumstance, affirming him to have been translated into heaven (30). Those of the *Christians*, who have embraced this wild notion, ground it on his appearing with *Elias* at the transfiguration upon mount *Tabor* (31), and upon that contest which *Michael* and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by St. *Jude* (32); though the most probable inference that can be made from such a dispute, is, that the devil wanted to bring *Moses*'s body to light, that he might thereby ensnare the people to idolatry, or rather to λειψανολατρεία, the worship of relics, which therefore *Michael* opposed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumstance seems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apostle from an apocryphal book, intituled, περὶ ἀναλήψεως Μωϋσέως, of the assumption of *Moses*;

(29) *Ant. loc. citat.* (30) *Vid. Maimon. præfat. ad talmud.*
(31) *Mat.* xvii. 1, & *seq.* (32) *Jud. ver.* 9. *Vid. Fabric. apocr. Vet. Test.* (33) *Usher. ann. ubi sup. & auct. ab eo citat.*

some-

first day (according to *Josephus* and archbishop *Usher* [x], or on the seventh, according to the generality of the latter

[x] Ant. & ann. ubi supr.

something like which we find in some *Jewish* writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe, that he was so far dead, as that there was a separation of soul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, because he is said to have died על פי יהוה, that is, as we rightly translate it, *according to the word of the* LORD; but, according to their literal sense of it, *upon the mouth of the* LORD; from which they affirm, that *Moses*, having begged of GOD not to deliver up his soul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiss, which the LORD was pleased to give him (35).

As to his writings, besides the *Pentateuch*, which is universally received by *Jews* and *Christians*, as penned by him, if we except *Abenezra* and *Spinosa*, among the former, and some moderns among the latter (if their avowed principles will permit us to call them Christians, who denied him to be the author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late (36) author); besides this books, I say, commonly called the five books of *Moses*, there have been some other works attributed to him, though without any certainty, such as the book of *Job*, of which we have already spoken in another place (37), eleven psalms, *viz.* xc. xci. xcii. and so on to the civ. *Origen* believes him to have translated the book of *Job* from the *Syriac* into *Hebrew* (38); though he is scarce followed by either *Jew* or *Christian*. A few fragments of other books are likewise quoted by some of the antients, as written by him: such as, 1. his apocalypse, out of which St. *Paul* is by them supposed to have taken those words (39), *for in* CHRIST JESUS *neither circumcision availeth any thing*, &c.; 2. his lesser *Genesis*; 3. his ascension; 4. assumption, mentioned a little above; 5, his testament; and some other mysterious books (40).

Some rabbies attribute to him likewise a treatise, intituled, באר משה *beer Mosheh*, or באר החכמה *beer chokmah*, the *fountain of wisdom* (41). As for the lesser *Genesis*, St. *Jerom*, who quotes a passage out of it, tells us, that they had it in *Hebrew* in his time (42). The *Sethites*, an antient sect of heretics, quoted likewise two of the afore-mentioned books, namely, his testament, and his

(34) *Vid. R. Nathan.* פרקי אבות. (35) *Vid. Gaulmin's* פסירת-משה.
(36) *Abbadie trait. de la relig. Chrestien. pt.* i. (37) *Vid. sup. p.* 350-352.
(38) *Orig. in Job.* (39) *Galat.* v. 6. vi. 15. (40) *Syncell. ex pars. Gen. Clem. Alexand. ex Eupolem. stromat. lib.* i. *Isidor. Hispal. lib.* i. *Orig. c.* 3. *Cedren. Glycas. Bartoloc. & Wolf. bibl. rabbinic. & auct. ibi citat. vid. etiam Fabric. de apoc. V. T.* (41) *R. Shabtai Strim. citat. & Wolf. bib. rabbin. Numb.* 1582. (42) *Epist.* 127. *ad Fabiol. Marc.* 18. & 24. *Vid. Calm. hist. V. Test. c.* i. *p. prim.*

myste-

latter *Jews*) [y] of the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, and in the hundredth and twentieth of his age; the laſt forty of which (the laſt month excepted) he had ſpent in the government of the *Iſraelites*. The people mourned for him one whole month, according to the cuſtom of the nation for the death of any eminent perſon; after which *Joſhua* entered into his office, and, ſoon after that, into the land of *Canaan*, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next ſection (K).

BEFORE we diſmiſs this ſection, it will be expected, no doubt, that we ſhould give ſome account of the order and manner of encamping and marching uſed by the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs, becauſe it is not only curious, but uſeful, in order to underſtand ſeveral places of holy

[y] Vid. Sedar holam rab. cap. 10. MAIMON. præfat. ad miſnaioth, &c.

myſterious books or diſcourſes; but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as faſt as Chriſtianity prevailed.

(K) In the mean time it will be proper to obſerve here, that the ceremony of circumciſion was diſcontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderneſs (41); for which no proper reaſon can be well aſſigned, unleſs it be either becauſe their frequent moving from place to place would have made it dangerous for thoſe children who were circumciſed before a march; or that, the deſign of circumciſion being to keep the people from intermingling with other nations, it became leſs neceſſary in the wilderneſs, where they were in leſs danger of ſuch a mixture (42). But neither of theſe reaſons is ſatisfactory; for, as to the firſt, beſides that their marches happened but ſeldom during the laſt thirty-eight years, as we *lately* obſerved, it would have been more ſafe to have diſpenſed with the time, and, inſtead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, ſeeing there were ſome particular bleſſings belonging to it, which they were deprived of, who died without it. But, whatever be the reaſon of this omiſſion, one may conclude from it, that that ceremony was not ſo neceſſary to ſalvation, as ſome, both *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, have imagined; among the latter of whom, ſome have run to ſuch an extreme of ſuperſtition, as to cauſe thoſe children, that happened to die before they were circumciſed, to receive it before they buried them.

(41) *Joſh.* v. 2, & *ſeq.* *Cleric, Grot. Saurin, &c.*

(42) *Baſnag. rep. Hebr. tom.* i. *lib.* iii. *c.* 5. *Le*

writ that allude to it, both in the Old and New Testament [a], especially in the prophetical books. It is plain, from the short account which *Moses* has left us of it [b], that it was prescribed to him by God himself. And indeed, if we consider their vast multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined them, the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly suppose, that any man, how wise and experienced soever, could be equal to such a task without a supernatural assistance. 'Tis true indeed, that the word *wilderness*, by which the scene of their forty years wandering is called, ought not to be taken too literally [c], seeing they generally encamped near inhabited towns and villages, whose territories could furnish them with provisions for themselves, and pasture for their cattle; and, when that failed, they were often miraculously supplied; but, nevertheless, to provide for all other exigencies, which must needs be supposed to happen in such a numberless host, to settle such excellent order and discipline in it, as to prevent confusion, disorders, and defection, to breed up such a number of excellent soldiers, and to teach them to encamp and decamp, to march and to fight, in so regular a manner as they did, whatever *Moses* might have learned from the *Egyptians*, who understood, doubtless, as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, seems still to have been above the power of a mere man. And this consideration should, one would think, stop the mouths of those, who can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* (M).

[a] See Sir Isaac Newt. observ. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. Med. clav. prophet. pass. & al. [b] Num. i. 51, & seq. [c] De his vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 416, & seq.

(M) However, as the subject has been copiously handled by other pens (43), who have been forced to supply the succinct account of *Moses* out of the writings of the *Talmudists*, and other antient *Jews*, not to say sometimes out of their own heads; we hope our readers will easily excuse us from launching further into these particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ: though, where we find any thing in the *Talmud*, *Josephus*, or any other rabbi, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we shall venture to give it in a note.

(43) *Basnag. ex Cunæi, rep. Hebr. tom. ii. c. 18. Calm. & al.*

THE text tells us, that *they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and ſtandard, throughout the whole hoſt: that the tribe of* Levi *was to encamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and cuſtody of it; and that the reſt of the tribes ſhould pitch their ſtandards with the enſigns of their father's houſe round about it, at an equal and convenient diſtance from it* [d]. This diſtance, let it have been what it would, compoſed not a perfect ſquare, becauſe the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much leſs a circle, as ſome have fanſied it, from the words *round about* taken too literally, but an oblong ſquare, in the centre of which was the tabernacle with its court, in length one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits [e]. Parallel to each of the four ſides of it, and at a proper diſtance between it and the other tribes, was that of *Levi*; along the eaſt end was *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, with the reſt of the family of *Aaron* at the head of the four claſſes of *Levites*. As for *Moſes*'s pavilion, all that he has told us of it, is only, that it ſtood on the ſame ſide with thoſe of *Aaron*'s children [f]; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in the moſt honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver; and neareſt the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies. On the weſt ſide were the *Gerſhonites* under *Eliaſaph*, the ſon of *Lael*, in number ſeven thouſand five hundred [g]: 3. the *Kohathites* under *Elizaphan*, the ſon of *Uſiel*, in number eight thouſand ſix hundred: and laſtly, the *Merarites* under *Zuriel*, the ſon of *Abihail*, in number ſix thouſand two hundred; and theſe two laſt encamped along the ſouth and north ſides. All theſe together made an army of twenty-two thouſand three hundred [h] (M). Each of theſe

[d] Num. i. 52, & ſeq. ii. 1, 2, & ſeq. [e] Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. [f] Num. iii. 38. [g] Num. iii. 24. [h] Ibid. ver. 39.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the firſt recenſion of the people, but ſome time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three claſſes of which it conſiſted, he will find, that it comes ſhort of the odd three hundred, which are ſuppoſed to have been the firſt-born of that tribe, and therefore out of the caſe. And as the *Levites* were choſen out inſtead of the firſt-born of all the tribes, when the num-

(49) *Num.* iii. 39.

ber

The Camp of the Israelites according to Reyherus.

THE CAMP OF THE ISRALITES.

WEST.

108100.

THE CAMP OF EPHRAIM.

THE CAMP OF DAN.

NORTH.

157600.

THE CAMP OF REUBEN.

SOUTH.

151450.

THE CAMP OF JUDAH.

EAST.

185600.

DAN

EPHRAIM

ASHER

MANASSEH

NAPTHALI

BENJAMIN

REUBEN

JUDAH

SIMEON

ISSACHAR

GAD

ZABULON

The Standards of the Twelve Tribes.

Tribe of DAN *62700.*

Tribe of BENJAMIN *35400.*

Tribe of MANASSEH *32200.*

Tribe of EPHRAIM *40500.*

Tribe of ASHER *41500.*

GERSHONITES.

The Camp *7500.* *of* God.

All the Levites 22000.

Tribe of GAD *45650.*

Tribe of NAPTHALI *53400.*

MERARITES.

CAHITES.

The Tabernacle.

Aaron.

Moses.

Tribe of SIMEON *49300.*

Tribe of JUDAH *74600.*

Tribe of ISSACHAR *54400.*

Tribe of ZABULON *57400.*

Tribe of REUBEN *46500.*

Gershonites.

Merarites.

Caathites.

Aaron.

The Tabernacle.

Moses.

The Camp of the Israelites according to Lamy.

I. Bajot sculp.

theſe had their particular functions and charges allotted to them, both as to the worſhip of GOD, and the cuſtody of the tabernacle, with all its *apparatus*, as may be ſeen by the text [h].

AS the tribe of *Levi* made four ſmall bodies on each ſide the tabernacle, ſo did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body conſiſting of three tribes. That of *Judah*, whether becauſe it was the moſt conſiderable, it muſtering ſeventy-four thouſand ſix hundred fighting men, or in conſideration of the ſceptre, or the *Meſſiah*, being promiſed to it, had the poſt of honour, and encamped on the eaſt ſide behind the prieſts, at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of *Iſſachar*, conſiſting of fifty-four thouſand four hundred, and that of *Zebulun* of fifty-ſeven thouſand four hundred men; ſo that this body amounted to one hundred eighty-ſix thouſand four hundred fighting men [i]; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the *Jews* think, or, which is more probable, ſeeing he was as it were their head and general, in the centre betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the ſame may be ſaid alſo of the heads of the other three bodies.

REUBEN was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the ſouth ſide; his tribe conſiſted of forty-ſix thouſand five hundred men; and *Simeon* with fifty-nine thouſand three hundred, and *Gad* with forty-five thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, marched under his banner; this body conſiſted of one hundred fifty-one thouſand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was *Ephraim* at the head of forty thouſand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom *Manaſſeh* led thirty-two thouſand two hundred, and *Benjamin* thirty-five thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thouſand one hundred; theſe encamped on the weſt ſide.

THE laſt was the tribe of *Dan* with ſixty-two thouſand ſeven hundred, with that of *Aſher*, conſiſting

[h] Num. iv. per tot. [i] Ibid. ii. 3—9.

ber of the former came to be taken, and was found to fall ſhort of the firſt-born of the latter by two hundred eighty-three, this overplus was redeemed at the rate of five ſhekels of the ſanctuary, and the money given to the ſons of *Aaron* (50).

(50) *Num.* iii. 41, *& ſeq. vid. Munſt. in loc.*

of forty-one thouſand five hundred, and *Naphtali* fifty-three thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty-ſeven thouſand five hundred and fifty, and theſe were on the north ſide of the tabernacle. Thus the *Iſraelitiſh* hoſt amounted to ſix hundred and three thouſand five hundred and fifty fighting men, excluſive of the *Levites*. To which if we add the old men above ſixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, which, as we ſhewed before, amounted in the whole to li tle leſs than three millions, their vaſt number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the leaſt ſpace that can be allowed for ſuch a prodigious camp muſt be above twenty miles, though we ſuppoſed the ſpaces between each tribe to have been much leſs than the *Jewiſh* doctors affirm (N).

THESE four large bodies had each their general ſtandard (O), to which their own and the other tribes were to repair; under theſe were twelve more, one to every tribe; and under theſe again were thoſe of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty-ſeven, according to *Moſes*'s own account [k]; and indeed leſs than that number cannot be ſuppoſed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of thoſe enſigns were, neither *Moſes* nor any inſpired writer has told us (P).

THAT

[k] Num. ii. & xxvi. paſſ.

(N) This prodigious army is by the antient *Jews* called threefold, whereof the tabernacle, with its precinct, is called the *camp of the Divine Majeſty*, the next the *camp of* Levi, or little hoſt of the LORD, and the largeſt *the camp of* Iſrael, or the great hoſt; and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the biſhop, dean, canons, and inferior clergy, and round them the laity.

(O) The *Chaldee* and *Septuagint* have indeed rendered the original word גדל *gedel*, enſign or ſtandard, the former by תקס, borrowed perhaps from the *Greek* τάξις, and the latter by τάγμα Ἀνθρώπου ἐχόντων κατὰ τὰ τάγματα αὐτῶν, every man to his own order, ſtation, or rank; which phraſe the apoſtle ſeems to apply in a ſenſe ſomewhat different from this (51).

(P) The rabbies have ſupplied all thoſe defects very plentifully; but, though they are not always to be depended upon, yet ſome particulars they have given us relating to theſe of the four main bodies, and thoſe of the twelve tribes, ſeem

(51) 1 Cor. xv. 23. *Vid. Godwin Moſes and Aaron, l.* vi. *c.* 8.

on

THAT every tribe had, beſides, their particular ſtandard of a different colour, and with a different emblem and motto, if they uſed any ſo early, can hardly be queſtioned; and that theſe two laſt might be taken from thoſe alluſions which *Jacob* or *Moſes* made uſe of in their laſt bleſſing, is far from improbable: and thus, for inſtance, *Naphtali* might have a large tree or a hind in his enſign [t], *Iſſachar* an aſs couching under his burden, *Benjamin* a wolf [u], and ſo on; beyond which we will not venture to affirm any thing, much leſs concerning the enſigns of the principal families, which other authors have thought

[t] Vid. ſup. p. 330, & ſeq. [u] Gen. xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. Deut. xxxiii. 6, & ſeq. See alſo an ancient apocryphal book called the teſtament of the twelve patriarchs.

not to be ill grounded. Of the firſt they tell us, that *Judah* had the emblem of a lion, with this device, *Let* GOD *ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered* (1); but the latter ſeems more proper for the enſign of *Levi*, if any belonged to that tribe; which is not improbable, becauſe thoſe were the words which were uſed by the *Levites*, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the emblem by which *Jacob* repreſented the tribe of *Judah* in his laſt will (2); but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the ſtandard (3). *Reuben*'s enſign had the figure of a man, to which ſome add that of a mandrake, alluding to thoſe he found in the fields when a boy (4). That of *Ephraim* was an ox or calf, and ſeems to be taken from the words of *Moſes*'s bleſſing to that tribe; *His glory is like the firſtling of his bullock* (5). To the tribe of *Dan* they give an eagle, which agrees neither with *Moſes*'s bleſſing, which compares him to a lion's whelp; nor to that of *Jacob*, which compares him to a ſerpent in the way. However, in order to make it it agree with the latter, they pretend, that the eagle was painted holding a ſerpent in his talons (6): but we have ſtill a better authority for theſe four emblems, namely, 1. The viſion of *Ezekiel* (7), which is univerſally allowed to allude to them. 2. The pſalmiſt repreſenting the congregation of *Iſrael* under thoſe emblems (8); and, laſtly, St. *John* in his apocalypſe, repreſenting the faithful by the four beaſts about the throne of GOD, crying night and day, *holy, holy* (9), and ſo on; from which it is moſt likely, that the four evangeliſts came afterwards to have the ſame emblems more particularly appropriated to them.

(1) *Pſ.* lxviii. 1. (2) *Gen.* xlix. 9. (3) *Ita RR. Jonath. Abr. ben Levi. Cabal. biſtor. ap. Cunæum, ub. ſup.* (4) *Gen.* xxx. 14. (5) *Deut.* xxxiii. 17. (6) *Vid. Aben Ezr. & Fag. in Num.* ii. (7) *Ch.* i. 10. (8) *Pſ.* lxviii. 10. (9) *Revel.* iv. 6, 7.

fit to give us [w]. One thing more, however, is certain, that they had likewise a separate camp for lepers, for those who had running sores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themselves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one [x].

The order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and such-like, as they are more particularly described by *Moses*, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and removing some few difficulties that occur; and refer our readers for the more circumstantial parts to the text itself, and to those who have treated of them more at large [y].

In their decamping, whilst in the wilderness, the first thing they were to observe, was the signal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already spoken [z]; which *Moses* immediately took care to have communicated throughout the camp, by two silver trumpets made by God's command [a]; and because these were used for other signals, such as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniversary festivals, and the like, they were differently blown, according to the signal they were to give; that is, for instance, singly, when to call the elders; jointly, when to call the whole congregation; with a constant and even sound, when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous interrupted one, when they sounded to battle. To these the apostle seems to allude, when he says, *If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare to battle* [b]*?* As soon, therefore, as the first signal was given for marching, every tribe set about making ready for it; and this took up some considerable time, especially with respect to the priests and *Levites* [c], who had the tabernacle, with all its utensils, to take down, cover, and pack up, and set part upon waggons for that purpose, and part to be carried upon mens shoulders. By that time the *Levites* had got every thing ready for the march, the second signal was given; for it is not to be doubted but the other tribes could be sooner in a readiness than they: and then all that bore arms repaired to their standards, whilst the invalids, women, children,

[w] Basnag. ubi supr. Calm. & al. [x] Num. v. 1, & seq. [y] Vid. Basnag. ubi supr. c. 19. [z] Vid supr. p. 338. [a] Num. x. 1, & seq. [b] 1 Cor. xiv. 8. [c] Vid. Num. iv. 5, & alib.

and

and carriages, marched towards the rear. Upon the next signal, the tribe of *Judah*, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and these were followed, according to the most general opinion, by the *Gershonites* and *Merarites*, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, pillars, &c. belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next signal, *Reuben* and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the *Kohathites*, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utensils, upon their shoulders; so that by the time these were at their journey's end, the *Gershonites* and *Merarites* had set up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception. The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manasseh*, as soon as the third signal was given. To this alludes that of the psalmist c, *Thou that sittest between the cherubim, shine forth before* Ephraim, Benjamin, *and* Manasseh. Last of all came the tribes of *Dan*, *Asher*, and *Naphtali*, escorting the invalids, that none might be left behind. For which reason this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering-host* d (T).

CONCERNING their method of engaging with their enemies, order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain but what has been occasionally mentioned before. Such as the having one priest anointed to be

c Psal. lxxx. 1, 2. d Joshua vi. 9. Vide MUNST. in loc. GOODWIN's Mos. & Aaron, lib. vi. c. 4. art. 3. see also Num. x. 21, & seqq.

(T) However, it is plain, that this order was not always observed; for, first, with respect to the ark, there are some places where it is said to have gone before them (1) upon some emergencies; and, with respect to the whole body, tho' they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands, thro' which they passed, would permit it; yet, when they were obliged to cross whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make their way, some over heights, others through the valleys, preserving still the best order they could for their own safety. All that can be added upon this subject is, that, when the ark was taking up for the march, *Moses* used to say, *Arise, O* LORD, *and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and, when the priests set it down, he said, *Return, O* LORD, *unto the many thousands of* Israel (2). These words are still used to this day by the *Jews*, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repository, and when they carry it thither again.

(1) *See Numb.* x. 33. *Josh.* iii. 6. (2) *Numb.* x. 35, 36.

 consulted

consulted by *urim*, instead of the high-priest, who never went to the wars; the *amercol*, or exhorting priest, who is thought to be the same with the former by some authors [g], and whose speech, at least the substance of it, has been preserved to us by the antient *Jews* (W): all that we can say farther on this head with any certainty is, that as soon as the trumpets had given the signal for the signal for the engagement, the combatants gave a great shout, and fell immediately upon their enemies [h]; an instance of which we find some time after, when they went to engage the *Philistines* [i] (U).

Their manner of engaging.

SECT.

[g] Calmet & Basnag. ubi sup. [h] Vide Cun. & Goodwin, ubi sup. [i] Vide 1 Sam. iv. 5. & Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. iii.

(W) Among other remarkable things in this speech were those that follow; *Hear, O Israel,——you are now going to engage, not against your brethren, not one tribe against another, by whom if you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be used with mercy:——but against your enemies, into whose hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you must expect no quarter:——let not your courage fail you; let not the neighing of their horses, the brightness of their spears, the clattering of their shields, or the sound of their trumpets, dishearten you——*God *is in the midst of you;——your foes come against you with an arm of flesh, but you trust in the strength of the Almighty*; and so on (65). Part of this speech we find to have been certainly dictated by *Moses* (66); but, whether the rest was so, or not, we dare not affirm. However, one thing is worth observing, with respect to these words, *Thou art not going to engage against thy brethren, from whom thou mightest expect mercy*; that the tribe of *Judah* having been captivated by those of *Israel*, so long after as in *Ahaz*'s reign, and these ready to use their captives with the same severity as they did strangers, a prophet of the Lord strenuously opposed it, and made the conquerors cloathe, feed, and anoint them, and send them back to their brethren (67).

(U) This was no less practised by the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other warlike nations, who often increased the horrid noise with knocking their weapons against their shields (68). With relation to their manner of besieging towns, we are still more in the dark; all therefore that can be added here, is what the *Jews* tell us from a passage in *Joshua* (69), that, when he sent to offer peace to the cities of *Canaan*, before he entered

(66) *Trad.* סוטה *cap.* 8. *vid. Gordon. Not. & Aur. lib.* iv. *c.* 8. §. 14.
(65) *Deut.* xx. 2, *& seqq.* (67) *Vide* 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 8, *& seq.*
(63) *Polyb. vid. Cun. ubi supr.* (69) *Josh.* xi. 19, 20.

it,

SECT. VII.

The History of the Jews *under* Joshua.

The conquest and partition of the land of Canaan.

THE *Israelitish* camp continued at *Shittim*, near the river *Jordan*, and in sight of the land of *Canaan*, during the days of mourning for *Moses*; and the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderness, under a discipline intermixed with the greatest tenderness and severity, had rendered more tractable, and more sensible of GOD's paternal care, were only waiting for the signal for passing over the river *Jordan*; when their new general received fresh and repeated promises of the divine assistance in the conquest of the promised land [n] (A). Year of the flood 897. Bef. Christ 1451.

[n] Josh. i. per tot.

it, he dispatched three expresses to them: the first was, to permit those, who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the second was, to offer peace to those that would make peace with him; and the last, to declare war against those that refused the two former offers (1).

(A) Nothing less than such a divine assurance could indeed have supported *Joshua*'s courage in so arduous a task. He was now ninety-three years of age, and had been trained up under *Moses* at least one third part of that time, so that he wanted neither experience nor sagacity to foresee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He saw himself indeed at the head of six hundred thousand fighting men; but, on the other hand, his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, besides servants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very first ste he was to take, was the crossing of a large river, in doing which he knew himself equally exposed to the arms of those he went to attack, and those whom he left behind. The nations he was to subdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic stature and strength, their towns well fortified by nature and art, their forces and interest united by the strongest ties and alliances; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greatest preparations against him, resolving either to obstruct his conquest, or lose their lives in the defence of their country (2).

(1) *Goodw. ubi sup.* (2) *Josh.* ix. 1, 2, & *seqq.* x. & *seqq. pass.*

Two spies sent to Jericho; As soon, therefore, as he had received his order to prepare for the glorious conquest, his first care was, to make choice of two proper persons to go privily to the land of *Jericho*, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. These soon set out for the perilous expedition; and, having happily crossed the *Jordan*, went and lodged at an innkeeper's house (X) named *Rahab*; where they had not been long, before a strict search was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of *Jericho*. Their fear, however, was soon dispelled by their hospitable hostess, who sent away the searchers, by telling them out of her window, that two strangers had indeed refreshed themselves at her house, but that they were gone since towards sunset, and might be easily taken, if closely pur-

Concealed by Rahab.

(X) We have ventured to give *Rahab* a more favourable appellative than most versions have done, who make no scruple to call her an harlot, tho' it is plain, that the word זונה *zonah* doth properly signify an innkeeper, or one who selleth victuals and drink; for it is derived from the root זון *zon*, which signifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which renders it *innkeeper* (68); in which he is also followed by some of the most learned *Jews*, who paraphrase the word here by מוכרת מזון *mokereth mazon*, a seller of victuals (69); and *Kimchi* allows, that it may be rendered either way (70): to which we may add, that the *Septuagint*, and, after them, St. *James*, have made use of the *Greek* word πόρνη, which is capable of both significations, namely, of a victualler or an harlot, as *Junius* has fully proved (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive sense properly signifies the former, it is not unlikely, that the freedoms which those kind of women were used to allow to their customers, might give birth to the latter signification; so that, from an hostess, or victualler, it came in time to signify an harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text, that she followed both these trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which she expressed in God, and her behaviour to his two servants, might well deserve to have the most favourable construction put upon her profession. To which we may add, that it is not likely, that *Salmon* would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if she had been such a public woman; he who was a prince of the house of *Judah*, and one of the Messiah's ancestors.

(68) *Vide* שולחן ערוך *seu lexic. R. Nathan.* (69) *RR. Salm. Jona, Levi, Ben Gersh. vid. & Munst. in loc.* (70) *In rad.* (71) *Vid. Jun. in epist. Jacob.* ii. 25.

sued.

sued. Their backs were no sooner turned, than she went to the two spies, to whom she freely owned the panic dread that had seized not only that city, but all the land of *Canaan*, at the news of what the God of *Israel* had done in favour of their nation, both at the *Red Sea*, and against those kingdoms which they had so lately conquered. To this she added, that, being now fully persuaded, that he was the only true God, against whose decrees all opposition would be both vain and dangerous, she was now ready to save them from their imminent danger, upon condition they swore to save her and her family, when they became masters of the city. An offer so generous and unexpected, joined to so candid a confession, could not deserve a less reward; and the two spies, who, in the condition they were in, would have purchased their safety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave her all the desired assurance, that not only she and her family, but all that were found in her house at the taking of the city, should be exempted from the common ruin. She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under some hempen stocks, and about midnight let them down by a rope out of one of her back windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after she had charged them to keep themselves concealed in some cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their pursuers were returned home. Before they took their leave, they agreed, that she should hang a scarlet line out of her window, which should be a signal to them, and a safeguard to her house. The risk they had run, put a stop to their further progress; and what they had learned at *Jericho*, made it as needless as dangerous: so that, having happily escaped all further discovery, they returned to their camp on the third day, and related to *Joshua* all that had happened to them [o].

They swear to save her and hers.

The consternation which, they told him, had overspread that whole land, was universally looked upon as a sure omen of their future success; and *Joshua* failed not to improve it, by assuring them, that it was God himself who had struck their enemies with such a terror, and that they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and half of their former promise of assisting their brethren in the conquest of the land [p]. But as those tribes composed an army of an hundred thousand fighting men,

Return to the camp, and make their report.

[o] Josh. ii. per tot. [p] Ibid. i. 12, & seqq.

Joshua

Joshua contented himself with less than one half, and left the rest to defend their new possessions and families. After this, he caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they should pass over the *Jordan* within three days; during which time they should make provision for victuals, seeing the manna was to cease as soon as they had set foot on the other shore, as it actually did †; and then he gave the signal for marching from *Shittim* to the neighbouring shore of that river. As soon as they were encamped there, *Joshua* sent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be observed in this solemn march. The priests, bearing the ark, were to begin the procession; and as soon as their feet, touching the water, had opened a miraculous way [r] to them, each tribe was to follow in the same order as they had observed in all their marches, keeping, however, the awful distance prescribed of two thousand cubits, from that sacred symbol of the Divine Presence *, whilst those that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole host of *Israel* had got safe to the other shore.

They prepare to march towards Jordan. *The order of crossing that river;*

To inspire the people with a still greater regard for this wonderful passage, they were commanded to sanctify themselves, as had been formerly done upon such solemn occasions; and *Joshua* charged every tribe to send a man to him, to be ready to execute such orders as he should give them on the morrow; which was no sooner come, than the priests began their march towards the river, and the people made themselves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below the ark (B). As soon, therefore, as the priests that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, GOD, who had promised to signalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner, as he had done their old one at the *Red Sea*, caused the waters of the river from above to go back, and to rise up in heaps far beyond the city of *Adam*,

which divides itself to open a dry passage.

† Josh. v. 12. [r] Ibid. iii. 13. * Ibid. ver. 4.

(B) This march happened on a *Friday*, on the tenth day of the first month *Nisan*, which answers to our thirtieth of *April*, and was the day on which the lamb was to be chosen and set by for the passover (1), about which time the water of *Jordan*, being usually swelled by the melting of the snows of *Lebanon*, and other neighbouring mountains, seldom or never failed to overflow its banks.

(1) *Usher's ann. ant.* C. 3451.

which

which is beside that of *Zaretan*, whilst those below, continuing their course towards the *sea of the plain*, otherwise called the *Salt* or *Dead Sea*, opened a passage of about sixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the *Israelites*, till they were all got safe to the other side.

DURING all the time of their crossing, the priests continued with the ark in the midst of the *Jordan*, and waited only for *Joshua*'s orders when to come out, and join the rest of the camp. But *Joshua*, who designed to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful transaction, commanded them to stand still, till he had made those twelve men, whom he had directed to wait about him, take twelve large stones, one for each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark stood, so that they might be seen afterwards from each shore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the same time he made them take up twelve other stones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the shore; which was no sooner done than the priests had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to resume their usual course. *Joshua*, who by this time was in as high esteem with the people as *Moses* had been before, failed not to charge them to transmit to their posterity the occasion and meaning of these two monuments[t]; both which, if we may believe *Eusebius* and others, were still to be seen many centuries after[u]. From this place *Joshua* commanded the vanguard, which consisted of the forty thousand men of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, to march towards the plains of *Jericho*[w]; and these were soon followed by the rest of the army, and encamped at *Gilgal*, about seven or eight miles from *Jordan*, and about three or four from *Jericho*.

Two monuments of it reared up.

IN the mean time the feast of the passover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumcised person was to be admitted, under the severest penalties; and yet that ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, as has been lately hinted: it was therefore necessary, before all things, that it should be renewed out of hand: wherefore *Joshua* was commanded to have it immediately performed (C); and GOD, highly pleased with their obedience,

Circumcision renewed.

[t] Josh. iii. & iv. per tot. [u] EUSEB. loc. Hebr. sub Bounos & Gilgal. ANSELM. ALBERT, JOB. MOSCH. vit. patr. & al. ap. Calm. hist. V. T. lib. iii. cap. 1. [w] Josh. iv. 12, 13.

(C) The circumstance of time was altogether favourable for such an operation; and their miraculous passage over the

dience, told them, that he had now *removed, or rolled away from them, the reproach of* Egypt; that is, that he did no longer look upon them as *uncircumcised* Egyptians, but as his own people; in memory of which, the place was called *Gilgal*, or *rolling*.

The passover celebrated.

This was the third time of their celebrating that festival; the first was at their departure out of *Egypt*, and the second on the next year, at the setting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount *Sinai*, since which time, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or for any other reason, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells us, the *Israelites* having provided themselves with corn, both old and new, they baked themselves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the sheaves, and eat it instead of bread, this last being equally suitable to the feast, as being eaten without leaven.

God appears to Joshua.

In this place it was also that GOD, or, as some will have it [x], his angel, appeared to *Joshua* in the plain, in the shape of a warrior, standing at some distance from him with a drawn sword. *Joshua* knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to reconnoitre the city, and contrive the propereſt means of besieging it. Being therefore surprised to see a man stand so near him in that hostile posture, he asked him, Whether he was for or against *Israel?* and, upon his answering, that he was the captain of the LORD's host, *Joshua* fell down at his feet, and worshiped him, and in the humblest terms expressed his readiness to receive his command [y]; and it was there that the LORD was pleased to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have *Jericho* besieged, that the rest of the *Canaanites* might be made sensible, that it was not an arm of flesh that fought against them.

[x] GROT. LE CLERC, & al. vid. supr. p. 261. note (T) & alib. [y] Josh. v. per tot.

the *Jordan* had spread such an universal dread among their enemies, that they had now no cause to apprehend being surprised by them, as the *Shechemites* had been by *Simeon* and *Levi*. Besides, it was GOD that commanded, to whom they had all the reason in the world to commit their safety; so that his orders were chearfully and punctually obeyed.

The sharp stones, which they made use of, being more proper for the ceremony, than knives or rasors made of metal, as being less apt to cause inflammations, were a means of their being sooner healed, and consequently in a condition to celebrate the passover at the appointed time, as was accordingly done.

WE

We have already given some account of the siege and taking of this place in the history of *Canaan* †. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, some to help to defend it, and others to save themselves, had been closely shut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in person, no man being suffered to go in or out; and that on the seventh day, which was the sabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated seven times, with the usual solemnity; the priests sounding with the rams-horns (D), and the same guard of armed men marching

† Sup. vol. ii. p. 203.

(D) The original is שפרות היובלים, *shopheroth-hajoblim*, which all the *Jews* in general (83), and, after them, very many *Christians*, understand, as we do, of trumpets made of rams-horns *; though the difficulty of boring them, and making them fit for the ends designed, hath appeared so great, that some commentators have fansied them to have been made of copper, and only in the shape of rams-horns; which notion hath been sufficiently confuted by our learned *Spencer* †, and others: and we may add, that those now in use among the *Jews*, on some grand festivals, are made in joints of a considerable length, and give a loud and shrill sound, little inferior to our trumpets.

Josephus, who is very particular in describing those silver ones which *Moses* made (86), says little or nothing of these here, but calls them plainly horns (87); only when he comes afterwards to speak of those which *Gideon* and his men made use of (88), he calls them rams-horns (89). However, let them have been made how, and of what they would, it is plain, from this instance of *Gideon*, and some others, both before and after him, that, besides those trumpets, which were appropriated to the priests, to sound before the ark, to proclaim feasts, jubilees, and the like, whose number was increased to seven in *Joshua*'s (90), and to sixscore in *Solomon*'s time (91): (*Josephus* says (92) two hundred thousand; and adds, *that it was according to* Moses's *command*, though upon what authority is hard to guess); besides these, we say, 'tis plain there were others for the war, which each general caused to sound upon all exigencies. Thus

(83) *Ita rabbin. fer omn. vid. Munst. in loc.* * *Spenc. & Meyer. de rem. sacr. c.* 14. §. 11. *Goodw. Mos. & Aar. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. §. 2. *& al. recent.* † *Id. ibid. vid. & R. Selomo Ben Melech in Levit.* xxv. 10. (86) *Ant. lib.* iii. *c.* 12. (87) *Ibid. l.* v. *c.* 1. (88) *Judg.* vii. 8, *& seq.* (89) *Jos. ant. l.* v. *c.* 8. (90) *Josh.* vi. 4. (91) 2 *Chron.* v. 12. (92) *Ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2.

Ehud,

The manner of taking Jericho.

marching before and after it, as had been done during the first six days. As soon as the seventh round was ended, the sound of the trumpets was accompanied with an universal shout of all the besiegers; and this was followed by the fall of the city wall, which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was next before him. Their first care was to convey *Rahab*, and all her family, out of the city; and these were no sooner got safely out, but the *Israelites* killed all the men, women, children, and cattle, that were found in it; after which, having seized upon all the gold, silver, brass, and other baser metals, to be reposited in the treasury, they set the place on fire, and levelled it to the ground. *Joshua* added a prophetic curse on the man that should afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing, that he should lay the foundation of it in his first-born, and set up its gates in his youngest son [z]; by which the *Jews* understand, that all his children, from the biggest to the least, should die an untimely death before he had finished it [a]. However, we find it literally fulfilled above five hundred and fifty years after, by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, who laid the foundations of it in his eldest son *Abiram*, and set up its gates in his youngest son *Segub*, accordingly [b] (C). Such was the fatal end of *Jericho*, which *Moses* chose to call by the name of the city of *Palm-trees* [c], by reason of the great number of them that grew in the plain round about it. To which *Josephus* adds, that the tree from which flowed the best balm of *Gilead*, and other odoriferous trees, likewise grew in its neighbourhood [d], from whose fragrancy it is supposed to have been named *Jericho*, which, in the original, signifies odour. As for *Rahab*, and her family,

Rahab *and her family saved.*

Year of the flood 897. Bef. Chr. 1451.

[z] Josh. vi. per tot. [a] Vide Munst. in loc. [b] 1 Kings xvi. ver. ult. [c] Deut. xxxiv. 3. [d] Jew. wars, l. v. c. 4.

Ehud, after he had privately killed *Eglon* king of *Moab*, sounded the trumpet, and gathered *Israel* on mount *Ephraim* (93). And the same was afterwards done by *Joab*, *Absalom*, and many more (94).

(C) This, however, must not be literally understood; as if there had been no city of that name from *Joshua* to *Hiel*, since we read of the city of *Palm-trees* in *Eglon*'s time (95), and of *Jericho*, in *David*'s days (96): concerning all which, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume *.

(93) *Judg.* iii. 27.
(94) *Vide* 2 *Sam.* ii. 28. xv. 10, *& alib.*
(95) 2 *Sam.* x. 45.
(96) *Judg.* iii. 13. *Sub not.*
* *See vol.* ii. *f.* 472.

they had a place assigned them out of the *Israelitish* camp; and she was soon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the *Jewish* religion, and her marriage to *Salmon* [e], head of the tribe of *Judah*, as was hinted before: whether the rest of her kindred followed her example or no, is neither certain, nor of great consequence. *She is married to Salmon.*

In the mean time *Joshua*, wisely considering the time which the making and dividing of future conquests would take, during which his numerous army must be supplied with provisions, chose to make that fruitful plain the centre of his camp, from whence he might constantly draw out a sufficient number of men to invade other territories, till they had so far enlarged their own, as to admit of a distribution between the tribes, which was not done till six years after †. As soon therefore as he had settled the best order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thousand men against the king of *Ai*, whose capital was about ten or twelve miles distant from *Jericho*, where they received an unexpected repulse, with the loss of about thirty-six men. This defeat, how soever, so damped the people's courage, that *Joshua* was forced to have recourse to God, who immediately answered by *urim*, as is supposed, that a sacrilege had been committed, and ordered him to discover the guilty person by lot, and (E) to punish him with immediate death. *The Israelites repulsed at Ai.*

Joshua

[e] Matth. i. 5. Vid. Usher's ann. sub ann. ant. C. 1451.
† Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 203, & seqq.

(E) How these lots were cast, is neither plain from Scripture, nor agreed about by commentators; though we have a great many instances of their being made use of, both to discover guilty persons, not only by the *Jews*, as in this, and the case of *Saul* (2), but by other nations, as we find by the history of *Jonah*; and for several other purposes, bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itself was performed, except the calling of the tribes one after another, till it came to the right, and so down to the inferior branches of each family, till they came at last to single persons, as in the two cases above-mentioned, except this, we have nothing certain about it. *Josephus* (3) only says, that it was done before the high-priest, and seventy elders. To this other *Jews* add, that they were made to pass before the ark, and that the high-priest was directed by the *urim* to pitch upon the right tribe, family, &c (4).

(2) 2 Sam. xiv. 38, & seqq. (3) Ant. l. v. c. 1. (4) Vide Munst. in Josh. vii.

How-

Joshua lost no time, and, having cast lots from the tribes to the families, *Achan*, the son of *Carmi*, of the tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the guilty person, who, at the general's request, confessed that he had concealed some of the accursed plunder of *Jericho*. His crime was no sooner verified by the search that was made in his tent, than he, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent valley, which was from that time called the valley of *Achor*, or *trouble*, from the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people; and there the former were stoned to death, and the rest burnt; after which they reared up an heap of stones for a monument of his crime, and a determent to the rest [f].

Achan's crime punished.

THE army being thus purged, as *Josephus* words it, they had much better success, not only in their next expedition against *Ai*, but also against the whole land, the conquest of which was (though not perfectly) finished in six years. But as we have given an account of it in a former volume, to that we shall refer [†].

Canaan conquered in six years.

IN the mean time our readers will not, perhaps, think it amiss, if we venture to subjoin here some few, we hope, not improper, remarks upon those two miraculous transactions which happened at this time; namely, the stopping the course of the sun by *Joshua*, and the remarkable rain of hail-stones, which did such terrible execution upon the confederate army of the *Canaanites*, both which happened on the same day [g]; but, having been barely mentioned before, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no-where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them how many, otherwise learned men, among the *Christians* [‡], have scrupled to fall in with the *Copernican* system, in this and many other countries free from the inquisition, upon a mistaken notion, that it is point-blank contrary to several express testimonies of holy writ, amongst which this of the sun

The sun stands still at Joshua's prayer.

[f] Josh. vii. per tot. [†] Vol. ii. p. 202, & seqq. [g] Josh. x. 12, & seqq.

However that be, the lawfulness of this way of casting lots cannot be denied, seeing it was not only countenanced, if not prescribed, by GOD, but afterwards practised even by the apostles (5), though the heathenish superstition which since mixed itself with it, and the vile purposes to which it hath been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(5) *Acts* i. ver. ult.

and

and moon ſtanding ſtill is ſtrenuouſly urged by them; whilſt others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to queſtion its divine authority, becauſe it favoured ſo abſurd a one, as that of *Ptolemy* is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was, doubtleſs, this laſt error which gave occaſion to that witty, tho' profane ſaying reported of that great philoſopher, *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, that *if the ſyſtem of the earth's ſtanding ſtill were true, the whole univerſe was but a bungling piece of mechaniſm*[g].

Now it is plain that theſe two extremes might have been eaſily avoided by two very obvious obſervations; namely, firſt, that the expreſſions here made uſe of, *Sun, ſtand ſtill upon* Gibeon, and ſo on, are figurative, and incapable of a literal ſenſe (G); and ſecondly, that the ſyſtem, which places the earth immoveable in the centre, and ſuppoſes the ſun, moon, and ſtars, to turn round it,

[g] Bacon's apogethems.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun, be thou ſilent in, or upon,* Gibeon, *and thou moon in the valley of* Ajalon; and, in the next verſe it is ſaid, that they ſtood ſtill accordingly. Now it is plain, that thoſe two luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over theſe places in any other than a relative ſenſe; and that they had a different ſituation with reſpect to thoſe that were one mile eaſt or weſt of the place where *Joſhua* ſtood. We may venture to add, that it was impertinent to make the moon ſtand ſtill with the ſun, upon any other ſuppoſition than that *Joſhua* had the ſolar ſyſtem in his thoughts when he uſed thoſe expreſſions, becauſe the preſence of the moon was uſeleſs to him as long as he had that of the ſun; but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in *ſtatu quo*, till he had accompliſhed his conqueſt, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but know, that upon the earth's ſtanding ſtill, both the ſun and moon, and all the reſt, muſt ſeem to do ſo. It is plain our great philoſopher Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who was ſufficiently maſter of the *Hebrew*, was not frighted by theſe or any ſuch popular phraſes from his favourite ſyſtem, though no man paid a greater deference to the authority of the Scriptures than he did; and that he thought it ſufficient, that the effect was the ſame, whether the ſun or the earth were ſuppoſed to be ſtopped in their career; and as the firſt was altogether ſupernatural, it will ſufficiently anſwer all cavils and difficulties raiſed againſt it, to ſay, that the ſupreme Author of nature, who firſt gave motion to matter, and whoſe will alone appointed the laws of it, can either ſuſpend, or diſpenſe with them, whenever his own glory, or any wiſe ends of his Providence, make it neceſſary or expedient.

was the moſt univerſally received, the moſt adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freeſt from ſeeming difficulties, becauſe moſt agreeable to common appearances and obſervations; and that the groſs *Iſraelites* were ſo uſed to it, that had *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, or any other inſpired writer, known any thing of the ſolar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous, to have ſo much as hinted at it. However, theſe conſiderations, though obvious and reaſonable, have been ſo far from being univerſally admitted, that a great number of authors, both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, have ranſacked their brains to find out more ſatisfactory ſolutions, though with ſo little circumſpection and ſucceſs, that they have rather multiplied than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

The ſyſtems of ſome authors concerning it examined.

AMONG the firſt, ſome have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a coach is from a full gallop, to an even pace [h], from ar expreſſion uſed there, that *the ſun did not haſten to go down about a whole day*. But whether or no they thought it eaſier to retard, than wholly to ſuſpend their motion, ſure it is, that neither of them could be done, but by a ſupernatural power: the ſame may be ſaid of what ſome rabbies affirm, that GOD ſubſtituted ſome meteor, or body of light [i], or that he retained the moon above the horizon, to ſupply the abſence of the ſun [k]: but all theſe are modeſt

Maimonides *and* Spinoſa *confuted.*

men, in compariſon to the learned *Maimonides*, who makes all the miracle of this tranſaction to have conſiſted in a bare wiſh or prayer of *Joſhua*, that the ſun might not go down till he had gained a complete conqueſt; and in GOD's granting his requeſt, not by ſtopping the ſun's career during ſo many hours, as we underſtand it, but by enabling that general, and his army, to do as much execution in one, as would reaſonably have taken up two days [l]. After this we need not wonder, if *Spinoſa*, the laſt among the *Jews* we ſhall mention, has ſtill improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty, by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the ſun's rays by the ſky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people miſtook for the ſun's ſtanding ſtill. According to him, *Iſaiah* was no better a philoſopher than *Joſhua*, when he attributed the change that happened upon *Ahaz*'s

[h] Chald. paraph. R. LEVI Ben GERSH. & al. *Vide* MUNST. in loc. & CALM. diſſert. [i] R. ELIAKIM, B. NAPHTAL. שם טוב. [k] Jos. & DAV. KIMCHI. Vid. מכלול, & epiſt. ſup. mor. nevoch. MAIMONID. [l] More nevoch. part ii. c. 39.

dial

dial to the retrogreſſion of the ſun, rather than to a refraction of it from ſome cloud [m].

We ſhould hardly have thought any of theſe, eſpecially the two laſt, worth anſwering, or even mentioning, had they not been too cloſely followed by ſome very learned *Chriſtians*, proteſtants as well as Roman-catholics. We ſhall only take notice of three of the moſt eminent of them, namely, *Grotius*, *Peirerius*, and *Le Clerc*, whoſe ſentiments, as well as what has been ſaid to confute them, we ſhall now give in as few words as the ſubject will admit of.

As for *Grotius*, though he doth not think it impoſſible, that God ſhould ſuſpend the courſe of the ſun, or make it appear upon our horizon after it is ſet; yet he is ſo far from granting, that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of leſs moment, in the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* [n], to be a ſtrong argument againſt it (H). And therefore what is ſaid in *Joſhua*, that

Grotius *confuted*.

[m] Tract. theologico-politic. c. 2. [n] Heb. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally againſt ſeveral other miraculous tranſactions, which are likewiſe omitted by the apoſtle, though expreſly mentioned in holy writ; ſuch as the plagues of *Egypt*, all the wonders wrought by *Moſes* in the wilderneſs, the miraculous paſſage over *Jordan*, and many more of the like nature. He doth not ſo much as ſpeak a word of the conqueſt of *Canaan*, or mention *Joſhua* among his worthies, though his character be ſo vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, and others that are mentioned in that place.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the ſilence of all the antient hiſtorians, which, it is urged, could never have been ſo univerſal, had ſuch a memorable tranſaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembred, that this fact is vaſtly previous to any profane writer, either extant or quoted, ſo that it was eaſy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be loſt among a vaſt multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the moſt antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out of darkneſs, whence could the notion come into the poets heads, of their demigods and heroes having the power of lengthening days and nights, as beſt ſerved their warlike or amorous deſigns, but moſt likely from this wonderful event? How came *Jupiter*, for inſtance, to be affirmed to have ſpun out the night, which he ſpent with *Alcmena*, to twice its natural length? or *Minerva*

that GOD hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with *Maimonides* to mean no more, than that GOD, at his requeſt, granted him as much time and diſpatch as was neceſſary to gain a complete victory [o].

Peirerius *confuted.*

PEIRERIUS, an author of extraordinary ſkill in accounting for all ſcripture miracles in a natural way, ſuppoſes [p], contrary to all reaſon, as well as the plain meaning of the text, that *Joſhua* only wiſhed for a longer day, about the time of the ſun's ſetting; upon which the land of *Paleſtine*, or perhaps the territories only about *Gibeon*, were enlightened by a kind of twilight, or ſomething like our *aurora borealis*, which, continuing long enough to anſwer *Joſhua*'s purpoſe, was miſtaken by him for the ſun, tho' it was actually ſet as uſual; and made him, and his army, fanſy that day to have been longer than any other by all that interval. But here the queſtion is, not how far theſe *parelia*, or mock-ſuns, can ſupply the abſence of the real one, but whether the hiſtorian's account can be capable of ſuch a forced interpretation. The text ſays expreſly, that the ſun ſtood ſtill in the mid-heaven (I) at *Joſhua*'s

[o] Comm. in Joſh. x. 14.

[p] Præadamit. lib. iv. c. 6.

to have done the ſame in favour of *Ulyſſes*, whilſt he was butchering his competitors, and making himſelf known to his wife (11)? and many others of the like nature (12): but though we could bring nothing out of profane hiſtory to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument againſt the truth of it, or the veracity of the writer, abſtracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the ſame candor, as we do of any other hiſtorian.

(I) The words are בחצי השמים, *in the midſt of heaven*, or, *in the mid-heaven*; which is always underſtood both by aſtronomers, and by the vulgar, to ſignify the place where the ſun is at noon; and that he haſted not לבוא *to go down*, or literally to decline towards his ſetting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verſe, that no day was ever like it, either before or ſince, plainly confirms it. However, as theſe authors ſeem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiſs to try to confute them in their own way, by ſhewing, that their ſuppoſition of the ſun's being then near ſetting, when ſtopped by *Joſhua*, makes againſt their favourite hypotheſis, and leaves him not time enough for all

(11) *Vide Hom. Odyſſ.* xxiii. ver. 242, 243.

(12) *Vide Bacon. ſyven. Huet. demonſt. evan. Calm. diſſert. & al.*

(13) *Joſh.* x. 13.

the

Joshua's prayer, and that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of lights, as to have fansied the sun still above the horizon, could they be so stupid as not to know his usual place at noon from that of his setting? But should we suppose even this, could they choose being undeceived, either by seeing him rise on the next morning at his usual time, or by the concurring testimony of

the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expresly said, that the army marched all that night from *Gilgal*, and came early in the morning to *Gibeon*, where *Joshua* engaged the enemy, put them to flight, and pursued them from the ascent of *Bethoron* to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*; and that, as they were going down the descent of *Bethoron*, the storm of hail fell upon them; after which he commanded the sun to stand still in *Gibeon*, and the moon in *Ajalon*. All this might be done easily enough before the sun was past the meridian; and the situation of those two last places shews, that it must have been about that time of the day. From the *Bethoron* here mentioned, or lower *Bethoron*, he pursued them to *Azekah* and *Makkedah*, which could not be less than twelve or fourteen miles, according to St. *Jerom*, who places the former at nine, and the latter at eight miles northward of *Eleutheropolis* (14). There he is told, that the five kings had hid themselves in a cave, and ordered the mouth of it to be stopped with an heap of stones; and then continues his pursuit till part of the enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities; and then returns to *Makkedah*. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down, and buried again in the same cave. Can an army, which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, and slaughtered them all the way they went, then to have come back to *Makkedah*, and executed and buried the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set, and by the help of a refracted light? And, if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? How much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting! The reader may further convince himself, how much the situation of *Gibeon* and *Ajalon* is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, from the maps and geography we have given at the beginning of this chapter.

(14) *Vide epitaph. Paulæ, & loc. Hebr.*

other people, who had seen him rise and set as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely, that they would have transmitted an account of it in such terms, as must of necessity betray either their want of common sense, or common honesty? Lastly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inspired, suppose that the Holy Ghost would have suffered the *Hebrew* general, not only to have continued under such a delusion, but even to have transmitted it to posterity with the divine stamp upon it?

Le Clerc *confuted.*

THE last person we proposed to mention under this head, is the famous M. *Le Clerc*, who has not only embraced the sentiments of the two former, but has endeavoured to back them with new reasons. The two first are taken from *Joshua*'s expression, *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon*, which can admit of none but a figurative sense; and from the literal one being contrary to the received solar system. We have already shewn above, that they prove nothing on either side of the question. But he goes farther, and says, thirdly, That providence is too sparing of miracles, to bestow so signal a one as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of so small a moment, as the defeat of the *Canaanitish* army in one day, rather than in two. To this it is added, that *Joshua*'s prayer was too unreasonable for GOD to grant in the strict sense it is commonly understood in, since the next day might have done as well without lengthening this at the expence of so great a miracle (K): but is not this very presumptuous, and may not such a bold way of reasoning, against the plainest facts mentioned in Scripture, prove the source of endless errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold against all the other miracles wrought from *Moses* to CHRIST himself? Why were so many done in *Egypt*, when *Pharaoh* might have been softened into compliance at a much easier rate? Why

(K) The *Jews* indeed tell us, that the reason of the lengthening of this day was because the next was the sabbath, which would have given the *Canaanites* an opportunity either of rallying or escapeing, whilst *Joshua* and his army were at rest (14); but, besides that they give no proof of it, it is plain from their own confession, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the sabbath, since *Jericho* was so lately taken on that day, as we hinted before.

(14) *Rabbin. in Sedor Olam. Vid. Munst. in loc.*

must

muſt the *Red Sea* or the *Jordan* be miraculouſly divided, when the former might have been coaſted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did CHRIST and his diſciples work ſuch a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones, well known and atteſted, were ſufficient to prove their divine miſſion? Well might *Job* ſay, *Vain man would be wiſe* [q]. Fourthly, The ſame author ſuppoſes the account of this tranſaction to have been taken from the book of *Jaſher*, or *The upright*, which, like other poetical works, eſpecially thoſe that are written in the eaſtern tongues, are too ſwollen and hyperbolical to admit of a literal ſenſe, and cannot be rightly underſtood, unleſs they be reduced vaſtly below it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with examining how unreaſonable the ſuppoſition of ſuch diſparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and eſpecially of their being afterwards cloſely followed by an inſpired hiſtorian, whoſe ſtyle is every-where elſe rather in the other extreme: it will be ſufficient to ſay, that all this is affirmed *gratis*, and without any foundation. For, who told *Grotius*, or our author, that the book of *Jaſher* was a poetical piece, abounding with ſuch hyperbolical flights? when no mention is made of it any-where but in this place, and in the ſecond book of *Samuel* [r]; and theſe would rather incline one to believe it to have been an hiſtory of *Hebrew* worthies, written and continued by ſeveral hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the ſuppoſition, that they are the ſame book, which yet doth not appear (L). WHAT

[q] Ch. xi. 12. [r] Ch. i. 18.

(L) The *Jews* indeed think ſo; but then they underſtand by *Jaſher*, or *Righteous*, *Moſes* himſelf, and this book to be the *Pentateuch*, in which are contained ſeveral promiſes of the wonders that GOD was to work in favour of his people (15). But as this is owing to a ſuperſtitious unwillingneſs in them to own, that any inſpired book could be loſt, they are not followed by any *Chriſtian*. However that be, M. *Le Clerc* has taken the pains to verſify the two places in queſtion, by the tranſpoſition of ſome words, in order to make it appear at leaſt probable, that the author of the book of *Joſhua*, in quoting them out of that of *Jaſher*, had only reduced them to hiſtorical proſe by the contrary tranſpoſition. But here we beg leave to obſerve, that it is at leaſt a very bold aſſumption to ſay, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for a the truth of a ſingle inſtance, has taken the whole from him.

(15) *Vid. Munſt. in loc.*

WHAT *Le Clerc* adds, that it is more probable, that *Joshua* should pray for a longer day, when he perceived the sun just going to leave him, than when he was at his height; though it carries a great appearance of reason, yet can it by no means conclude against a positive text, backed with other circumstances equally strong on the other side. *Joshua* might have his reasons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to guess at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a complete victory, which alone could save his new allies from the impending ruin, and able, no doubt, to compute what time it would take to atchieve it; so that his fear of losing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But, after all, where is the unreasonableness of supposing, that GOD, who designed to signalize this day's action, by one of the greatest miracles that ever was done, did himself inspire the *Hebrew* general with that wish or prayer, which otherwise, perhaps, would never have come into his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occasion was too inconsiderable to deserve such a signal miracle, since it was only the giving one inconsiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but, since this would be to set limits to the divine wisdom and power, and our author seems not to have examined the case thoroughly; we beg leave to do it for him, and to shew it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader, that this battle was not fought offensively, but defensively on *Israel*'s side, and in order to save a people, whom they had solemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly destroyed upon that very account. The *Gibeonites*, as a free people, had a right to take all proper measures for their safety; so that *Joshua*

The most that can be fairly concluded from such an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the same or equivalent terms; but such as an honest historian would never have used, who had had the least suspicion of their being so monstrously exaggerated by poetic rhapsody; and, that all that was meant by those expressions of the sun and moon standing still in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby so miraculously lengthened, was no more than that there remained so much light after their setting, occasioned by some unusual refraction, as made the whole army think those luminaries to be still above the horizon.

could

could not but look upon the confederacy formed againſt them as cruel and unjuſt; and, conſequently, that it would have been baſe and diſhonourable in him to have refuſed them the deſired ſuccour upon any pretence whatſoever (M).

SOME other objections urged againſt our ſide of the queſtion, ſuch as the intolerable heat to which *Joſhua*'s army muſt have been expoſed, had the ſun continued ſo long over their heads; the neceſſity there was of their ſtopping to refreſh themſelves with ſome ſuſtenance; and laſtly, that had *Joſhua* wrought a miracle which ſo far exceeded thoſe of *Moſes*, he would have been greater than he; theſe, we ſay, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew to what ſtrange ſhifts a favourite notion or ſyſtem will drive men of the greateſt learning. For, firſt, the exceſſive heat of a vertical ſun might be allayed by interpoſing clouds, and refreſhing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this ſuppoſition, than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than uſual ‡. As to the next, we need not tell our readers, that nothing is more common in ſuch exigencies as theſe,

‡ Ita MASIUS, GROTIUS. LE CLERC poſt MAIMON. ubi ſup.

(M) To this we may add, that the honour of GOD himſelf was concerned in the preſervation of his new-made proſelytes, whoſe alliance with the *Iſraelites* had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high-prieſt. Upon theſe conſiderations *Joſhua* loſes no time, but marches all that night to their aſſiſtance, and on the next day GOD is pleaſed to reward his faithfulneſs and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only ſaves the oppreſſed by the total defeat of the oppreſſors, but makes at once the whole land of *Canaan* ſenſible, that a mightier GOD was on *Iſrael*'s ſide, than any that was worſhiped there, by ſtopping the courſe of the ſun and moon, the two grand deities of thoſe idolatrous nations. Had *Iſrael*'s ſword alone gained the conqueſt, it would have been imputed to their ſuperior valour and ſtrength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it, than the rain of ſtones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at beſt, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the ſtopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus univerſally felt, could not but convince thoſe unhappy people, that the gods which they truſted to were ſubject to that of *Iſrael*, as well as prove a moſt powerful determent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

than

than for the ſoldiers, who carry their proviſion in their knapſacks, to take a piece in their hands, and eat it as they march. The laſt thing objected, that ſuch a miracle would make *Joſhua* a greater man than *Moſes*, contrary to ſome expreſs texts of Scripture, is too jejune to deſerve an anſwer. *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were both inſtruments in the hands of GOD, to whoſe glory alone the greatneſs of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, ſince one miracle cannot be ſaid to be greater than another, with reſpect to an Almighty power.

IT is plain, then, that if we admit the divine authority, we cannot but look upon this tranſaction as altogether ſupernatural, and of the number of thoſe many which GOD was pleaſed to work in favour of the *Iſraelites*: it will be, therefore, needleſs to dwell much longer upon our next inquiry, how far the ſtorm of *hail-ſtones* that preceded it, was ſo or not?

The rain of ſtones that fell upon the Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of *hail*, and the original be capable of that ſenſe, yet it is plain to thoſe that underſtand it, that the moſt natural one is, that it was a ſhower of real ſtones (M). The misfortune is, that men are apt to run themſelves into greater difficulties than thoſe they endeavour to avoid; and whilſt they take ſuch care to ſcreen themſelves from the ſuſpicion of being over-credulous, eſpecially in

(M) The text literally runs thus, *And the* LORD *cauſed great ſtones to fall, or to be caſt upon them, and many more died by the* אבני הברד *abne habarad, the hail-ſtones, than by the ſword*; and it is this laſt expreſſion that made the *Septuagint*, and, after them, *Joſephus* (17), and the author of *Eccleſiaſticus* (18), to underſtand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bigneſs, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand it is certain, that it is ſo far from being the obvious meaning of it, that the word *hail* ſeems rather to be uſed here to expreſs the vaſt quantity, bigneſs, vehemence, and execution, of thoſe ſtones which then fell; and the expreſſion of flying and falling as thick as hail, is not only common to all the antient, but is likewiſe retained in moſt modern languages; for which reaſon, ſeveral learned men have underſtood it of a miraculous ſhower of real ſtones, as being the moſt eaſy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(17) *Ant. lib. v. c.* 1. (18) *Eccluſ.* xlvi. 6. (19) *H. Grotius, Maſius, Bonfrer. Ger. Voſſ. Jun. Munſt. & al. mult. Vid. Calm. diſſert. on the ſubject.*

caſes

caſes which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in queſtion the moſt pregnant teſtimonies of the like facts in profane hiſtory, both antient and modern, but likewiſe caſt a diſtant reflection on the divine hiſtorians, and thoſe inſpired writers, who have mentioned the ſame facts after them, as if they had deſignedly made choice of ſuch terms, as would make them appear more ſupernatural than they really were. For, if nothing had fallen on the *Canaanites* but a common ſhower of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the ſize, why muſt they be ſuſpected of having exaggerated it at that prodigious rate?

BUT here our two learned critics, *Grotius* and *Le Clerc*, who uſed to go hand in hand before, have taken a ſeparate tract: the former believes them to have been real ſtones, becauſe he finds many parallel inſtances of it in profane hiſtory; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by ſeveral eminent authors on that ſide of the queſtion [r]. *Le Clerc* has not ſcrupled to affirm, that it was nothing elſe but a large ſhower of hail; to call teſtimonies alleged out of hiſtory, mere forgeries, and the endeavours of ſome authors to account for it in a natural way, trifling, and not worth confuting. How eaſy he would have found the taſk, had he gone ſeriouſly about it, will be beſt known by an impartial view of the teſtimonies themſelves, and of what has been urged to prove the poſſibility of the thing from natural cauſes.

Le Clerc's notion confuted.

AS to the firſt, we hope our readers will think it ſufficient for our purpoſe, to inſtance in two or three of the moſt pregnant and unqueſtionable facts recorded in antient hiſtory, and back them with ſome few of a more recent date, but too authentic to be ſo eaſily eluded: and if the latter are of ſuch a nature, as to lead us to an eaſy diſcovery of their cauſe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for a ſufficient ground to admit the poſſibility, if not the reality of the former. It is no wonder, that they, who lived in the early ages of the world, did look upon a ſhower of great ſtones, as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonſtration. Such prodigies happen ſo ſeldom, that we find the *Romans*, above a thouſand years after *Joſhua*'s time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, ſucceſſor to *Numa Pompilius*, till they had it confirmed by thoſe whom they ſent thither on purpoſe to examine it,

Inſtances of it out of hiſtory.

[r] G. J. VOSS. in loc. CALM. diſſert. on the ſubject, and others.

who

who brought them word, that the fact was not only true, but that those stones had fallen from the skies in the same manner as hail that is driven down by the wind [s]. They became in time more familiar, and less questioned, especially after that remarkable one which fell upon the same mountain, which the same author tells us [t] lasted two whole days. The same, or something like it, is likewise affirmed to have been seen at *Rome*, *Capua*, *Lavinium*, and so many other places in *Italy*, by so many authentic writers [u], that we do not see how they can, with any modesty, be called in question (N). We might here also take notice of some other kinds of stony rains, mentioned by antient and modern authors, which are still more

[s] T. Liv. lib. i. dec. i. [t] Id. lib. xxv. xxx. & xxxiv. Vid. Calm. ubi sup. [u] Vide & de bell. Afric. c. 47. Amas. bell. civil. lib. iv. August. de civit. lib. iii. c. 32, & al.

(N) To these various instances, of which the authors quoted above have given us several other particulars, such as that those stones which fell in that prodigious manner were sometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, sometimes like hard clods of earth, and sometimes like sand or dust; we might add what is likewise recorded by others of equal credit, of stones that have been observed to be carried for some considerable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by *Plutarch* to have fallen in *Thrace* into the river *Argos* (20), which *Anaxagoras* fancied to have fallen from the sun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22) was observed to fly about in the air like a luminous cloud, about the space of seventy-five days, during which time, several splinters did now-and-then break off and fly about like wandering stars before they fell down. The main stone itself was of such prodigious bigness, that *Pythagoras* could by no means think with *Aristotle* (23), that it had been broken off from some rock, and carried up into the air by some vehement wind; because, as he justly observes, it would have been impossible for it to have kept itself so long suspended there, as *Damachus* affirms it to have done. *Pliny*, who tells us, that it was still carefully preserved in his time, says, that it was *magnitudine vehis*, of the bigness of a cart, or waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewise which is recorded to have fallen in *Alsace*, in the midst

(20) *In vit. Lysand.* (21) *Vid. Diog. in Anaxag. & not. Menag. in Laert.* (22) *Damachus ap. Plut. ub. sup.* (23) *Meteorolog. lib. i. c. 7.*

of

more natural, as being occaſioned either by vehement hurricanes, earthquakes, or by ſubterranean fires. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which fell upon and routed the *Perſians*, when they went to plunder the temple of *Delphi* [w], and are affirmed by other travellers to be very frequent in ſome parts of *America* †. Thoſe that fell upon the *Gauls*, on the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by *Pauſanias*, but to an earthquake by *Juſtin* [x]. The laſt ſort is that, which is cauſed by vulcanoes and ſubterraneous fires; and theſe are ſo well known, that we ſhall mention but two remarkable inſtances of it, of a very late date; namely, that which preceded the ſurpriſing emerſion of the iſle of *Santorino* out of the *Archipelago*, in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account: That a dreadful noiſe had been heard ſeveral days, like that of thunder, or of great guns, during which, volleys of ſtones all on fire were ſeen to riſe out of the ſea, and to fly up quite out of ſight like ſo many rockets, and then fall into the ſea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the air was filled with a thick ſulphureous ſmoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty diſperſed, and fell in ſuch abundance, that the neighbouring countries were covered with it, and with ſmall ſtones that fell upon it. The ſame account we have of a new iſland of one of the *Azores* [y], and ſomething like this *Montfaucon* tells us happened in *Italy*, near the village of *Tripergola*, after terrible ſhocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkened, and the

Some caused by hurricanes and earthquakes.

[w] Vid. Diod. Sicul. Bybl. lib. xi. † See Coreal and Feuillee's voyages. [x] Paus. lib. i. Just. lib. xxiv. ſub fin. [y] Kercher, & al.

of a ſtorm of hail, in *November* 29, 1630 (24); which, our author (25) tells us, he has ſeen in the great church of *Anxiſſem*, where it is ſtill preſerved, and is like a large, dark flint-ſtone, whoſe ſurface has been ſplintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the ſame nature were thoſe which count *Marcellin* relates to have fallen in *Thrace*, A. D. 1452, and ſeveral others. For if ſuch prodigious ſtones could either be ingendred in the air, or carried up thither by the force of vehement winds, or of ſubterraneous fires, the like may be more reaſonably ſuppoſed of thoſe which fell upon the *Canaanites*, which had nothing ſo extraordinary either in their ſize, appearance, or effects.

(24) *Geſner. & Anſ. de Boot. hiſt. lapid. & gem.* (25) *Calm. ubi ſup.*

ground

ground was covered with ſtones and duſt, which kept pouring down from the ſky during the ſpace of two days, at the end of which a mountain was obſerved to have reared itſelf in the midſt of the lake *Lucrino*; this happened, according to our author, in the year 1538 [y].

Others ingendered in the air.

THE reader may find ſeveral other inſtances of the like, and perhaps of a more ſurpriſing nature, in ſome of the authors above-mentioned [z], which we forbear to dwell upon: all that we ſhall add at preſent, is a remark or two on the poſſibility of ſome ſort of ſtones, different from thoſe of hail, being ingendred in the air, according to the hint we have given in the laſt note. How common hail is formed in the clouds, is too well known to want any explanation: that duſt, ſand, earth, and other ſuch materials, may be carried up a conſiderable height into the air by a ſtrong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly obſerved. Here then we need but ſuppoſe, that theſe, mingling themſelves with other exhalations, whether ſulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moiſture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the preſſure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer ſupported (O). There is nothing in

[y] Vid. MONTFAUCON's diar. Ital. [z] G. Voss. CALM. ubi ſup. GASSEND. in lib. x. DIOG. LAERT. de meteor. Epicur.

(O) Of this nature ſeem to have been thoſe, which, an author of credit (26) tells us, fell in the neighbourhood of *Abdua*, to the number of twelve hundred, which he ſays were of the colour of ruſty iron, ſmooth and hard; and of a ſulphureous ſmell, not unlike, in all theſe reſpects, to thoſe which are commonly called thunder-ſtones, or bolts. Theſe, he adds, were obſerved to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmoſphere of fire; and were ſo large and heavy, that one of them weighed ſixſcore, and another ſixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that theſe rains of ſtones were ſo far from being queſtioned either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they were looked upon both by them, and by other leſs polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of conſulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by ſacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have laſted nine days (27); inſomuch that theſe kinds of heathenish expiations

(26) *Cardan: de variet. lib. xiv. c. 72. dier. l. v. c. 27. ap. Calm. ubi ſup.*

(27) *Alex. ab Alex. genial.*

in all this but what is natural, and might, for aught appears to the contrary, have been the case of that which is mentioned in *Joshua*. We see therefore no reason for having recourse to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as *Le Clerc* has; nor to the assistance of good or bad spirits to prove the possibility of the supposed miracle, as others have done [a]; since, if any thing was supernatural in it, it was only the directing of that storm to fall just at that time and place upon the flying *Canaanites*. The reader is at his liberty to attribute the phenomenon to which of these systems he pleases, though the season of the year, the nature of the soil, and many other circumstances, rather incline us to ascribe it to the last.

We return now to *Joshua*, whom Providence had by this time so far signalized, not only by the two miracles last-mentioned, but likewise by the miraculous crossing of the *Jordan*, and the siege of *Jericho*, that he became respected by the whole *Jewish* nation, who fought under him, and so dreaded by all the *Canaanites*, that a great part of the latter abandoned their country, and fled, some into *Asia*, others into *Afric*, to avoid the victorious arms of the former (A); all which greatly facilitated the

[a] Masius, Bonfrerius, & al.

have induced some Christians to believe, that the devil was the author both of those prodigious rains, and of the superstitious rites that were used to avert them (28), in order to confirm mankind in their idolatry.

(A) This is what the learned *Bochart* hath taken great pains to prove (1), tho' a later author seems not altogether so well satisfied with his arguments (2). We have not room to enter into the merit of the controversy; but if there be any truth in the inscription, which *Procopius*, who lived in the reign of the emperor *Justinian*, tells us was engraved on some pillars near the place where *Tangier* now stands, importing, that those who set them up were the fugitives from the face of that great robber *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, be of any weight, there will be no doubt made, that great multitudes fled from the conquering sword of the *Hebrew* general, tho' not perhaps in such large numbers, or into so many countries, as the former hath supposed. And where is the improbability or wonder, that they should flee from certain ruin, who were seated so near the *Philistines*

(28) *Vid. Mash. in Josh.* x. (1) *Præfat. in lib. de colon. & sermon. Phœnic.* (2) *Shuckford. connect. vol.* iii. *p.* 489, *& seqq.*

not

The land divided.

Year of the flood 904. Bef. Chr. 1444.

the conqueſt of the country, which, as was lately hinted, was, in ſome meaſure, completed in leſs than ſeven years, and divided between the tribes by lot, in the manner we have ſhewn in the geography of *Paleſtine* †. *Caleb*, the ſon of *Jephunneh*, was immediately put in poſſeſſion of the mountainous parts of *Judah*, and of *Hebron*, which had been aſſigned to him by GOD [a]; after which the tribe of *Judah*, of which he was chief, that of *Ephraim*, and the other half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, had likewiſe their lots aſſigned to them. *Joſhua* then ſent proper perſons to ſurvey the land, and to bring him an account of it, whilſt he and the reſt of the tribes were aſſembled at *Shiloh*; and he divided to each their portion, according to their reſpective lots [b]; which being done, *Joſhua* had the territory of *Timnath-ſerah*, in the mountains of *Ephraim*, allotted for his inheritance by the whole people; and there he built the city of that name, and made it his chief reſidence during the remainder of his life [c].

Cities of refuge.

HIS next care was to appoint three cities of refuge on this ſide *Jordan*, according to GOD's command; and thoſe likewiſe, which were to be allotted to the prieſts and *Levites*, in number forty-ſix, which we have already ſpoken of elſewhere *. As for the altar, which GOD commanded likewiſe to be ſet up on mount *Ebal*, together with bleſſings and curſes on that and mount *Gerizzim*, together with an epitome of the *Moſaic* law [d]; all this had been done ſoon after the taking of the cities of *Jericho* and *Ai*, and before the famed victory over the united

† See vol. ii. p. 455, & ſeqq. [a] Joſh. xiv. 6, & ſeqq. [b] Ibid. xviii. xix paſſ. [c] Ibid. ver. 50, & ſeqq. * See before, p. 92, & ſeqq. [d] Deut. xxvii. 4, & ſeqq.

not yet ſubdued, and from thence might eaſily embark themſelves in ſearch of more peaceable habitations? However, it appears upon the whole, that there remained a ſufficient number of them behind, to make the ſtrongeſt and boldeſt oppoſition againſt the *Iſraelites*, not only during *Joſhua*'s life, but much more during all the time of the judges; which was no more than what had been foretold by *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, that they ſhould be left to be as thorns in their ſides, and ſcourges on their back, as often as they rebelled againſt GOD. According to which prediction we ſhall ſee them in the next ſection as often groaning under the ſevereſt thraldoms, as their frequent apoſtaſies drew theſe judgments upon them.

Canaanites

Canaanites, lately spoken of [c]; soon after which he made that hasty treaty with the *Gibeonites*, by which they saved themselves from the common destruction, and of which we have spoken in a former volume [d]. He had now nothing left to do, but to dismiss the two tribes and half, which had been seated on the other side the *Jordan*, and were come to assist their brethren in the conquest of *Canaan*, and were now begging leave to return to their families [e]. *Joshua* readily complied with their request, and caused them to be honourably dismissed by the heads of the tribes; but in their return homewards, before they landed on the other side the *Jordan*, they resolved to erect an altar of a prodigious size upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour. Year of the flood 901. Bef. Chr. 1417.

An altar reared up by the two tribes.

THIS laudable action was so far mistaken, however, both by *Joshua* and the rest of the people, that they took great umbrage at it, insomuch that he assembled the heads at *Shiloh*, where it was resolved to enter into a bloody war against them, in case they did not disculpate themselves from the crime of rebellion and apostasy, which this new altar had given cause to suspect them guilty of. He accordingly deputed ten of the chiefs, with *Phinehas* the high-priest's son at their head, to come and inquire into the reason of their erecting it; seeing they could not be ignorant how expressly they had been forbid by GOD to offer up any sacrifices any-where, but at the place which he himself should appoint; and to declare to them, that in case they had formed any such schismatical design, the other nine were resolved to oppose it with all their might. Year of the flood 904. Bef. Chr. 1444.

A deputation sent to them by Joshua.

PHINEHAS failed not to deliver his message in the strongest terms, and to remind them of the danger which the bringing of any new worship would expose them to; but was agreeably surprised to hear them take GOD to witness, that they had not built that sumptuous altar with a view of offering any sacrifices upon it, but, on the contrary, to prevent their posterity being debarred by their brethren, in process of time, the privilege of coming and offering them at the place which GOD should appoint, under pretence that Providence had separated them from the commonwealth of *Israel*, by setting the river *Jordan*

[c] See Josh. viii. 30, & seqq.
[d] Ibid. ix. 3, & seqq.
[e] See vol. ii. p. 204. Josh. xiii. pass.

as a barrier between them. Their answer was couched in such submissive terms, and accompanied with such plain tokens of sincerity, as gave to the deputies, and soon after to *Joshua* and all the *Israelites*, all the satisfaction they could wish [f]. After this, *Joshua* governed the *Israelitish* commonwealth peaceably during the space of seventeen years; when, finding himself drawing to his end, he caused all the heads of the tribes to assemble at *Shechem* (B); and having reminded them, in a very pathetic speech, of all the wonders which GOD had wrought in their favour, and, how much it was their interest, as well as duty, to continue stedfast in their obedience to him, exhorted them to renew their covenant, which they readily did, and confirmed it with an oath, which he caused to be registred, and a new monument to be erected in memory of it, near the great oak that is in *Shechem*: he expired soon after, in the 110th year of his age [g], and was buried in the border of his inheritance in *Timnath-serah*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, on the north side the hill of *Gaash* [h] (C).

Year of the flood 922. Bef. Chr. 1426.

His

[f] Josh. xxii. passim. [g] Ibid. c. ult. ver. 29. [h] Ibid. 30. See also xix. 50. & Judg. ii. 9.

(B) Some manuscripts say, at *Shiloh*, where the ark was, and where the heads of the tribes are said to have presented themselves before the LORD, that is, at the court of the tabernacle, for there the ark was, and not at *Shechem* (3); from which some have imagined, that *Joshua* had caused it to be brought thither, but without any foundation. However, *Shiloh* and *Shechem* were about 10 or 12 miles asunder (4), and *Joshua*'s habitation was about half-way between them; and, as the text says, that he gathered all the tribes, as well as their heads, judges, and magistrates, it is very likely the former, who must be supposed to have composed a large camp, were gathered at *Shechem*, where was a spacious plain large enough to contain them (5), whilst the heads of the tribes went with their general to *Shiloh*, to ratify their covenant with GOD, in the most solemn manner, before the door of the tabernacle; after which they returned to *Shechem*, and in the presence of the whole host, erected the pillar or monument there mentioned, in memory of this solemn transaction.

(C) This great general, whose original name of *Oshea* was changed as is supposed by *Moses*, into that of *Jehoshua*, signifying a saviour, such as

(3) *Jos.* xviii. 1. *Gen.* xxxiii. 19. & *Judg.* xix, & *seqq.* (4) *See vol.* ii. *p.* 464, *sub not.* (5) Compa-

His death was soon followed by that of *Eleazar* the high-priest, who was succeeded by his son *Phinehas*: by degrees the

he approved himself in the sequel, is, by the generality of the learned, supposed to have been the author of the book called by his name; and it is plain by the word *we*, used by the historian in speaking of the miraculous passage over *Jordan* (6), that he was one of those that passed it; and the book itself concludes with affirming, that *Joshua* wrote all these transactions in the book of the law of God (7), or as an appendix to those which *Moses* had written before. His great character, drawn by *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*, mentions his succeeding that lawgiver in his prophetic spirit (8), *&c.* and both *Jews* and the generality of *Christians* have acknowleged it as his, and as a canonical book. Nevertheless there are here-and-there some expressions which have been objected by some critics and commentators against that opinion, but which may be easily accounted for, by supposing, as we have elsewhere hinted, that this, as well as some other books, had received some additions and illustrations from some subsequent inspired writers. Thus the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which gives an account of *Moses*'s death, might be written by *Joshua*, and that of his own death by *Samuel*, and so on of the rest; and it is commonly owned by *Jews* and *Christians*, that *Ezra*, when he collected the sacred cannon, made some farther additions to it, as he was likewise an inspired writer (9).

The time in which this book appears to have been written, *viz.* before *Rahab*'s death, seems to confirm the opinion of *Joshua* being the author of it; for it mentions his *saving her and her family, and her continuing among the* Israelites *unto this day* (10). And here it is to be observed, that the verb ותשב *vateshеb*, being singular and feminine, cannot relate to her family, but to her; and, 2. that as he says no more of her than that, it must have been written before she was married to *Salmon*, who was head of the tribe of *Judah*; else it is not likely, that he would have omitted that circumstance. To this we may add, that *Joshua* was the only inspired writer of that age that we read of; and, when he had once finished the division of the land between the tribes, it was natural for him to spend the interval between that and his death, in continuing an account of all the glorious transactions he had been an eye-witness of, and had had so great a share in, beginning where *Moses* left off, and ending at this solemn assembly, and filling up his narrative with a general ac-

(6) *Ch.* v. 1. (7) *Ibid. c. ult. ver.* 26. (8) *Eccles. c.* xlvi. 1, & *seqq.* (9) *Prideaux, connect. part* i. *book* v. (10) *Josh.* vi. 25.

count

the reſt of the ſeventy elders, who had outlived *Joſhua*, died alſo; and with them, one would think, not only all the remembrance of *Joſhua*, and of their late covenant ſo ſolemnly ratified by all the tribes, but likewiſe all ſenſe of religion, fear of GOD, or regard of his laws, had died; inſomuch that *Joſhua* had been ſcarcely dead twenty years, before we find them ſunk into the greateſt anarchy and idolatry, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

count of the ſettlement of each tribe under his care, that recourſe might be had to it as to an undiſputable record in all future contentions about their reſpective inheritances (11).

The *Samaritans* have a book of *Joſhua* containing 47 chapters, ſome of them filled with jejune and fabulous ſtories, and on that they found their pretences againſt the *Jews*. This book was never printed that we know of; only one manuſcript of it was preſented to the library of *Leyden*, by *Joſeph Scaliger*, which is written in the *Arabic* tongue, but in *Samaritan* characters (12). The *Jews* acknowlege no other book of *Joſhua* but that we have in our Bibles; but attribute to him the compoſing of a certain prayer, which they commonly repeat, at leaſt in part, at the going out of their ſynagogues, and is to this purpoſe, that it belongs to them to praiſe the great Creator of heaven and earth, who hath granted them an inheritance ineſtimably richer, &c. than to the reſt of the nations of the earth (13). The *Mohammedans* have ſtuffed his life with many more tranſactions than we have recorded; but moſt of them ſo fabulous and puerile, as to deſerve no farther mention: the reader may ſee them in the author under quoted (14).

(11) *See Shuckford, ubi ſup. p.* 498, *&* ſeqq. (12) *Fabric. apocryph. V. T. p.* 876, *&* ſeqq. (13) *Vagenſ. tela ignea, p.* 223, *&* ſeqq. (14) *D' Herbelot. bibl. orient. ſub voc. Joſchowa.*

The END *of the* THIRD VOLUME.

An APPENDIX:

Concerning the Rise and Progress of Idolatry, Witchcraft, and other Superstitions introduced among the Jews.

AS we have hitherto seen the miserable effects of those three epidemic evils, which had so long and universally infected the world, and more particularly with respect to the *Israelites*, on whom it brought all those heavy punishments and thraldoms, which we have spoken of in the last section, we hope our readers will not think it foreign to the design of a work like this, if we close this volume with a short inquiry into the origin and progress of them, especially since we shall find them, in the next, to have been so obstinately rooted into that blind and ungrateful nation, as to have proved the main, if not sole, cause of the total extinction of one of their monarchies, and of a severe seventy years captivity to the other.

WITH respect to idolatry; those who believed, that mankind sprang up out of the earth like mushrooms, affirmed, that *fear made the first gods* [a]; others have thought, that the beauty of the sun, moon and stars, their brightness and usefulness, *&c.* induced men, at first, to worship them, as having some divine power, and afterwards to erect and consecrate statues, altars, and temples to them, to supply their absence, when they were got below our hemisphere. The *Jews*, particularly the author of the book of *Wisdom*, reduce the rise of idolatry to these three causes [b]; *viz.* 1. The extreme fondness of a father that hath lost a dear child, and who, to comfort himself for his loss, hath his picture drawn or carved, and causes some kind of homage or worship to be paid to it; 2. The beauty and excellence of the pictures or carvings; and, 3. The skill of the carver in stone, *&c.* to which another learned *Jew* hath added some others [c]; which we shall pass by, as not coming to our present purpose: for if we would find the true spring-head of idolatry, we must seek it in the depravity of human nature, its ignorance, pride, vanity,

[a] Vid. LUCRET. l. v. [b] Ch. xiii. xiv. xv. [c] MAIMON. tract. Abodah Zarah.

unruly paſſions, our weak and imperfect notions of the Godhead, our miſtaken ones of his Providence, an extravagant ſelf-love, wrong notion of happineſs, fear of evil, an inordinate itch of prying into futurity, too violent a paſſion or regard for an huſband, wife, child, or friend; and many others, which are obvious to every thinking perſon: all which being ſo predominant in man from the fall, hath made many of the fathers and *Jewiſh* doctors imagine, that idolatry was as rife before the flood, as we find it to have been ſince; though the generality of them rather think, that it did not begin till ſome ages after that dreadful epoch, and that *Ham*, or his ſon, were the firſt inventors of it [d]; of which we ſhall ſay ſomething more by-and-by.

We do not deſign, however, to run through a long deſcant about the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter; becauſe we think, that they have gone a great way for the cauſes of it, and overlooked thoſe more natural ones, which were juſt at their elbow. But here, with reſpect to the firſt of theſe evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of ſome judicious men [e], which fetches its origin from the promiſe made to *Adam*, of the ſeed of the woman, or the Messiah and Mediator; from the progenitorſhip of whom *Ham* and *Canaan* having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors ſuppoſe *Canaan* might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loſs and diſgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophecy; and, inſtead of one Mediator, to be born in after-ages, of the line of *Shem*, to introduce the worſhip of a multiplicity of them; not of human race, but of ſome ſuperior nature among their poſterity. And, if it be at leaſt a very probable opinion, as we have ſhewn in ſeveral parts of this volume [f], that it was this very Messiah, who appeared in ſome viſible ſhape, and had frequent intercourſes with *Adam*, and the patriarchs; or even ſuppoſing theſe apparitions were, as others will have them, only thoſe of angels, deputed by God, and ſpeaking in his name; but from whoſe intercourſe he, and his curſed poſterity, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a ſuperiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence of thoſe hea-

[d] Vid. Cassian. collat. Lactant. de falſ. relig. & al.
[e] Vid. inter al. Alix. in Pentateuch. [f] Vide inter al. pag. 261, (T). 287, (D), & alib.

venly

venly visitors, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them! Thus, for instance, *Egypt* was the place where *Canaan*, if not *Ham*, fixed his abode; and how thriving a soil it proved for those kinds of idolatrous monuments, may be easily seen by what we have already said in the history of that country ε; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their sacrifices to the true God upon those altars only, which they occasionally reared in those places where he appeared to them, having but a very small number of them, appeared vastly inferior to them, in this respect, in the eyes of an ignorant world.

But though this accounts probably enough for the rise of polytheism, or the worship of inferior deities; yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more absurd and unnatural worship of stocks and stones under various figures of the planets, and of several parts of the animal and vegetable creation; which is more particularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see which way these can be said, in any sense, to have been introduced in consequence of the former. Those, indeed, who think them to have been dedicated to the sun, moon, and stars, and to supply their absence, do indeed suppose, that their votaries imagined, that they received a particular virtue from the moment of their being consecrated to them; and that the inferior deities or angels, who presided in the one, did then begin to reside in the other: but tho' this may probably have been the case in process of time, yet it doth not appear to us to account naturally enough for the first introduction, either of the theory or practice. And, as for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshiped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them, because it doth not appear to us, that those *apotheoses* began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of this notion of polytheism; for we meet with instances of idolatry from the earliest ages of the flood, but nothing of these *apotheoses* till very many centuries after it; when men came to deify their monarchs, beloved relations, &c. as we shall have occasion to shew through the course of this work; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For, as to what we have said on this head

ε Vid. supra, vol. i. p. 390. & 467, & seqq. ii. pag. 27, & seqq.

in the hiſtory of *Egypt* [g], the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the beſt account, which the prieſts of that nation could give, for their various kinds of worſhip, to *Herodotus*; or as the conjectures of that or other authors, concerning their ſuperſtitious and nonſenſical mythology.

But, as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progreſs of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us in the account which *Moſes* gives us of *Laban* and *Jacob*'s parting [h]. The reader may remember, that theſe two, after a ſharp conteſt, being ready to depart, the one into *Meſopotamia*, and the other into *Canaan*, agreed to bind themſelves, and their poſterity, by a ſolemn oath, on both ſides, to live in peace and friendſhip with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant, was the rearing up an heap of ſtones in the place; which ſeems, therefore, to have been founded upon ſome antient and common cuſtom of that nature, and well known to them both; and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. *Jacob*, who was a worſhiper of the true God, called this monument *Galeed*, or *Gall-ed*, an heap of witneſs; that is, an authentic record of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement, on his part: this was doubtleſs the pure original ſenſe of this ceremony. *Laban*, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect; This heap be both a *Galeed*, or record of our mutual oath, והמצפה *ve-hammitzphah*, and alſo a watchman, or rather, a watch-tower, from which the gods, that is, that of *Abraham*, and that, or thoſe, of *Nahor*, may behold and puniſh the tranſgreſſor, when we come to be at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that there will be none elſe to ſee and judge between us.

It is true, indeed, that *Laban*'s words might be capable of a more figurative conſtruction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods [i], ſhew him to have been ſuch a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being underſtood in any other ſenſe. This made *Jacob*, who, doubtleſs, could beſt judge of his meaning, carefully

[g] Ibid. & ſeqq. paſſ. [h] Gen. xxxi. 44, & ſeqq. [i] Ibid. ver. 30,

avoid

avoid ſwearing by any other oath than by the dread, that is, by the GOD, of his father *Iſaac* [k].

HOWEVER, with reſpect to this ſolemn ceremony of ratifying their mutual covenant, it plainly appears to have been of ſome ſtanding; ſo that from this antient cuſtom of erecting monuments in memory of, and as a ſanction to, any ſolemn agreements, proceeded the notion, that ſome deity took its reſidence there, in order to puniſh the infringers, and bleſs the religious obſervers of them. There is nothing in this but what is exactly agreeable to the polytheiſtical theology of thoſe dark and degenerate times; to which we may add, that policy might have no ſmall hand, if not in deviſing, at leaſt in encouraging, confirming, and improving this notion into a religious belief, and theſe ſtatues and monuments into a religious worſhip; till at length not only the ſun, moon, ſtars, but even ſtocks and ſtones, were raiſed to this office, and made the objects of the people's adoration, though looked upon both by prieſts and politicians, and by the deſigning part of mankind, as mere ſcare-crows, to overawe the ignorant. This is, indeed, the moſt that they ever did, even when idolatry was at the height; whilſt the more cunning ſort laughed at them, and only made them ſerve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft; and the ſame kind of policy might oblige thoſe *Machiavels* to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as muſt naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of aſtrologers, inchanters, ſorcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar ſpirits, ſoothſayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the ſame nature, who were all greedily reſorted unto by the populace, ever fond of prying into futurity, and of every thing that ſoothed their favourite paſſions; though, in matters of greater moment, they were, perhaps, forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs: if he really was ſo, what we have ſaid will only ſhew how eaſy it was for him to compaſs his end, and how ready mankind was to put an helping hand to the work. But though the Scriptures ſeem plainly to inti-

[k] Geneſ. xxxi. 53.

mate a kind of intercourſe between ſome men and women, and ſome kind of ſpirits, as in the caſe of the *Egyptian* conjurers, and the witch of *Endor*; yet we do not find, that the devil is any-where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready ſoever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe the hypotheſis we are ſpeaking againſt, ſuppoſes ſuch an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory to the divine goodneſs, whilſt it left the bulk of mankind under a ſort of inevitable neceſſity of falling into all his ſnares, with thoſe little aſſiſtances they had, either from the dim light of reaſon, or the book of nature.

THERE is, indeed, a great deal of difference between ſuppoſing, that the devil firſt blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedneſs; and ſaying, that men, having ſhamefully corrupted themſelves, proceeded from one wickedneſs to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable luſts, they became the ſlaves of that evil ſpirit, and were eaſily led by him into this exceſs of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their inſatiable deſire after wealth, their care of preſerving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of ſuperſtitious traſh, we have been ſpeaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the *Iſraelites*, too prone to imitate them in all theſe, than to make their worldly happineſs riſe and fall, according as they ſhewed the greater abhorrence or fondneſs for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft?

THUS then the antient and truly religious cuſtom of ratifying oaths and contracts by ſuch monuments, which was only an appeal to GOD's all-ſeeing eye, inſenſibly degenerated into the groſſeſt and abſurdeſt idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houſes, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence ſprung the trades of conjuring each reſpective deity to its particular idol, and uſe; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with thoſe deities; the art of ſtar-gazing and aſtrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offenſive and defenſive, under their proper conſtellations; with the whole train of heatheniſh ſuperſtition forbidden under ſuch ſevere penalties by the *Jewiſh* lawgiver.

BUT

BUT if this ſhould not ſufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we ſhall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually: we mean the heretofore ſo much boaſted craft of inchanting of ſerpents, inſomuch that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and ſome learned fathers ſeem to expreſs ſuch an admiration of it, as if they had really ſeen, or had been ſome other way fully convinced of it. But the notion muſt have been of much older date, ſince the pſalmiſt, ſpeaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the ſad miſchiefs of an evil tongue to the poiſon of the deaf adder, that ſtoppeth her ears againſt the charms of the moſt cunning inchanter [e]. What pains hath it not coſt ſome antient fathers [f], and of late ſeveral of the learned, particularly the great *Bochart* [g], to find out a ſerpent that anſwered the character given here by the pſalmiſt! Deaf ones we need not be at a loſs for: we have a ſort in *England*, which, though not exactly of the ſame duſky colour with thoſe of our author, but rather of a reddiſh copper hue, ſeem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but *David* ſpeaks of one that ſtoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occaſion to various conjectures, which may be beſt ſeen in the author himſelf. For our part, we ſee no reaſon to underſtand theſe words literally, any more, than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a ſyren, the claws of an harpy, the eyes of a baſiliſk, or of any other fabulous creature: we hope, that in neither caſe there is now any neceſſity, either for diſproving the reality of ſuch creatures, or for vindicating the ſacred poet's alluſion to them. All that we pretend here is, to inquire how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and ſo univerſally received in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old ſerpent in paradiſe [h].

AND here we need not obſerve, how much every circumſtance in the hiſtory of his ſeducing the woman (his being, according to the common verſion, called the moſt ſubtile of all creatures, his being choſen by the devil, as the fitteſt inſtrument to deceive her, the curſe pronounced againſt him by GOD, and the enemity entailed between

[e] Pſal. lviii. 4, 5. AUGUST. de Geneſ. ad litt. lib. ix. Reſponſ. ad quæſt. 44. Vid. & SCALIG. de animal. lib. i. lib. iii. c. 6.

[f] ORIG. EUSEB. in Pſal. lix.

[g] De animal. ſacr.

[h] Gen. iii. 1.

his and her seed) might contribute to the notion of serpents being infected with some diabolical pestiferous quality, which made them thus dreaded as destructive to mankind. But what we would first of all take notice of, is, that though, in our former account of our first parents seduction [i], we followed the current of all versions, which represent that reptile as the most subtile of all living creatures; yet the term ערום *harum*, which *Moses* there makes use of, signifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive signification, *naked*: accordingly he says, in the very preceding verse, that our first parents were ערומים *harumim*, *naked*; so that, in a figurative sense, it may properly enough signify an harmless inoffensive creature. It seems even probable, that the sacred historian takes notice of this circumstance, as one main reason of *Eve's* being so easily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpose than such an one, which was furnished with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one single part, even for its own defence? Had it been really the craftiest of all animals, *Adam* could not but have known it, who gave them all names according to their natures; and then *Eve* could not but have been particularly mistrustful of him, so that he would have been the last that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would observe, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceless, and inoffensive appearance, though adorned, perhaps, with all those beauties of shape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before, under that head [k], that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the same term is used afterwards to signify *cunning*, as it sometimes doth, it is only the word *harum*, *naked* or *simple*, ironically applied.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmless and inoffensive, became the most dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of shape; a power to kill infused into it, without the addition of any offensive part; inflicting a sure and speedy, a painful and unaccountable death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a seemingly slight prick. What could an infant world attribute all these surprising effects to, but to some deadly

[i] See before, vol. i. p. 125, & seqq. [k] Ibid. p. 126, & seqq.

oc ul;

occult quality which the devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the first rise to it, than the enmity intailed between mankind and the serpent, after the prophetic sense of it had once been obliterated with the far greatest part of the world? and whence should they expect a remedy against this supposed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? So that, though it might not actually at first send men to the devil for help, for charms and inchantments; yet it might easily induce those, who first found out a cure for the bite of those venomous creatures, to assume to themselves some supernatural skill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their secrets. How much farther these pretended inchanters improved this notion of a preternatural or diabolical virtue in serpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vast variety of surprising tricks, which they attributed to them [1]; one of which, and that not by far the most extraordinary, was that of stopping their ears, that they might be proof against all inchantments; and it is this we shall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but these cunning artists had acquainted themselves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of serpents; some of which, such as our common snakes, being found to be perfectly harmless, might serve them to amuse the ignorant, by pretending that they had charmed them into that inoffensive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmost wonder; others, of a more dangerous nature, such as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle usage, or rendered harmless by breaking those two teeth, through which they inject their poison: the latter therefore might be used as an amusement, and the former, to try experiments, to find out remedies; and both together, to deceive the world, by shewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, inchanted. But, as they found their remedies ineffectual in many cases, and against the bite of some kinds of serpents, they had no other way to save themselves, than by pretending, that those had a particular virtue, which

[1] Vid. auct. sup. citat. & Pomponac. de incant. Trithem. steganogr. Tel. hist. Pers. Delrio. disquisit. magic. & al. mult.

was proof againſt their charms; and, as the deaf kind is the moſt deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended inchanters to affirm, that their charms conſiſted in the ſound of certain words, pronounced in the hearing of thoſe reptiles, which could therefore have no effect againſt them, becauſe they had the ſkill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they ſtopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it cloſe to the ground, whenever they found themſelves in danger of being inchanted; and many others equally abſurd, invented on purpoſe to account for the pretended ſuperiority of ſkill in this creature, above that of the inchanter.

THUS we hope, that the hiſtory of *Jacob* and *Laban* makes it at leaſt very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and abſurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at firſt foiſted into the world from the primitive notion of GOD's omnipreſence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the poſſibility of the Deity being preſent and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itſelf out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various ſizes and natures, as beſt ſuited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of *Shem* is not the only people, who are recorded to have preſerved this pure and primitive notion; ſince, as we obſerved formerly [m], the inhabitants of *Thebais*, or upper *Egypt*, did worſhip none but the *Cnef*, or Supreme Deity, whilſt the lower part of the country was immerſed in the groſſeſt idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad ſpirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive ſenſe of GOD's omnipreſence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief, that they were, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the eyes and hands of the Deity, and the inſtruments of his favour or juſtice, we need not ſay: and, if this was the caſe, how eaſy was it for the corrupt phyſiologiſts of thoſe times to turn them all into deities, and even aſſign them their ſeveral provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind! Hence proceeded, moſt likely, the worſhip of *crocodiles*, *ibis*, *rats*, *onions*, *gar-*

[m] See before, vol. ii. p. 469.

Sick, and many more among the *Egyptians*; and of the heavenly bodies, both by them and the reſt of the world [n].

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of ſuperſtitions was owing to that inſatiable deſire after thoſe various kinds of happineſs, which their vitiated taſte made them ſeek after, according to their different inclinations, from thoſe imaginary diſpenſers of them. So that, if the *Iſraelites* could but have kept themſelves wholly free from it, it would have proved the moſt effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the reſt of mankind, by ſetting before their eyes a whole nation enjoying the height of grandeur and happineſs, not from thoſe fanſied deities, which engroſſed the worſhip of other nations, from whom they were ſo far from expecting any bleſſings, that they had both them, and their ſtupid votaries, in the greateſt contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only ſupreme Creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowleged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the ſource of their guilt and unhappineſs, that they thwarted, inſtead of complying with, the deſigns of Providence; and, by their ſhameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their deluſions and idolatry, whom they were deſigned to cure by their utter deteſtation of them.

But there was ſtill a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety; the inhuman cruelties which were practiſed at the worſhip of ſome, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were uſed at that of other, of thoſe falſe deities. All theſe may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been invented by crafty and deſigning men, merely to gratify the depraved appetites of a ſenſeleſs vulgar, in order to make it ſubſervient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in ſpight of all his moſt expreſs prohibitions and threatenings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, becauſe they tended to caſt a double diſhonour upon him, among thoſe wiſer heathens, who were ignorant of his ſevere laws againſt them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifeſtly contrary to thoſe of reaſon. For what opinion could they have of the God of *Iſrael*, or how could they believe him to be the Supreme Being, and yet ſuffer his people to commit ſuch abominations? What muſt even the very *Iſraelites* themſelves think of him, if they

[n] Ibid. 467, & ſeqq.

could

could ſuppoſe, that he would indulge them in thoſe very impieties, for which he had ſo ſeverely puniſhed the nations, whoſe land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obſtinate unbelief, which hardened them againſt the moſt pathetic remonſtrances, and dreadful threatenings, of their prophets, whom GOD ſtill ſent to them upon all ſuch defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did towards the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties was haſtening upon them, and proved at laſt the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the ſeverity of their thraldom, the monſtrous variety of ſuperſtition, which they beheld among the *Babylonians*, or the continued exhortations of *Ezekiel*, and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed moſt to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to ſay; but this is plain, that, ever ſince their return from thence, they always expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence to thoſe two crimes. Yet even in theſe two reſpects, they ſeem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have ſtrove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at leaſt equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we ſhall at preſent refer the reader to what we ſhall have frequent occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel concerning them. Thus, for inſtance, idolatry, once their moſt favourite vice, has been ſince held in ſuch abhorrence among them, that they would not ſtoop before a ſtatue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot. Their horrid profanation of the ſabbath is charged likewiſe on on them; as a crime that brought on that ſevere captivity upon them, ſince which they became ſo fearful of the leaſt breach of it, that, for a great while, they would ſuffer their enemies to ſurpriſe and butcher them, rather than lift up a hand in their own defence: and may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they have ſince greedily ſwallowed down ſuch a number of monſtrous fables, of which, thoſe we have quoted in this hiſtory out of their *Talmud*, are but a ſmall ſcantling; and preferred that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find ſuch plenty of materials to exerciſe their faith, to the ſacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? Well might our Saviour charge thoſe of his time with

ſtraining

ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a camel [o]; and an honeſt rabbi of theirs adviſe them to inſert the decalogue in their *Talmud*, as the only means to prevent the ſhameful and almoſt univerſal breach of it amongſt them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to ſpare and pity them in this reſpect, ſince it was their unaccountable fondneſs for theſe traditions above the ſacred writings, that inſpired them with that bitterneſs and malice againſt the *Meſſiah*, the Redeemer of mankind, which made them perſecute him to that ſhameful death, from which we derive our freedom, and aſſurance of a better life; eſpecially, ſince their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us ſo irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Teſtament, and conſequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without ſome ſure hopes of their being admitted in GOD's good time [p].

[o] Matt. xxiii. 24. [p] Vid. Rom. xi. paſſ.

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